

Theological Quodlibeta in the Middle Ages

The Fourteenth Century

VISIT...

LANZAROTE
Caliente.COM

Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition

A series of handbooks and reference works
on the intellectual and religious life of Europe,
500–1700

VOLUME 7

Theological Quodlibeta in the Middle Ages

The Fourteenth Century

Edited by

Christopher Schabel



BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON

2007

Cover illustration: Detail from St Andrews, University Library B.763.D.7 (1815), folio 1ra.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Brill has made all reasonable efforts to trace all rights holders to any copyrighted material used in this work. In cases where these efforts have not been successful the publisher welcomes communications from copyrights holders, so that the appropriate acknowledgements can be made in future editions, and to settle other permission matters.

A C.I.P. record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

ISSN 1871-6377

ISBN 978 90 04 16288 4

Copyright 2007 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Hotei Publishers,
IDC Publishers, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers and VSP.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA.
Fees are subject to change.

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments	vii
Abbreviations	ix
List of Contributors	xi
Introduction	1
The Controversy over the Principle of Individuation in <i>Quodlibeta</i>	17
<i>Martin Pickavé</i>	
The <i>Quodlibeta</i> of Peter of Auvergne	81
<i>Chris Schabel</i>	
John Duns Scotus' <i>Quodlibet</i>	131
<i>Timothy B. Noone and H. Francie Roberts</i>	
The <i>Quodlibeta</i> of John of Pouilly	199
<i>Ludwig Hödl</i>	
The <i>Quodlibet</i> of Thomas Wylton	231
<i>Cecilia Trifogli</i>	
The <i>Quodlibet</i> of Peter Auriol	267
<i>Lauge Olaf Nielsen</i>	
Nicholas of Bar's Collection	333
<i>Sylvain Piron</i>	
Reflections on Vat. lat. 1086 and Prosper of Reggio Emilia, O.E.S.A.	345
<i>William J. Courtenay</i>	
The <i>Quodlibeta</i> of the Canons Regular and the Monks	359
<i>Thomas Sullivan, OSB</i>	

Dominican Quodlibetal Literature, ca. 1260–1330	401
<i>Russell L. Friedman</i>	
Carmelite <i>Quodlibeta</i>	493
<i>Chris Schabel</i>	
Augustinian <i>Quodlibeta</i> after Giles of Rome	545
<i>Chris Schabel and William J. Courtenay</i>	
Continental Franciscan <i>Quodlibeta</i> after Scotus	569
<i>William O. Duba</i>	
Oxford <i>Quodlibeta</i> from Ockham to Holcot	651
<i>Rondo Keele</i>	
Postscript: The Demise of Quodlibetal Literature	693
<i>William J. Courtenay</i>	
Appendix. Natural Philosophy: An Analytic Index	701
<i>Richard Cross</i>	
Index of Main Treatments of Quodlibetal Authors	759
Index Manuscriptorum	761
Index Nominum et Locorum	767

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Even more than was the case with volume I of this book, I was fortunate to be able to place much of the burden of volume II on the shoulders of my closest friends and colleagues, who—unfortunately for them—could not say “no,” or from whom I would not take “no” for an answer. In many cases research on broad topics had to be started from scratch, which goes some way to explaining why the volume has taken over seven years to complete. On every occasion, however, this fresh approach resulted in important new finds, so I do not regret the sometimes extreme discomfort that I caused the contributors. I was so nasty that, when superb chapters were turned in that took into consideration everything I had originally requested, if time remained I often said to them, “Excellent, but wouldn’t it be nice if you added an appendix . . .” More than one author was pressured by my “advertising” his as yet unwritten chapter in the introduction to volume I (p. 9), published only recently. I say “his,” because the only (besides Timothy Noone’s collaborator Francie Roberts) female contributor to volume II, Cecilia Trifogli, deserves a special sympathetic thank-you and apology, as do William Courtenay (“Postscript”) and Rondo Keele: they met the original deadline and turned in their chapters several years ago. By the time the book goes to press, Cecilia will have co-edited and co-analyzed several more questions of the same *quodlibet* she covers for this book! In the final stages Brill’s reader went well above and beyond the call of duty to point out shortcomings of every sort, make wise suggestions, and provide much precious information that would otherwise have remained unknown to the authors. The final result is as I had hoped: a book that I, personally, will be referring to for decades to come.

In keeping with the tradition established by the first volume, where an image from a “new” manuscript of the *Quodlibeta* of the leading thirteenth-century theologian, Thomas Aquinas, graced the cover, this volume’s cover displays a folio from a “new” manuscript of the *Quodlibet* of the most important fourteenth-century theologian, John Duns Scotus, this time from St Andrews University Library. I thank Tim Noone and Michèle Mulchahey for their efforts to secure the image, and Dr Norman H. Reid, Keeper of Manuscripts and Muniments, Head of

Special Collections, University of St Andrews Library, for the photograph. Bill Duba and Olivier Ribordy kindly translated Ludwig Hödl's chapter from the German. Once again Julian Deahl and Marcella Mulder at Brill put up with long delays and frequent e-mails—and my gross underestimation of the size of this book—and Gera van Bedaf never complained about the critical editions. My colleagues in the Department of History and Archaeology at the University of Cyprus have been very understanding, as always, allowing me a sabbatical leave to complete the editing process. Most of my job was done while my wife, a fashion designer, was working, and Alex, my daughter, was busy with her own life, but Zeno, my son, sacrificed time on the basketball court, the beach, and the sledding slopes.

C.D.S.
Nicosia, Lent 2007

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AFH</i>	<i>Archivum Franciscanum Historicum</i>
<i>AFP</i>	<i>Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum</i>
<i>AHDLMA</i>	<i>Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age</i>
<i>AL</i>	Aristoteles Latinus
<i>BAV</i>	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
Bazàn et al., <i>Les questions disputées</i>	= B.C. Bazàn, G. Fransen, J.W. Wippel, and D. Jacquart, <i>Les questions disputées et les questions quodlibétiques dans les facultés de théologie, de droit et de médecine</i> (Turnhout 1985)
<i>BN(C)</i>	Biblioteca nazionale (centrale)
<i>BnF</i>	Bibliothèque nationale de France
<i>CUP</i>	H. Denifle and E. Châtelain, eds., <i>Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis</i> , 4 volumes (Paris 1889–1897)
<i>DSTEM</i>	<i>Documenti e Studi sulla tradizione filosofica medievale</i>
<i>FZPT</i>	<i>Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie</i>
Glorieux I	P. Glorieux, <i>La littérature quodlibétique de 1260 à 1320</i> , volume I (Kain 1925)
Glorieux II	P. Glorieux, <i>La littérature quodlibétique de 1260 à 1320</i> , volume II (Paris 1935)
Glorieux, <i>Répertoire I, II</i>	= P. Glorieux, <i>Répertoire des maîtres en théologie de Paris au XIII^e siècle</i> , 2 volumes (Paris 1933–1934)
<i>MPP</i>	<i>Mediaevalia Philosophica Polonorum</i>
<i>RSPT</i>	<i>Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques</i>
<i>RTAM</i>	<i>Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale</i>
<i>RTPM</i>	<i>Recherches de Théologie et Philosophie médiévales</i>
Wippel, “Quodlibetal Questions”	= J.W. Wippel, “Quodlibetal Questions, Chiefly in Theology Faculties,” in Bazàn et al., <i>Les questions disputées</i> , pp. 153–222

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

WILLIAM J. COURTENAY (Harvard University, 1967), C.H. Haskins Professor of Medieval History and Hilldale Professor at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, fellow of the Medieval Academy of America, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and the Royal Historical Society, specializes in later-medieval intellectual history. He has received numerous awards and honors and serves on several boards. Among his many publications are *Adam Wodeham* (1978), *Covenant and Causality in Medieval Thought* (1984), *Schools and Scholars in Fourteenth-Century England* (1987), *Teaching Careers at the University of Paris in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (1988), *Capacity and Volition. A History of the Distinction of Absolute and Ordained Power* (1990), *Parisian Scholars in the Early Fourteenth Century* (1999), and *Rotuli Parisienses*, 2 volumes (2002–03). With Heiko Oberman he edited Gabriel Biel's *Canonis misse expositio*, 4 volumes (1963–67) and he has edited or co-edited five collective volumes. Currently he is completing a large study on the University of Paris in the fourteenth century.

RICHARD CROSS (University of Oxford, 1991), Professor of Medieval Theology, University of Oxford, and Fellow of Oriel College, focuses on later-medieval philosophy and theology, in particular on John Duns Scotus, the history of the doctrine of the Trinity and of Christology, and philosophy of religion. He is author of *The Physics of Duns Scotus: The Scientific Context of a Theological Vision* (1998), *Duns Scotus*, in the "Great Medieval Thinkers" series (1999), *The Metaphysics of the Incarnation: Thomas Aquinas to Duns Scotus* (2002), and *Duns Scotus on God* (2005).

WILLIAM O. DUBA (University of Iowa, 2006) is a researcher at the Université de Fribourg, Switzerland, working on the critical edition of Francis of Marchia's commentary on book II of the *Sentences*, a project headed by Tiziana Suarez-Nani. He has published numerous articles on a broad range of topics in later-medieval intellectual and ecclesiastical history, is webmaster of the *Peter of Candia Homepage* and a collaborator on *Quodlibase*, and is currently writing a history of the debate over the Beatific Vision, the subject of his dissertation.

RUSSELL L. FRIEDMAN (University of Iowa, 1997) is Associate Professor of Medieval Philosophy at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven. His

research and publications deal primarily with later-medieval philosophy and theology, especially cognitive theory and trinitarian theology. As co-editor, he has published five volumes on medieval thought and two volumes of the *Diplomatarium Danicum*. He is also contributing to the critical editions of the *Sentences* commentaries of Peter Auriol and Francis of Marchia, while preparing for publication *Intellectual Traditions in the Medieval University: The Use of Philosophical Psychology in Trinitarian Theology among the Franciscans and Dominicans, 1250–1350* (Brill). He is on the editorial board of *Recherche de Théologie et Philosophie médiévales* and is webmaster of *The Peter Auriol Homepage*.

RONDO KEELE (Indiana University, 2002), formerly at the American University of Cairo, is Assistant Professor of Philosophy at Louisiana Scholars' College. A specialist on Walter Chatton, he is responsible for the corresponding *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* entry and, with Girard Etzkorn, he is editing Chatton's *Quodlibet*. He is also a contributor to the *Peter of Candia Homepage*.

LUDWIG HÖDL (Universität München, 1955) is Professor Emeritus of Dogmatics and the History of Dogmas at the Faculty of Catholic Theology in the Ruhr-Universität in Bochum, Germany. Over the past half century he has authored scores of important articles and a number of books on scholastic thought in the 12th to 14th centuries, starting with *Die Grundfragen der Sakramentenlehre nach Hervaeus Natalis O.P. (†1323)* (1956). He has also edited many texts in later-medieval philosophy and theology, including volumes in the *Henrici de Gandavo Opera Omnia* series of Leuven University Press.

LAUGE O. NIELSEN (Københavns Universitet, 1985) is Professor of Church History at the University of Copenhagen. An expert on the ecclesiastical and intellectual history of Europe from the 12th to the 18th century, he has published *Theology and Philosophy in the Twelfth Century: a Study of Gilbert Porreta's Thinking and the Theological Expositions of the Doctrine of the Incarnation during the Period 1130–1180* (Brill 1982), co-edited—both with Russell L. Friedman—a special issue of *Vivarium* devoted to Peter Auriol (Brill 2000) and *The Medieval Heritage in Early Modern Metaphysics and Modal Theory, 1400–1700* (2003), and critically edited numerous medieval texts. He is currently co-editor in chief of Peter Auriol's *Opera Theologica*.

TIMOTHY B. NOONE (University of Toronto, 1988) is Ordinary Professor of Medieval Philosophy and Director of the Center for Medieval and

Byzantine Studies at the Catholic University of America, working in particular on metaphysics and Franciscan thinkers, especially John Duns Scotus. He is co-editor, with Jorge J.E. Gracia, of *A Companion to Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (2003). Director of the Scotus Project, he was co-editor of three volumes of the recently completed *Opera Philosophica* of John Duns Scotus and he is currently working on Scotus' *Opera Theologica*. He is also a professional harmonica player in a blues and bluegrass band.

MARTIN PICKAVÉ (Universität zu Köln, 2003) is Assistant Professor of Philosophy and Medieval Studies at the University of Toronto. His research interests include medieval metaphysics and philosophy of mind and especially the philosophy of Henry of Ghent. He is the author of several articles and recently published *Heinrich von Gent über Metaphysik als erste Wissenschaft. Studien zu einem Metaphysikentwurf aus dem letzten Viertel des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Brill 2007). He has also co-edited three volumes of the series *Miscellanea Mediaevalia* and one on the writings of Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis.

SYLVAIN PIRON (Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1999), who also contributed to the first volume of this book, is maître de conférences at the Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales, Paris. He specializes in the thought of the Franciscan theologian Peter John Olivi and his circle, although he works on a broad range of topics in later medieval history. As author, editor, or translator, he is responsible for a half dozen books, and he is webmaster of *Quodlibase*.

H. FRANCIE ROBERTS is currently a doctoral student in philosophy at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, where she is researching the philosophical and theological background of late-medieval doctrines of mental language. She holds an MA in Medieval Studies from the Catholic University of America (2006) and another in Christian Thought from Trinity Evangelical Divinity School in Deerfield, Illinois (2003).

THOMAS SULLIVAN (University of Wisconsin, 1982) is a professed Benedictine monk of Conception Abbey in Conception, Missouri, and serves as Professor of History and Humanities at Conception Seminary College. He has published *Benedictine Monks at the University of Paris, A.D. 1229–1500: a Biographical Register* (Brill 1995) and the first volume of *Parisian Licentiates in Theology, A.D. 1373–1500: A Biographical Register. Volume I: The Religious Orders* (Brill 2004).

CECILIA TRIFOGLI (Università Statale di Milano, 2001) is Lecturer in Medieval Philosophy, University of Oxford, and Fellow of All Souls College. She focuses on the reception of Aristotle's philosophy in the Middle Ages and on medieval natural philosophy, metaphysics, and epistemology. Besides many critical editions in articles, she has authored *Oxford Physics in the Thirteenth Century (ca. 1250–1270): Motion, Infinity, Place, and Time* (Brill 2000), accompanied by a CD-rom of editions and a two-volume analytical repertory of questions, the first of which has already appeared: *Liber tertius Physicorum Aristotelis: repertorio delle questioni: commenti inglesi, ca. 1250–1270* (2004).

INTRODUCTION

By the last decade of the thirteenth century, the practice of holding quodlibetal disputations in the Faculty of Theology of the University of Paris and at various mendicant *studia* elsewhere was well established. Each academic year at Paris, during the Advent and Lent periods preceding Christmas and Easter respectively, the University continued to suspend classes in theology and to hold more open sessions in which audience members asked the masters and their bachelors to debate questions on any topic they wished, *de quolibet*. As this volume demonstrates, by the 1290s not only were masters of theology from the secular clergy holding such quodlibetal sessions, but so were masters from four orders or houses of canons regular (Saint-Victor, Mont-Saint-Éloi, Val-des-Écoliers, and Premontré), three monastic orders (Benedictines, Cluniacs, and Cistercians), and the four main mendicant orders (Augustinians, Carmelites, Dominicans, and Franciscans). Written records of these sessions survive down to the 1330s, although the disputations themselves continued to be conducted beyond that date. These records are the subject of this volume.

Much more than was the case with volume I of this book, volume II deals with *quodlibeta* that have never been printed, or have not been published in modern critical editions. According to the titles, the division between the two volumes of this book is chronological: the first volume is on the thirteenth century and the second covers the fourteenth. This division does correspond roughly to the contents of the volumes, although it would be more accurate to say that the mid-1290s is the cut-off point. In a few cases, however, due to the character of the chapters, some of the material in volume II still concerns the previous years, mainly the early parts of Martin Pickavé's thematic treatment of individuation, Russell Friedman's survey on Dominicans after Aquinas, and Thomas Sullivan's piece on monks and canons regular. In the last two cases, the material is usually less known and unpublished.

In a real sense, then, the division between volumes I and II mirrors the relative availability of the material. For volume I, there are modern critical editions of the often important *quodlibeta* of Guerric of Saint-Quentin, Thomas Aquinas, John Pecham, Roger Marston, Henry of Ghent (still in progress), Godfrey of Fontaines, Vital du Four, Thomas

of Sutton (volume II), James of Viterbo (volume II), and Peter John Olivi, as well as more minor collections. For the fourteenth century, it often appears that *quodlibeta* have been critically edited based on the criterion of ease, i.e., when they are in one or two manuscripts or contain relatively little material. This is the case for Thomas of Bailly, James of Thérines, John Lesage, Peter Thomae, and Francis of Marchia, although the somewhat more popular *quodlibeta* of Durand of St Pourçain, William of Alnwick, and William of Ockham have also been published. At any rate Glorieux and many other earlier scholars were more concerned with the thirteenth century than the fourteenth, and it seems that his fourteenth-century entries require more revision.

Thus the present volume is more about manuscripts, traditions, and question lists than about doctrine or the development of any individual thinker's ideas. In fact, some of those authors whose *quodlibeta* are available in critical editions—such as the seculars Thomas of Bailly and John Lesage or the Franciscan Gonsalvus of Spain¹—have been avoided in order to focus on unedited material. The authors here have had to do considerable manuscript work for their chapters, in some cases years of manuscript work. I believe the result will prove extremely useful both as a survey of theology in the early fourteenth century and as a reference work for the coming decades.

As in the case of the first volume, the present one contains three different types of chapters: thematic chapters, those on individuals, and those on groups. To these we add a fourth type: two brief chapters on manuscripts containing unique collections of quodlibetal material. Thematic pieces open and close the volume: a treatment of the principle of individuation in *quodlibeta* constitutes the first chapter, and an index of scientific quodlibetal questions is in an appendix to the volume. Chapters on individuals cover the secular theologians Peter of Auvergne, John of Pouilly, and Thomas Wylton, and the important Franciscans John Duns Scotus and Peter Auriol. A few major authors of the quodlibetal genre do not receive separate chapters, for example Hervaeus Natalis, John of Naples, and William of Ockham, but they

¹ Gonsalvi Hispani, *Quaestiones disputatae et de quodlibet*, ed. L. Amorós (Bibliotheca franciscana scholastica, 9) (Florence 1935), pp. 389–426 for the *Quodlibet*. Glorieux omitted this *Quodlibet* of 11 questions, contained in Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale 661, ff. 126ra–130va, which Amorós dated to Gonsalvus' regency in 1302–03. For Thomas of Bailly and John Lesage, see the chapter on Peter of Auvergne below, n. 1.

are dealt with extensively in the chapters on groups. These last treat the *quodlibeta* of monks and canons regular, Dominicans, Carmelites, Augustinians, Franciscans, and Oxonians from the 1320s and 1330s. The volume concludes with a postscript and the above-mentioned appendix on natural philosophy. In the first volume it was announced that volume II would also include a comprehensive bibliography of editions of quodlibetal questions in theology, but given space limitations—the volume is much longer than expected—and the ephemeral nature of such a bibliography, it was decided to place that information on the on-line *Quodlibase* for easy consultation and up-dating.²

Since volume I ended with thematic chapters, ultimately with Jean-Luc Solère's piece on the problem of personal identity after resurrection, that is, of the individual human, especially in the *Quodlibeta* of Thomas Aquinas, it seems appropriate to begin volume II with the more general metaphysical theme of the principal of individuation in *quodlibeta* in the period after Aquinas' death. Martin Pickavé, a highly respected expert on medieval metaphysics, has accepted the challenge of showing through this one example how theological *quodlibeta* are rich sources for medieval metaphysics—too rich for one chapter on any given topic. Restricting himself, then, to published quodlibetal questions for the most part, Pickavé picks up the story with the Condemnation of 1277, which could be interpreted as censuring Aquinas' doctrine of individuation, and he concludes his narrative in the 1320s when Peter Auriol and William of Ockham declared that the search for an explanation for why individuals are individuals was pointless—or at least pointless from one perspective. Pickavé demonstrates that the discussion was more multifaceted than might appear at first glance, taking us through the quodlibetal treatments of Henry of Ghent, Roger Marston, Giles of Rome, Godfrey of Fontaines, Peter of Auvergne, James of Viterbo, Peter John Olivi, Peter Sutton, Vital du Four, Richard Knapwell, Thomas of Sutton, John of Paris, Hervaeus Natalis, Henry of Lübeck, and John of Naples, all of whose *quodlibeta* receive separate attention elsewhere in this book. Given more space and time to transcribe all the pertinent unpublished material, Pickavé could have expanded his already substantial chapter into a book. As it is, the chapter gives us

² *Quodlibase*, a database of theological *quodlibeta*, was created by Alain Boureau and Sylvain Piron, and continues with William Duba, Russell Friedman, and Chris Schabel acting as co-editors. To access it, go to <http://www.quodlibase.org/>.

a taste of what lies in store for the historian of “pure” philosophy in theological *quodlibeta*. For other stories waiting to be told, one need only look to this volume’s appendix on natural philosophy in *quodlibeta*, compiled by Richard Cross.

Following Pickavé’s thematic chapter there are five on individual authors active around the first two decades of the fourteenth century. The editor’s chapter on the secular theologian Peter of Auvergne’s six *Quodlibeta* (1296–1301) is the product of a complete reading of all 108 questions and an inspection of the nineteen medieval manuscripts that contain all or large parts of these very popular texts. The critical edition of three questions (*Quodlibet* I, q. 1, “Utrum Deus sit infinitae virtutis in vigore,” is printed in an appendix) reveals that, contrary to the prevailing view, there is no good reason to suppose that Peter’s *Quodlibeta* were passed down in two different redactions. Rather, Peter redacted each *quodlibet* one at a time after each session. The care that Peter took in composing the written version is illustrated in an appendix giving a complete question list, which includes the foliation of all manuscripts, some of which have not been noted previously by scholars studying Peter’s *Quodlibeta*. Peter worked hard to organize his material, to gather *auctoritates* (over one thousand citations, listed in the chapter), and to explain each problem to his readers. Written at the end of a long and prolific career, Peter’s *Quodlibeta* are characterized by calm reflection, but also by the silent reuse of previous writings, his own and others, that will make the complete critical edition of his texts a challenge.

Timothy Noone and Francie Roberts’ chapter on the Parisian *Quodlibet* of the Franciscan John Duns Scotus, dated 1305–07, is even more focused on manuscripts. While Scotus had only one *Quodlibet*, he was a much more important thinker than Peter of Auvergne. This is reflected in the fact that over sixty known manuscripts survive, an extremely high number and for Scotus second only to the *Ordinatio* version of his *Sentences* commentary. The first of over a dozen printings of Scotus’ *Quodlibet* was accomplished not long after the invention of moveable type. As director of the Scotus Project, Noone is in a unique position to take the *status quaestionis* to the next level, and he has set out with Roberts to do as much as possible to prepare the ground for the definitive critical edition. Having inspected more than forty of the manuscripts, they present an analysis of the manuscript tradition in two ways: first, they focus on major differences in sequence and content, especially in question 21. Fortunately, in general the tradition is relatively uniform, and so the second and most important approach in the chapter is the

first critical edition of any one question of the *Quodlibet*, based on a selection of ten witnesses, the complete collation of which is evident in the apparatus criticus. Question 16, “Utrum libertas voluntatis et necessitas naturalis possint se compati in eodem respectu eiusdem actus et obiecti,” has already drawn the attention of scholars for its doctrinal content, since the relationship between necessity, contingency, nature, and freedom is one of the crucial issues in Scotus studies. Because the tradition for this question also presents textual complexities, it is an ideal choice for Noone and Roberts’ detailed analysis, which is accompanied by a tentative *stemma codicum*.

Although it is a small part of his scholarly production over the past half century, Ludwig Hödl’s studies of the *Quodlibeta* of the Frenchman John of Pouilly are fundamental to our understanding of these texts. Here Professor Hödl synthesizes and advances his own research on Pouilly, a Parisian secular master whose five main *Quodlibeta* date from 1307–12. The first three survive in an “official” stationers’ version, but most manuscripts contain a redaction of all five that Pouilly himself revised and expanded, with one witness recording a sixth *Quodlibet* that consists of one question. Pouilly’s *Quodlibeta* come down to us in much fewer witnesses than those of Peter of Auvergne and Scotus, five main manuscripts—still a respectable number—but their bulk greatly exceeds those of his more famous predecessors. He has the same number of texts as Peter of Auvergne, but they are nearly three times as long. Moreover, while Peter’s *Quodlibeta* are in general ostensibly detached from the historical context and mostly devoid of polemics, John of Pouilly’s abound with controversial and acrimonious discussions of contemporary disputes. Therefore, as Professor Hödl’s chapter demonstrates, they are an excellent source for the state of the schools at Paris in his day, especially the followers of Henry of Ghent and Thomas Aquinas, whom Pouilly often accused of misinterpreting their masters. In tracing Pouilly’s career as master as reflected in his *Quodlibeta*, Hödl provides a fascinating snapshot of the intellectual trends and tensions of the day, within a number of contexts.

Originally it was planned that Wouter Goris would compose a chapter on the Oxford Franciscan Richard of Conington, for although Conington was not of the same stature as those covered elsewhere in this volume, he did have interesting ideas and an impact on some later thinkers. More importantly, Glorieux did not identify his work. Conington produced at least two *quodlibeta* ca. 1306–10, but the only known complete witness, Torino, Biblioteca nazionale K.III.6, disappeared in the

fire that engulfed the library in 1904. Since no traces of it have yet been found—although there is still hope—and no new witnesses or fragments have been located, it was decided that the excellent contribution of Victorin Doucet, published one year after Glorieux's second volume and identifying his Anonymous *Quodlibet* 30 as that of Conington, was sufficient until a critical edition is available.³

Two chapters follow on two important individuals whose careers at Paris were closely intertwined, written by scholars whose own careers are linked: the English secular theologian Thomas Wylton and the French Franciscan Peter Auriol, by Cecilia Trifogli and Lauge Nielsen respectively. Wylton's sole known *Quodlibet*, most probably from Advent 1315, survives in only one main manuscript and fragments in other witnesses, its structure is confusing, and until now individual questions have been published haphazardly. Yet Wylton's questions provide a window into the theological debates of the 1310s and deserve more attention. Eighteen questions of what seems to have been a larger *Quodlibet* are known. Cecilia Trifogli, who has spent years working with Wylton's *Physics* commentary, has co-edited with Lauge Nielsen⁴ six of the questions. In fact, fourteen of the questions have been printed—six of them by Wladyslaw Senko—and excerpts of two of the others are available. Thus Trifogli has chosen to gather all of this together in one place, explaining the make-up of the extant questions, situating them within Wylton's works overall, and presenting a complete catalogue of the questions. The catalogue not only provides exhaustive information on manuscripts, editions, bibliography, and even cross references to other texts of Wylton, but also a doctrinal discussion where none or only incomplete ones exist. In appendices Trifogli offers question lists and critical editions of the only two questions that have not yet been

³ Glorieux II, p. 306, listed 17 questions from BAV, Ottob. lat. 1126, although he knew that the incipit indicates that there were 22 questions. V. Doucet, "L'oeuvre scolastique de Richard de Conington, O.F.M.," *AFH* 29 (1936), pp. 396–442, at p. 417 and 428, remarked that the Torino manuscript contained the 22 questions of *Quodlibet* I and 23 questions of *Quodlibet* II. He also listed Leipzig 470 as containing the first five of the surviving questions and Vat. lat. 1012 as preserving the fifth. See his detailed question list on pp. 424–30, which notes that I.16 is missing but gives the titles of the lost I.22 and II.1, 7, 8, 11, and 23. Question 2 was edited in S.F. Brown, "Richard of Conington and the Analogy of the Concept of being," *Franziskanische Studien* 48 (1966), pp. 297–307, but see recently W. Goris, "Le critique de Richard de Conington par Robert de Walsingham," *AHDLMA* 67 (2000), pp. 269–93.

⁴ And Timothy Noone in one case.

printed at all: question 11, “Utrum, ubicumque excessus alicuius arguit excessum alterius ita quod excessus unius in duplo arguit excessum alterius in duplo et sic ulterius secundum proportionem, ex excessu unius in infinitum sequatur excessus alterius in infinitum,” and question 12, “An identitas realis in divinis suscipiat magis et minus.” It seems that all that is left is to correct previous editions with newly discovered witnesses and gather them together in a uniform critical edition of the entire *Quodlibet*.

That cannot be done easily in the case of Peter Auriol, however. Lauge Nielsen, who has been working on Auriol’s works and thought for well over a decade, has been trying to unravel the secrets of the composition of the Franciscan Auriol’s sole *Quodlibet* of sixteen questions, which survives in whole or in part in some fifteen manuscripts. Nielsen provides a question list with foliation from all witnesses. The *Quodlibet* was completed in 1320, but Nielsen’s careful examination of Auriol’s thought on certain issues both in the *Quodlibet* and in earlier writings highlights how complicated the question of the composition and dating of these texts can be. Auriol engaged in long-term debates with contemporaries, notably Hervaeus Natalis and Thomas Wylton, using his *Quodlibet* to say his last word in some cases. But Nielsen’s study reveals that tying a written *Quodlibet* to a specific disputation is as tenuous as claiming that the published “proceedings” of a conference reflect what was actually said during the event. Only a critical edition of the entire *Quodlibet*, together with studies of Auriol’s earlier works and those of his adversaries, can advance our understanding. Nielsen opts to focus on question 7, “Utrum anima constituta ex duabus realitatibus esse possit forma corporis,” by way of example, putting it into its context and adding a critical edition based on four manuscripts in an appendix. Not only is this the first critical edition of any part of Auriol’s *Quodlibet*, it is also a question that was not printed in full in the 1605 Rome edition, omitting much of the master’s determination.

Two brief chapters examine the nature, composition, and dating of two manuscripts that contain a great deal of quodlibetal questions from a variety of authors, some of them treated in later chapters. Sylvain Piron utilizes his considerable codicological and historical expertise to expand on his brief remarks in volume I (pp. 421–22) concerning the collection of Nicholas of Bar in Paris, BnF lat. 15850. He first describes Glorieux’s background and his approach to the *quodlibeta* in the manuscript, then inspects the codex afresh and *in situ*. Piron notes that the

selection of questions focuses on ethical issues, especially prominent in *quodlibeta* before Easter, and he concludes that, rather than a chronologically arranged group of reports from disputations dating from 1285 to 1304, as Glorieux supposed, the material probably dates primarily from the early 1290s, which has significant repercussions for attribution.

In the following chapter William Courtenay takes a new look at the career of the Augustinian Hermit Prosper of Reggio Emilia, then reevaluates the dating and nature of his *Sentences* commentary and notebook, BAV, Vat. lat. 1086. Based on his unparalleled familiarity with the structure, statutes, and personnel of the University of Paris in the 1310s, Courtenay disposes of some unwarranted or erroneous assumptions made by Glorieux and proceeds to what we do know or can guess, mainly that Prosper was likely *sententiarius* in 1314–15 along with the Dominican James of Lausanne and that the quodlibetal and other material he recorded, with a *terminus ante quem* of 1318, but no clear *terminus post quem*, was probably gathered before his *Sentences* lectures. This has important consequences not only for the dating of the quodlibetal questions contained in Vat. lat. 1086, but also for our general knowledge of theology at Paris in those years. In addition, Courtenay suggests that several disputed questions may belong to the Cistercian Jacques Fournier, later Pope Benedict XII.

Five rather ambitious chapters surveying the *quodlibeta* of theologians from religious orders follow. Thomas Sullivan, a Benedictine himself, who has already produced important studies of monks at the universities, here casts his net wider to encompass the quodlibetal questions of canons regular as well. This material is sporadic, little known, and usually little studied, so Sullivan's chapter is the first attempt to approach these texts in this way. It turns out that questions survive from Parisian *quodlibeta* from four groups of canons regular and three monastic orders, often in the collections of Nicholas of Bar and Prosper of Reggio just discussed. Sullivan's comprehensive analysis doubles as a short history of the relationship between these orders and the University of Paris. As for the *quodlibeta*, the main representatives of the genre are Servais of Guez, canon of Mont-Saint-Éloi, the Benedictine Pierre Roger (the future Pope Clement VI), and the Cistercian James of Thérines. Appendices provide question lists for Pierre Roger and the Cistercians Guy of l'Aumône and Nicholas of Vaux-Cernay.

Next Russell Friedman covers Dominican "quodlibetal literature" between Thomas Aquinas and Robert Holcot with his usual skill and industry, bringing to bear in particular his extensive experience

with early fourteenth-century Friars Preacher. Not only does he treat Dominican *quodlibeta* per se, but also the Order's "anti-*quodlibeta*," since the Dominicans followed the example of the Franciscan William de la Mare's "correction" of Thomas Aquinas' work and authored a large series of rebuttals to William's attack and to the *Sentences* commentaries and *quodlibeta* of major secular theologians and Franciscans. Glorieux chose not to include this material in his compendium. As with the other chapters on groups, Friedman's study examines and advances issues of attribution, chronology, location, manuscripts, and redactions, but the number of authors is higher, the previous literature more vast, and the amount of individual *quodlibeta* greater than is the case with the other synthetic chapters. Of special note are his discussions of Bernard of Auvergne's anti-*Quodlibeta* against those of Godfrey of Fontaines, James of Viterbo, and Henry of Ghent, and the numerous *quodlibeta* of Hervaeus Natalis and John of Naples. Sifting through the texts and the literature, Friedman concludes that ten of the eleven *Quodlibeta* attributed to Hervaeus are authentic, and he presents the theories of how, when, and where the disputations on which they were based were conducted. Friedman's useful research on the *Quodlibeta* of Henry of Lübeck resulted in two important discoveries: first, he saw that Henry copied at times from Durand of St Pourçain; second, and more exciting, in Leuven itself he discovered a microfilm of a Münster manuscript destroyed in World War II, just in time to be employed in the forthcoming critical edition—and this seems to be the best witness! In appendices Friedman publishes a question list for Bernard of Trilia and editions of questions from the anti-*quodlibeta* of Bernard of Auvergne and Robert of Orford against Henry of Ghent's opinion on the basis of the distinction between the persons of the Trinity.

The editor's chapter on Carmelite *quodlibeta* is an attempt to build on the work of Bartomeu Xiberta, the Catalan Carmelite who seems to have read almost every word in every work of the early Carmelite theologians. The *quodlibetal* genre was particularly important for the early Carmelites, both at Paris and Oxford, yet we have no critical editions for any of their *quodlibeta* and only those of John Baconthorpe were ever printed at all. The chapter thus synthesizes all that Xiberta wrote on Carmelite *quodlibeta* concerning attribution, dating, manuscripts, and structure, adding to and correcting Xiberta according to the scholarship of the last three quarters of a century. Aside from many small details and a list of possible *quodlibetal* questions for Simon of Corbie, one might note three items: first, the Oxford Carmelite Peter Swannington's

Quodlibet was absent in Xiberta, and this chapter provides a question list, correcting those previously published by Little and Glorieux, and, in an appendix, an edition of his question “An angelus cognoscat certitudinaliter futura contingentia.” Second, using the critical editions of Stephen F. Brown, the chapter moves forward the issues of the dating, manuscript tradition, and redactions of Gerard of Bologna’s *Quodlibeta*. Third, using fragmentary manuscript witnesses, the chapter reconstructs John Baconthorpe’s *Quodlibet* I, which is confused in the printed editions due to misbound folios in the exemplar of the *editio princeps*. Finally, it should be said that the example of the Carmelites demonstrates, contrary to Glorieux, how one’s administrative position did not preclude one’s conducting quodlibetal disputations at Paris.

The following chapter, on the *quodlibeta* of the Augustinian Hermits after Giles of Rome, by William Courtenay and the editor, is more modest. This is in part because the most important examples, those of James of Viterbo, are already available in the modern critical edition by Eelcko Ypma, and otherwise the Augustinians have no Xiberta to use as a starting point. But it is also the case that *quodlibeta* were less important to the Augustinians than to the Carmelites. The chapter mostly summarizes Glorieux with corrections that are usually minor except for significant new dating. Some further questions of Gregory of Lucca, possibly quodlibetal, are listed, but the main contributions of the chapter concern the last two Augustinian *quodlibeta*, by Gerard of Siena and James of Pamiers. These come down to us in both manuscripts and printings, but in a confused state, so they are reconstructed here with question lists. James of Pamiers’ *Quodlibet* is particularly significant, since unlike Gerard’s his *Sentences* commentary is no longer extant. James’ *Quodlibet* survives in six manuscripts and two early printed editions. The authors provide a much improved question list with a catalogue of James’ citations of university theologians, and rather than Glorieux’s vague date of “after 1323,” a *terminus post quem* of as late as 1332 is now suggested.

The quodlibetal output of the Carmelites and the Augustinians after Giles of Rome is in a sense “manageable” for synthetic survey chapters. This is hardly the case for Friedman’s treatment of the Dominicans between Aquinas and Holcot, nor for the continental Franciscans after Scotus, the subject of the contribution of William Duba, whose extensive work on the ubiquitous theme of the beatific vision allows him special access to these *quodlibeta*. As is the case in the other chapters, Duba updates and corrects Glorieux based on the findings of the past

seventy-odd years, but here the corrections to Glorieux are much more frequent, with many improved question lists. For example, Francis of Marchia's *Quodlibet*, which has now been published, does not look at all as it appeared to Glorieux. Even here, however, Duba argues that the present opinion on the nature, attribution, location and dating—a *quodlibet* by Marchia in Avignon after 1324—of this text is shaky. Nicholas of Lyre's output is also very different from that presented in Glorieux, and there are other examples where Duba's synthesis entirely supercedes Glorieux's. Duba focuses most of his attention on the *quodlibeta* of Francis of Meyronnes and Gerard Odonis, although Duba's presentation of the lost *quodlibeta* of Aufredo Gonteri Brito and William of Rubio are also highlights. For the mystery of the two *quodlibeta* of Meyronnes, Duba sifts through the lengthy studies of Roth and Roßmann and the texts of the *quodlibeta* themselves to present the most plausible scenarios. Duba concludes with a careful analysis of Odonis' treatise on the beatific vision, related to a quodlibetal disputation from Advent of 1333, during the controversy with Pope John XXII while Odonis was Minister General of the Franciscan Order. Duba offers a new interpretation of the events and the text, with reference to Odonis' position on the issue in his *Sentences* commentary of 1326–28. An appendix presents the *quodlibeta* in manuscript BAV, Vat. lat. 1012.

The final chapter on a group is Rondo Keele's coverage of *quodlibeta* from England from William of Ockham to the eclipse of the written genre. Keele's extensive work on Walter Chatton and Oxford theology in the 1320s and 1330s puts him in an excellent position to analyze these *quodlibeta*. Since Ockham's *Quodlibeta* have not only been critically edited, but also translated into English, and Keele himself is collaborating with Girard Etzkorn to complete the critical edition of the *Quodlibet* of Chatton, Ockham's Franciscan confrere and adversary, Keele knows these texts enough to take a doctrinal approach that he continues in his treatment of Robert Holcot's works, although in each instance questions of manuscripts and dating are covered. The case of Ockham is particularly perplexing, because he never became master of theology and yet is thought to have held seven quodlibetal disputations in two years, and at the Franciscan convent in London. Keele shows that the time and place are not so certain: the sessions could have taken place at Oxford and Avignon over a longer span of time. Keele goes on to follow some of the debate between Ockham and Chatton in the former's *Quodlibeta*, then moves on to a first schematic presentation of Chatton's own *Quodlibet*, of which Glorieux was unaware. Turning to

Holcot, Keele exploits the critical editions of some of the Dominican's quodlibetal questions to discuss his theory of divine foreknowledge, and continues with notes on a couple minor, sometimes lost examples, and on the Franciscan John of Rodington's more substantial *Quodlibet* from about 1333–34. Keele concludes with a few thoughts on the decline of the genre, the subject of the following chapter.

The genre of written *quodlibeta* was thriving in the 1310s and early 1320s, then appears to have declined somewhat only to have its swan song in the early 1330s. The chapters on groups reveal that the Dominicans John of Naples and Bernard Lombardi, the Carmelite John Baconthorpe, the Augustinians Gerard of Siena and James of Pamiers, and the Franciscans Gerard Odonis and John of Rodington—seven masters—held quodlibetal disputations from 1330 to 1335 from which manuscript copies survive. But there it ceases. In a “Postscript,” William Courtenay attempts to describe and explain what happened around this time, reminding us that the oral exercise did continue and that there are a few written examples of *quodlibeta* with theological content from the fifteenth century outside Paris. Why almost nothing seems to survive from about 1335 to after 1400 is a mystery that Hamesse (in volume I, pp. 41–45), Duba, and Keele have commented upon, and Courtenay brings his unsurpassed knowledge of the Universities of Paris and Oxford in this time to survey the possible causes.

The volume concludes with an appendix by Richard Cross, constituting a thematic index of quodlibetal questions concerning natural philosophy broadly construed—a topic that Cross has been examining ever since his study of Scotus' scientific views. The index serves two purposes: first, it demonstrates how the quodlibetal disputation in theology could be a forum for scientific discussion. Unlike in the case of economics or politics, the number of quodlibetal questions dealing with natural philosophy is so great that any other type of survey of the genre for this topic would have been too selective. Cross has mostly employed Glorieux's lists, since a comprehensive search for corrections, additions, and reattributions, besides extremely time consuming, would have been confusing for the user given the space limitations. Some up-dating has been done, but the reader interested in, say, “motion of heaven,” is also advised to look elsewhere in the volume and on the on-line *Quodlibase* to check whether Glorieux's numbers, attributions, and dates have been revised. The second purpose the index serves is to illustrate how one would go about gathering material for a diachronic study of any particular theme, such as Pickavé's opening chapter in

this volume. The expert on any given issue generally knows where to go in Aristotelian commentaries and commentaries on the *Sentences*, for example, but quodlibetal literature requires a different search technique. Perhaps some energetic soul will do for all topics what Cross has done for science, and not only for *quodlibeta* but for all disputed questions in theology—a huge book in itself.

Originally a comprehensive index of editions of quodlibetal questions, compiled by Sylvain Piron and the editor, was to constitute a second appendix, but as noted above we have opted to put this information on-line on *Quodlibase*. Suffice it to say that the monumental task attempted in R. Schönberger and B. Kible, eds., *Repertorium edierter Texte des Mittelalters aus dem Bereich der Philosophie und angrenzender Gebiete* (Berlin 1994), was almost impossible to achieve with perfection, and understandably there are numerous omissions and some erroneous entries. Moreover, almost fifteen years have passed since the repertory was completed and went to press. All told, there are probably twice as many editions of quodlibetal questions as in the repertory. The reader is referred to *Quodlibase* to follow further developments.

The indices of manuscripts and names and places are comprehensive for both volumes. For ease of reference, I have also inserted a short index of the main treatments of quodlibetal authors in the two volumes, following the sequence of the book.

The goal of these two volumes was threefold: to provide a convenient and stimulating guide to the quodlibetal writings of theologians in a format different from that chosen by Glorieux; to update and correct Glorieux; to encourage further research on and publications of these texts. The reader will judge to what extent the first aim has been achieved. As for updating and correcting Glorieux, this has been accomplished in hundreds of cases of details, and this on-going effort will be reflected in the progress of the on-line *Quodlibase*. Beyond these minor and sometimes major modifications of Glorieux's specific findings, however, this book has called into question or even disproven several of Glorieux's main assumptions about the genre in general. He took it for granted that *quodlibeta* were to be placed at the Universities of Paris and Oxford and attributed to masters of theology who were actually regent and did not have major administrative obligations in religious orders. He also took University statutes to apply to times and theologians other than those for which they were promulgated. These assumptions were very helpful for dating and locating *quodlibeta*, but

this book has shown that they were often unwarranted, especially for the fourteenth century. *Quodlibeta* were held by bachelors even before 1300, outside the universities, by mendicant masters who were heads of their orders, by masters who were not *actu regentes*, and often without regard to the regulations.⁵ All told, the history of individual *quodlibeta* and the genre as a whole is not a closed issue.

Finally, I hope the book does encourage further work on these texts. With modern means of communication and reproduction, scholars can easily request photocopies, microfilms, microfiches, and CD-roms of manuscripts from library collections all over the world, often at reasonable prices. A *quodlibet* surviving in, say, ten manuscripts in ten libraries can be ordered in one sitting and, with luck, obtained in a couple of months. Even if one is not embarking on the edition of a complete work, the critical edition of just one question can provide valuable information about the manuscript tradition and redactions of a *quodlibet*. This work is also satisfying on many levels, and we should encourage our students to learn the necessary skills and to undertake such tasks.

All surviving *quodlibeta* should be published. Of course, I would argue that any piece of writing from the Middle Ages should be published in some form, and many intellectual historians would agree that any work of philosophical theology merits printing. Nevertheless, since some scholars maintain that the publication of such texts should depend on their intrinsic intellectual value or importance, however one might measure that, it is necessary to point out the historical reasons for making all records of quodlibetal debates available. First, they are often the sole record—or practically the sole record—we have of the philosophical output and ideas not only of certain individuals, but also of entire religious orders with long traditions of participation in the intellectual life of the University of Paris. Publishing these questions illuminates the contributions of these individuals and groups to this scholarly society and thereby contextualizes the thought of the most innovative and influential thinkers. Second, unlike other genres in philosophical theology, *quodlibeta* allowed masters to treat a wide variety of issues

⁵ W.J. Courtenay, "The Course of Studies in the Faculty of Theology at Paris in the Fourteenth Century," in "*Ad Ingenii Acuitionem*," *Studies in Honour of Alfonso Maierù*, S. Caroti, R. Imbach, Z. Kaluza, G. Stabile, and L. Sturlese, eds. (Louvain-la-Neuve 2006), pp. 67–92, has recently shown how problematic it is in general to use statutes to determine the course of the career of any theologian in this era.

not directly related to the material they usually taught. They are thus of immediate interest to the intellectual historian, who can investigate the opinions of the leading intellectuals of Christendom on subjects they would not normally approach. Third, in many cases the questions deal with current events and as such have precise historical significance both for the information they provide and for the perspectives of major thinkers with respect to such events. Finally, quodlibetal questions are, to varying degrees, records of historical events themselves. While this is also true of ordinary lectures to some extent, the spontaneous and more public nature of quodlibetal sessions means that the written remains record what was a real historical event in itself.

This book, along with the on-going, on-line *Quodlibase*, is only a part of the effort to reconstruct the history of Western theology in the golden century 1250–1350. The Brill volumes on *Sentences* commentaries constitute another approach, as do the many works dedicated to describing the careers of individual theologians and the intellectual life of the universities and *studia*. Perhaps the next major *desiderata* are a multi-volume encyclopedia of medieval universities and a complete repertory of ordinary disputed questions and miscellaneous theological treatises, which would be great boons for scholars wishing to present as fully as possible the historical context and development of any philosophical or theological debate.

This is especially true for the fourteenth century, when scholastic theologians focused less on system building than on individual issues. Russell Friedman has labelled this approach “position-centered” rather than the “argument-centered” method of the thirteenth century, so that for each problem the theologian looked at one or more competing solutions rather than individual arguments.⁶ Accordingly, in his 2007 Gilson lecture at the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies in Toronto, William Courtenay dubbed these theologians “problem-oriented” and called for an investigation of their “response[s] to particular questions and issues” to avoid “doing violence to their thought.” Perhaps for the thirteenth century one can attempt to reveal and demonstrate how “major intellectual figures sought to create a particular philosophy or theology whose elements were integrated around certain principles

⁶ R.L. Friedman, “The *Sentences* Commentary, 1250–1320. General Trends, the Impact of the Religious Orders, and the Test Case of Predestination,” in *Mediaeval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, vol. I, G.R. Evans, ed. (Leiden 2002), pp. 41–128, esp. pp. 84–100.

that can be used to explain various areas of their thought,” Courtenay remarks, but “[f]or most fourteenth-century thinkers the philosophical or theological task, if you will, lay in taking a particular question or research problem to a new level of solution, whether it be the object of knowledge, future contingents, or the role of grace and merit in salvation.”⁷ Despite what specialists on Aquinas may say, then, studies of fourteenth-century thought need to be “problem-oriented,” and the edition of theological *quaestiones quodlibetales* is essential to our historical task.

⁷ W.J. Courtenay, “Changing Approaches to Fourteenth-Century Thought,” The Etienne Gilson Series 39, 2 March 2007, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.

THE CONTROVERSY OVER THE PRINCIPLE OF
INDIVIDUATION IN *QUODLIBETA* (1277–CA. 1320):
A FOREST MAP

Martin Pickavé

Quodlibeta allow us special access to philosophical and theological debates in the Middle Ages because they mirror more closely “the vitality and the acuity”—in Jean-Luc Solère’s words—of such debates than many other genres of texts emerging from the university milieu. On the one hand, *quodlibeta* not only reflect the interests of the *magistri* holding the disputations, they also provided an important forum for the interests of the attending audiences; on the other, *quodlibeta* often display a more combative tone and show less inclination to hide the deep disagreements between the different proponents of a debate. The question titles of medieval *quodlibeta* offer us valuable insight into what medieval philosophers and theologians considered important and controversial topics. One of these topics, treated by Solère at the end of volume I, was the question whether there is only one substantial form in human beings. Another, somewhat related, issue was the problem of individuation.

In brief, the problem is this: the familiar objects of everyday life are all singular or individual items. There is this book next to me, this lamp in front of me, this tree outside my window, and so on. Maybe there is also something universal like “treehood,” but all the trees I am directly acquainted with are individuals. I assume that many people see nothing particularly worrying here, but what is wrong about asking the following question: What is the reason for there being only individual objects around us? Many medieval philosophers were puzzled by this question and as a result they sought to determine what exactly the principle of individuation (*principium individuationis*) is, the principle accounting for the individuality of individuals. Their solutions, however, were often very diverse.

To understand the intricacies of the medieval debate on individuation, one has to be aware that, upon closer inspection, the meaning of the term “individuation” (*individuatō*) is itself far from clear. Is the principle of individuation really the same as the principle of the individuality of an object? Or is an inquiry into the principle of individuation

different from an inquiry into the principle of individuality? For some medieval authors, as we will see below, the answer to this latter question was affirmative. For them, individuation strictly speaking applies only to the multiplication of forms (within one species). One might even go so far as to say that beneath the surface of the debate over the principle of individuation there is also a debate about the very idea of what individuation actually is.

Yet, there is a further question: What exactly is individuality?¹ Medieval authors rarely tell us what they regard as essential features of individuality before they try to tell us what accounts for it. One “definition” of individuals is, for instance, “things that are numerically one.” According to another description, one that is closer to the literal meaning of the term, an individual is what is “unable to be divided into subjective parts,” i.e., “into parts of which any given one is that thing.”² According to yet a third conception, an individual is what cannot be further multiplied or divided and what is distinct from something else.³ These definitions are obviously connected, but it might matter for an account of individuation which of these circumscriptions of “individual” is the starting point of a particular author.

The aim of my paper, to attempt an overview of the medieval debate on individuation, is bold, and so it is no surprise that my study suffers from several severe, but unavoidable, shortcomings. (1) My focus will be primarily, if not exclusively, on quodlibetal questions. Only by exception will I use other literary genres to elucidate the teaching of the authors I intend to discuss. What follows can therefore in no way be read as a complete history of the medieval debate on individuation. To provide just one important example: no general survey on individuation should leave out John Duns Scotus’ contribution. In my study, however, Scotus will not feature prominently, for he left us no quodlibetal question explicitly devoted to the problem of individuation. A complete survey would have to take into account at least *Sentences*

¹ For some of these problems see also J.J.E. Gracia, “Introduction: The Problem of Individuation,” in *Individuation in Scholasticism: The Later Middle Ages and the Counter-Reformation, 1150–1650*, idem, ed. (Albany, NY 1995), pp. 1–20; P. King, “The Problem of Individuation in the Middle Ages,” *Theoria* 66 (2000), pp. 159–84.

² See John Duns Scotus, *Ordinatio* II, d. 3, p. 1, q. 2, ed. C. Balić et al., *Opera omnia* VII (Vatican City 1973), pp. 412–13, n. 48.

³ See Henry of Ghent, *Quodlibet* V, q. 8, ed. J. Badius Ascensius (Paris 1518; reprint Louvain 1961), f. 166rM.

commentaries,⁴ commentaries on book VII of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, works on logic,⁵ and also other genres of university disputations, such as, for instance, ordinary disputed questions.⁶ But given that there is still no even remotely complete treatment of medieval views on individuation,⁷ my present project shall nevertheless be useful. First, I shall try to be as exhaustive as possible and I will discuss a couple of texts that have rarely been studied so far. Second, in quodlibetal disputations the responding masters often engage more directly with the views of opponents than elsewhere. *Quodlibeta* thus allow us to trace better the debates and the argumentative patterns followed in those debates than other genres.

(2) The second limitation is the time-frame. I will cover roughly the years 1277 to 1320. On 7 March 1277 Étienne Tempier, the bishop of Paris, condemned 219 theses allegedly taught by masters of the arts faculty. The condemnation is important for our present purpose since it explicitly censures the theological implications of a specific doctrine of individuation of forms, namely of the doctrine according to which matter is responsible for the individuation of forms, an idea

⁴ Distinction 3 of book II of the *Sentences*, the treatment of angels, for instance, is one of the loci classici for discussing individuation.

⁵ See, e.g., Martin of Dacia, who discusses individuation in his commentary on Porphyry (*Quaestiones super librum Porphyrii*, q. 21, ed. H. Roos [Copenhagen 1966], pp. 147–8); Boethius of Dacia does the same in his commentary on the *Topics* (*Quaestiones super librum Topicorum*, VI, q. 12, ed. N.G. Green-Pedersen and J. Pinborg [Copenhagen 1976], pp. 290–2).

⁶ See, for example, the famous disputation that John Duns Scotus and the Dominican William of Peter Godin held in 1304/05 on the question “Whether matter is the principle of individuation.” The text of this disputation is edited in C. Stroick, “Eine Pariser Disputation vom Jahre 1306: Die Verteidigung des thomistischen Individuationsprinzips gegen Johannes Duns Scotus durch Guillelmus Petri de Godino, O.P.,” in *Thomas von Aquino: Interpretation und Rezeption, Studien und Texte*, W.P. Eckart, ed. (Mainz 1974), pp. 559–608.

⁷ Gracia, ed., *Individuation in Scholasticism*, provides a reasonably good overview of later-medieval debates on individuation. See also L. Hödl and M. Laarmann, “Individuum, -ation, -alität,” in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* V (1991), cols. 406–11; J. Hüllen, “Individuation, Individuationsprinzip. 1. Mittelalter,” in *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie* IV (1976), cols. 295–7. M.D. Roland-Gosselin, *Le “De ente et essentia” de S. Thomas d’Aquin* (Paris 1926), covers some of the discussion before and including Aquinas (pp. 51–134); T.W. Köhler, *Der Begriff der Einheit und ihr ontologisches Prinzip nach dem Sentenzenkommentar des Jakob von Metz O.P.* (Rome 1971), discusses a long series of authors between Albert the Great and James of Metz; J. Assenmacher, *Die Geschichte des Individuationsprinzips in der Scholastik* (Leipzig 1926), is unfortunately too superficial to be useful.

often associated with Thomas Aquinas.⁸ The relevant censured articles are as follows:

Art. 81: Because intelligences do not possess matter, God cannot produce many of the same kind.

Art. 96: Without matter God cannot multiply individuals of the same species.

Art. 191: Forms do not receive division except through matter—This is erroneous unless it is understood about forms educed from the potency of matter.⁹

No doubt the condemnation influenced subsequent debates on individuation. This can already be gathered from the fact that authors writing after the condemnation frequently refer to the condemned articles.¹⁰ The condemnation did not put an end to the view according to which matter is a principle of individuation.¹¹ On the contrary, in the wake of the condemnation William de la Mare, an English Franciscan, compiled his *Correctorium fratris Thomae*. The work offers a catalogue of more than one hundred passages from Aquinas' works to each of which William added his refutation of Aquinas' view. Individuation is a recurring topic in the *Correctorium*, but articles 8, 11, 29, and 30 (on the *Prima pars* of Aquinas' *Summa theologiae*) target Aquinas' position explicitly.¹² The *Correctorium* provoked a wide-ranging reaction. A few

⁸ See R. Hissette, *Enquête sur les 219 articles condamnés à Paris le 7 mars 1277* (Leuven-Paris 1977), pp. 82–7 and 181–2.

⁹ *Articuli condempnati a Stephano episcopo Parisiensi anno 1277*, ed. D. Piché (Paris 1999): “81 (43). Quod, quia intelligentie non habent materiam, deus non posset plures eiusdem speciei facere”; “96 (42). Quod deus non potest multiplicare indiuidua sub una specie sine materia”; “191 (110). Quod forme non recipiunt diuisionem, nisi per materiam.—Error, nisi intelligatur de formis eductis de potentia materie.” Please note that throughout this article I do not necessarily respect the punctuation of the editions I use.

¹⁰ See, for example, Henry of Ghent, *Quodlibet* II, q. 8, ed. R. Wielockx, *Opera omnia* VI (Leuven 1983), p. 45, and *Quodlibet* XI, q. 1, ed. Badius, f. 438vTf; Roger Marston, *Quodlibet* I, q. 3, eds. G.F. Etzkorn and I.C. Brady (Quaracchi 1968), p. 12; Giles of Rome, *Quodlibet* II, q. 7 (ed. Louvain 1646; reprint Frankfurt a.M. 1966), p. 65; Godfrey of Fontaines, *Quodlibet* VI, q. 16, eds. M. De Wulf and J. Hoffmans (Les philosophes belges, 3) (Louvain 1914), p. 259, and *Quodlibet* XII, q. 5, ed. J. Hoffmans (Les philosophes belges, 5) (Louvain 1935), p. 101–2. This list is by no means complete!

¹¹ Of course the condemnation never censured the idea that matter is a principle of individuation! So no one should expect that the condemnation is generally directed at the individuation-by-matter view. As the articles show, the censors were worried about considering matter the *exclusive* principle of individuation and multiplication of forms.

¹² William's *Correctorium fratris Thomae* is edited in P. Glorieux, *Les premières polémiques thomistes: I. Le Correctorium Corruptorii “Quare”* (Kain 1927). Art. 81 of the 1277 condemnation is mentioned in William's text in art. 11.

Dominicans replied to William's polemical work by writing *Correctoria corruptorii*, intending to "correct" the person whom they thought was merely a "corruptor" of Aquinas.¹³ In their responses, of course, they also defended Aquinas' teaching on individuation and explained why the consequences of his position are from a theological viewpoint completely unproblematic. Thus one of the results of the condemnation and its immediate aftermath was in a way a renewed debate on the very issue that the censors wanted to determine, and one can see this result in the quodlibetal literature.¹⁴

The *terminus ad quem* of my study is ca. 1320. I do not want to suggest that the debates over the principle of individuation came to an end by this time; this would simply be wrong. But around this time some authors developed the attitude that it is uninteresting to look for a principle of individuation. According to these authors, individuality is no longer considered something requiring an explanation, but something that is a bare fact.

(3) The third limitation concerns my method. My aim, to reconstruct a historical debate through the medium of *quodlibeta*, forces me to adopt a chronological structure. Sometimes it will be difficult to stick to this structure, for there is often no agreement among scholars about the precise dating of some of the *quodlibeta* discussed.¹⁵ I adopt this strictly historical approach reluctantly since it involves a couple of dangers. The most important is that it might lead a reader to the conclusion that the topics discussed here are of merely antiquarian interest, and I don't think they are.

(4) Not all of the questions I will examine explicitly ask about the principle of individuation. The issue of individuation appears in many different contexts, for example, in the context of the (rather technical) question "whether a supposit adds something to a nature." And the problem of individuation itself can be examined with respect to the different types of individuals: material objects, human souls, immaterial substances. The various accounts of individuation might then provoke further questions. Take, for instance, the notion of "indeterminate

¹³ For the *Correctoria* debate, see M.D. Jordan, "The Controversy of the *Correctoria* and the Limits of Metaphysics," *Speculum* 57 (1982), pp. 292–314.

¹⁴ Two authors of *Correctoria Corruptorii* (Richard Knapwell and John of Paris) also left quodlibetal questions on individuation.

¹⁵ Some of the extant *quodlibeta* are "published," i.e., revised, versions of the original oral disputations (and there might in some cases be a considerable delay between the oral delivery and the publication); others have survived only as *reportata*. This imposes a further complication on attempts to establish an exact chronology.

dimensions”: by means of this, some defenders of the view that matter (or rather quantity in matter) is the cause of individuation account for the individuality of our everyday objects. Indeterminate dimensions became themselves the subject of a series of quodlibetal questions.¹⁶ Moreover, the problem of individuation has strong links to other philosophical issues, such as the debate about forms (including the debate over the unity of forms) and the dispute concerning the relationship between being and essence. All this is to say that there is no (and there can be no) standardized set of questions on which my study is based and that my approach will be quite selective.¹⁷

(5) Most *quodlibeta* are still unedited. A complete survey, even within the limitations just mentioned, would therefore require the inclusion of many unpublished texts. Nevertheless, given the relatively large number of edited quodlibetal questions on individuation, on the one hand, and the lack of space, on the other, I have decided to focus on edited sources.¹⁸ Peter John Olivi once wrote in a well-known passage of his *Quaestiones in secundum librum Sententiarum* that with regard to the principle of individuation one is confronted with an “endless forest of opinions” (*infinitam silvam opinionum*).¹⁹ His metaphor can hardly refer alone to the candidates that different philosophers put forward for such a principle; their number is rather limited. It must also be meant to cover the diverse ways philosophers of Olivi’s days argued in favor of

¹⁶ For this debate, which I will only mention briefly, see numerous articles by S. Donati: “La dottrina delle dimensioni indeterminate in Egidio Romano,” *Medioevo* 14 (1988), pp. 149–233; “The Notion of *dimensiones indeterminatae* in the Commentary Tradition of the Physics in the Thirteenth and in the Early Fourteenth Century,” in *The Dynamics of Aristotelian Natural Philosophy from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century*, C. Leijenhorst, C. Lüthy, and J.M.M.H. Thijssen, eds. (Leiden 2002), pp. 189–223; “Il dibattito sulle dimensioni indeterminate tra XIII e XIV secolo: Thomas Wylton e Walter Burley,” *Medioevo* 29 (2004), pp. 177–231.

¹⁷ For example, I have decided not to discuss the topic of the individuation of human souls, an issue that was equally surrounded by controversy after the condemnation of 1277 (see art. 124). The individuation of souls, however, is only a subsection of the more general discussion on individuation as such.

¹⁸ Examples of the texts I have left out in this survey are Alexander of Alexandria, *Quodl.* I, q. 8 (“Utrum Deus possit facere subiectum absque omni accidente absoluto”); qq. 19–21 (“Utrum in substantiis separatis individuum aliquid addat supra speciem,” “Utrum in substantiis separatis sit compositio essentiae et individui,” “Utrum possint esse duo angeli eiusdem speciei”); Raymond Rigaud, *Quodl.* III, q. 5 (“Utrum Deus possit producere aliqua duo solum substantialibus differentia”), and *Quodl.* IV, q. 30 (“Utrum individuum addat aliquid re supra speciem”).

¹⁹ *Quaestiones in secundum librum Sententiarum*, q. 12, ed. B. Jansen, vol. I (Quaracchi 1922), p. 213.

one or the other principle of individuation. My study will hopefully serve as a map through this, in large part, still uncharted forest, and available editions are somewhat like familiar trails whose traces on the map will, with a bit of luck, allow for systematic access to the lesser-known groves in the woods.

Henry of Ghent

Henry of Ghent disputed his second *Quodlibet* in Advent 1277.²⁰ The chronological proximity, the fact that Henry himself was a member of the committee of sixteen professors of theology that advised Bishop Tempier on the condemnation,²¹ his occasional allusions to the condemnation, as well as the polemical tone of Henry's *Quodlibet* suggest a straightforward connection between the *Quodlibet* and the Condemnation of March 1277. Question 8, on the individuation of angels, confirms this suspicion.²² But in examining the individuation of angels, Henry is not just interested in a theological problem. He quickly notes that this question touches on the much broader difficulty of individuation in general, namely how an essence or a form "that is of itself one simple thing...can become many numerically different things."²³ His answer is divided into three parts: first, he critically recalls what the "philosophers" (*philosophi*) teach about individuation; second, he attacks the views of "our philosophizers" (*nostri philosophantes*); and third, he lays out the view of "our saints" (*nostri sancti*).

²⁰ For the dates of Henry's *Quodlibet* see the contribution of Pasquale Porro in the first volume.

²¹ See the remarks of R. Wielockx in Aegidius Romanus, *Apologia*, ed. R. Wielockx, *Opera omnia* III.1 (Florence 1985), pp. 97ff.

²² The question asks "Whether two angels can be made distinct by God by their substantial principles alone." See S.F. Brown, "Henry of Ghent," in *Individuation in Scholasticism*, Gracia, ed., pp. 195–219; J.A. Aertsen, "Die Thesen zur Individuation in der Verurteilung von 1277, Heinrich von Gent und Thomas von Aquin," in *Individuum und Individualität im Mittelalter*, J.A. Aertsen and A. Speer, eds. (Miscellanea Mediaevalia, 24) (Berlin-New York 1996), pp. 249–65; T. Suarez-Nani, *Les anges et la philosophie* (Paris 2002), pp. 75–85. In this question Henry explicitly mentions those articles of the condemnation that deal with individuation (cf. supra n. 9). For Henry's doctrine of individuation in general, see J. Paulus, *Henri de Gand. Essai sur les tendances de sa métaphysique* (Paris 1938), pp. 327–78, and my "Henry of Ghent on Individuation," forthcoming.

²³ Henry of Ghent, *Quodlibet* II, q. 8, ed. Wielockx, p. 36: "Quaestio ista tangit difficultatem de causa individuationis, quomodo scilicet id quod ex se est unum simplex, indivisibile secundum essentiam, possit fieri plura secundum numerum."

The first part is basically a summary of what Henry and his contemporaries regarded as Aristotle's account of individuation, according to which forms are individuated solely by matter. If there is no matter available (as in the case of immaterial substances) or if there is only enough matter for one form (as in the case of heaven), there will be strictly speaking no individuation. But of course there are singular immaterial substances, there is a singular heaven, and so on. These items are individual without individuation; they are singulars because in the absence of matter there can only be one individual under a given form. A multiplication of forms takes place only if sufficient matter exists for there to be many members of one species. However, a central tenet of this view, for Henry, is that forms as such are multipliable.²⁴

Interestingly, Henry's criticism of the Aristotelian view here never directly takes issue with the idea that matter is *a* principle of individuation. Henry only points at absurdities this idea leads to in the case of heaven and angels. If the forms of angels and of heaven possess *qua* form a potency for being multiplied, but if there is no or insufficient matter to ever actualize this potency, then this seems to contradict one of the fundamental Aristotelian tenets according to which every potency must at least in principle have a chance of being realized.²⁵ And furthermore, if immaterial forms such as the forms of angels cannot be multiplied by matter, this does not yet make them individual things.²⁶ There is a difference between the formal unity belonging to a form or species and the numerical unity, i.e., the unity which is responsible for making, for instance, me this particular human being. Insofar as they are universal forms immaterial forms have the first kind of unity, but why should they also have the second? For Henry, this second flaw of the view that matter, and only matter, causes individuation is related to a faulty understanding of the very nature of immaterial substances. Those substances are not just forms or essences; or vice-versa, essences of immaterial substances as such are not complete beings. For no essence

²⁴ Henry of Ghent, *Quodlibet* II, q. 8, ed. Wielockx, pp. 40–1: “Et sic posuit causam quare in formis quandoque sunt plura individua sub ea—licet semper possint esse plura, quantum est ex parte formae—, non esse nisi materiam. Ut, quod non sit neque potest esse sub specie nisi unicum individuum, hoc sit solum ex parte materiae, quando forma continet totam suam materiam in unico individuo, et quod aut sint aut possint esse plura, quantum est ex parte materiae, quando forma non continet totam materiam possibilem ad suam speciem in unico individuo.”

²⁵ See Henry of Ghent, *Quodlibet* II, q. 8, ed. Wielockx, pp. 42–3 and 38.

²⁶ See Henry of Ghent, *Quodlibet* II, q. 8, ed. Wielockx, pp. 41 and 38–9.

of a creature contains by itself (or is identical with) its existence. To say the contrary, as Aristotle and his followers do according to Henry, means to make essences into necessary and God-like beings.²⁷

Henry's criticism of the "philosophizers" in the second part of his reply can be read as a possible explanation for why people like Tempier objected to the Aristotelian view on the grounds that it threatens divine omnipotence. Henry does not tell us who these "philosophizers" are, but there is general agreement that the label refers to the followers of the "philosopher" (i.e., Aristotle),²⁸ including, among others, Thomas Aquinas.²⁹ If every form really had a potential for multiplication by matter, as the Aristotelian view seems to suggest, then in the case of forms of immaterial substances there would be something

in the foundations of the creatures that cannot be reduced to act by the infinite power of the creator. And so it would follow that God would not really be omnipotent because God couldn't bring about something which is possible to happen *ex parte rei*.³⁰

It might be a problem to say that God cannot ϕ , but it is an even bigger problem to deny that God can ϕ although there is possibility that ϕ -ing can occur.

But a "philosophizer" could of course reply that with forms of immaterial substances there is no *real* possibility for their multiplication. In Henry's words, he might try to say that the potency for such forms to receive multiplication exists (for them qua being forms) but that it is only an incomplete potency (*potentia incompleta*) insofar as there is, by definition, no matter that could bring about the multiplication of forms of immaterial substances. God could well multiply such forms if only they had a full or complete potency (*potentia completa*) for multiplication. For Henry, however, this reply cannot remove the difficulty. How can we even talk about an incomplete *potency* if such a potency can never brought to actuality? There would be something in nature that is completely pointless (*otiose*). But nothing in nature is in vain.³¹

²⁷ Henry of Ghent, *Quodlibet* II, q. 8, ed. Wielockx, p. 39: "Nulla ergo essentia creaturae, ratione ea qua essentia est, habet rationem suppositi aut actualiter subsistentis, ita quod nulla earum, quantum est ex se, de se sit singularitas quaedam, nulla earum, sicut neque effective sic nec formaliter est suum esse sive sua essentia."

²⁸ See E. Gilson, "Les 'philosophantes'," *AHDLMA* 27 (1952), pp. 135–40; P. Michaud-Quantin, "Pour le dossier des 'Philosophantes'," *AHDLMA* 43 (1968), pp. 17–22.

²⁹ Brown, "Henry of Ghent," pp. 199–200.

³⁰ Henry of Ghent, *Quodlibet* II, q. 8, ed. Wielockx, p. 44.

³¹ Henry of Ghent, *Quodlibet* II, q. 8, ed. Wielockx, p. 44. At this point someone

As already noted, Henry does not flatly reject the Aristotelian view that matter or quantity (in matter) is a principle of individuation. The Aristotelian model is obviously inadequate for explaining the individuality of some individuals, such as heaven and immaterial substances, but it does not fail completely. For Henry, it therefore cannot be the “precise reason and cause of individuation.”³² The latter can be found in the view of “our saints.” Henry’s intention in comparing the view of the saints with that of the “philosophizers” is clearly polemical: in questions about the immaterial world one should rather address oneself to the adequate authorities. What follows, however, is not anti-philosophical. Henry develops ideas from Avicenna and the only saint he mentions is John of Damascus, whose rather obscure remarks on individuation he quickly replaces with bits from Avicenna’s *Metaphysics*.³³

Since Henry agrees with his opponents that individuals are instantiations of common forms, the problem of the individuality of an individual amounts for him to nothing else than the problem of the individuation of forms—this is the point of departure of his account of individuation. Now the principle individuating forms or essences must be something added and something external to the essences themselves. The form or essence “human being” in me is different from the one in another human being, but this difference is not part of the essence, for otherwise this other human being and I would not share the same essence “human being” and therefore we would not be two members of the same ultimate species. Applying the term “accident” in a broad sense as designating something non-essential, Henry says that universal essences are individuated by “accidents.”³⁴ Individuation, however, does not happen by means of “real accidents” (*accidentia realia*) such

might wonder whether the “philosophizers” really hold the view that forms as such are universal and therefore multipliable. If this were not the case the unfortunate conclusion wouldn’t follow. But I think Henry would have had no problem pointing to passages in Aquinas’ works where Aquinas describes forms as universal: see *Super Boetium de trinitate*, q. 4, a. 2, ed. Leonina, *Opera omnia* L (Rome 1992), p. 125: “Nulla autem forma in quantum huiusmodi est hec ex se ipsa;—dico autem in quantum huiusmodi propter animam rationalem, que quodammodo ex se ipsa est hoc aliquid, set non in quantum forma.”

³² Henry of Ghent, *Quodlibet* II, q. 8, ed. Wielockx, p. 47: “Patet igitur clarissime quod materia et quantitas non possunt dici praecisa ratio et causa individuationis et distinctionis individuorum eiusdem speciei, licet sunt causa eius in rebus materialibus et corporalibus.”

³³ Henry of Ghent, *Quodlibet* II, q. 8, ed. Wielockx, pp. 46ff.

³⁴ Henry of Ghent, *Quodlibet* II, q. 8, ed. Wielockx, pp. 48–50.

as qualities, location, etc. Socrates, for instance, is not an individual human being because of his color or other accidental features. Those accidents are ontologically posterior to substances, for they presuppose the existence of the substances in which they inhere. Instead of causing the individuation of their subjects these accidents are rather individuated by their underlying substances.³⁵

What is this mysterious “accident” that, according to Henry, individuates essences or forms and is not an accident in the strict sense but something he calls (referring to Avicenna) “merely adventitious” (*adventitium tantum*)? It is nothing other than existence or subsistence.³⁶ Two angels—to return to the main question Henry is concerned with here—are fundamentally distinct individuals because of the fact that they actually exist, and only because they actually exist. Although they have the same essence, they are two distinct individuals because the existence of the one angel is not identical with the existence of the other.³⁷ But nothing in Henry’s treatment indicates that this solution applies only to immaterial substances such as angels. Every creature is a contingent being; its existence is not identical with its essence. Were a creature’s existence identical with or part of its essence, a creature would exist of necessity. Actual objects of our everyday life are essence-existence composites and it is the role of existence in such composites to individuate the essence.

Two points regarding Henry’s account of individuation merit special emphasis: (1) Henry seems to make an implicit distinction between an internal and an external principle of individuation. Objects are individual because of their existence (the internal principle). But existence is, at least in contingent beings, caused by an external agent. The existence of a child, for example, is caused by its parents. And since all existence is ultimately derived from God, there should be no

³⁵ Henry of Ghent, *Quodlibet* II, q. 8, ed. Wielockx, p. 55. See also *Quodlibet* V, q. 8, ed. Badius, f. 165rK–vL.

³⁶ Subsistence denotes the kind of existence proper to substances. But I will use these terms here interchangeably.

³⁷ See Henry of Ghent, *Quodlibet* II, q. 8, ed. Wielockx, p. 50: “Duo angeli in solis substantialibus existentes...sunt individualiter distincti hoc solo quod subsistunt in effectū”; p. 51: “Et sic non est dicendum quod hoc solo differunt quia natura unius non est natura alterius...sed quia subsistentia unius non est subsistentia alterius, quae facit differre essentiam ut est in uno ab ipsa ut est in altero, et eam quae una est et simplex in essentia facit esse plures in existentia.”

surprise when Henry also calls God a cause of individuation.³⁸ But if universal essences are individuated by means of (presumably) singular “existences,” then one might ask how the individuation of existence is brought about? Or are “existences” irreducibly singular? Henry does not address this question, at least not in *Quodlibet* II.

(2) We have already seen above that for Henry the distinction between an essence and what causes the individuation of an essence corresponds to the essence/existence distinction. Since Henry is well known for positing a so-called “intentional distinction” between essence and existence in creatures, we are not surprised to find this distinction at work here as well.³⁹ What individuates an essence is something added to and outside the essence itself. In Henry’s vocabulary, the individuating factor is something outside the “intention” (*intentio*) of the essence. The relationship between the individuating principle and the essence is, however, not simply a matter of how our intellect grasps the two as distinct. No essence, as Henry stresses throughout his treatment of individuation, is by itself an individual. The addition of the individuating intention to the essence has to be *really* an addition (that is, the addition of something mind-independent). Yet, it cannot be a “*real* addition,” i.e., an addition of another *thing*. There are two sorts of things: substances and accidents. We saw already why individuation is not caused by adding another real accident. But neither is it possible for it to happen by the addition of something “substantial” (*substantiale*). According to Henry, the only candidates for such a “substantial” addition would be matter and form. But if our principle of individuation is also meant to apply to immaterial substances, then the addition cannot be that of matter. Nor can it be that of a substantial form, for then the result of the addition would not be an individual form, but a form of another species. For Henry, there must therefore be an addition that is more than just a rational addition, an addition of one concept to another,

³⁸ See Henry of Ghent, *Quodlibet* II, q. 8, ed. Wielockx, p. 51: “...ideo causa individuationis eorum prima et efficiens dicendus est Deus.”

³⁹ For Henry’s famous intentional distinction see, e.g., J. Wippel, “Essence and Existence,” in *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, N. Kretzmann, A. Kenny, and J. Pinborg, eds. (Cambridge 1982), pp. 385–410; idem, “The Relationship between Essence and Existence in Late Thirteenth-Century Thought: Giles of Rome, Henry of Ghent, Godfrey of Fontaines, and James of Viterbo,” in *Ancient and Medieval Philosophies of Existence*, P. Morewedge, ed. (New York 1982), pp. 131–64; P. Porro, “Possibilità ed *esse essentialae* in Enrico di Gand,” in *Henry of Ghent. Proceedings of the International Colloquium on the Occasion of the 700th Anniversary of his Death (1293)*, W. Vanhamel, ed. (Leuven 1996), pp. 211–53; L. Hödl’s chapter in this volume, pp. 205–8.

and less than a real addition. This is for him an “addition of what is intentionally different” (*additio diversi secundum intentionem*).^{39a}

In *Quodlibet* V (q. 8), disputed 1280/81, Henry returns to his account of individuation and adds some further clarifications. One of his main goals in this later text is to arrive at a better understanding of what the term “individuation” really denotes. He remarks that forms of species, such as the form “human being,” have a unity by themselves and are in themselves indivisible. The unity of a form of a species is not like the unity of a genus, which is a purely mental construct; an ultimate species is something real and so is its unity. And a form of a species is indivisible, for there is no difference by which it could be further divided into other subspecies. Individuation is thus strictly speaking “nothing else than that a form, which is in itself simple and indivisible, is plurified by means of something else and is designated in many,” and the “principle or reason of individuation” (*causa et ratio individuationis*) is what is responsible for this plurification. For Henry, the indivisibility of these forms accounts for the fact that we talk of *individuation* of forms rather than *division* of forms. And from this indivisibility it also immediately follows that the plurification of forms can, from the perspective of the forms, only occur by accident (*per accidens*), that is, by nothing proper to the forms themselves.⁴⁰

Henry goes on to refute, again and with basically the same arguments used in his earlier *Quodlibet*, the doctrine according to which individuation occurs by real accidents⁴¹ and then takes some space to explain the Aristotelian account. Aristotle is of importance because he offers precisely a model of how forms are plurified by accident (*per accidens*). Forms are plurified by nothing pertaining to themselves, but only in virtue of the divisibility of that in which they inhere: matter. But why is matter divisible? Matter is not divisible in itself, yet before it is capable of receiving forms, matter receives quantity which makes it have dimensions. Quantity is essentially divisible and so it imparts divisibility to everything it belongs to. If, however, the substantial form is what finalizes and determines matter and the quantitative extension of an object, how can quantity be prior to such forms? Henry paraphrases Averroes’ answer to this objection: the substantial form indeed determines the exact extension and quantity of the object in which it

^{39a} Henry of Ghent, *Quodlibet* II, q. 8, ed. Wielockx, p. 55.

⁴⁰ Henry of Ghent, *Quodlibet* V, q. 8, ed. Badius, ff. 164rE–165rH.

⁴¹ Henry of Ghent, *Quodlibet* V, q. 8, ed. Badius, f. 165rI–K.

inheres, so the plurification of forms cannot be caused by determinate quantity, i.e., by something naturally posterior to the reception of form. The quantity responsible for individuation is therefore a kind of quantity that imparts merely indeterminate dimensions.⁴² As in his earlier *Quodlibet*, Henry states that this doctrine does not explain the “precise and proximate cause of individuation,” but Henry is more outspoken when he affirms that the Aristotelian account is basically true in the case of forms of material things.⁴³

Since on Henry’s view individuation is meant to explain the multiplication of forms, his account of individuation is heavily dependent on his account of form. For Henry it is a basic truth that forms (of creatures) are as such universal or common. As already noted, this is a conviction he thinks he shares with those he criticizes and something that, for him, makes it impossible for forms to be individuated just by themselves and without anything added. Yet, if all forms are universal, then there has to be a principle of individuation for each form. But how can forms of immaterial substances receive their necessary individuation? Material and formal causes seem unavailable, so the only remaining alternative seems to be efficient causality: according to Henry, such forms are individuated by the agent that causes the existence of a supposit, that is, a thing of this form.⁴⁴

But an agent causing existence can only be an exterior cause of individuation. It, too, is not a proximate or “precise” cause of individuation. Still, at least there is no question whether an agent is in principle

⁴² Henry of Ghent, *Quodlibet* V, q. 8, ed. Badius, f. 165r–vL. For Averroes’ theory and its reception, see J.F. Wippel, *The Metaphysical Thought of Thomas Aquinas. From Finite Being to Uncreated Being* (Washington, DC 2000), pp. 351ff; Donati, “La dottrina delle dimensioni indeterminate.”

⁴³ Henry of Ghent, *Quodlibet* V, q. 8, ed. Badius, f. 165vL: “Haec ergo est opinio sua de causa individuationis et determinationis formae ad suppositum in formis materialibus...et est vera in talibus formis ut secundum cursum naturae, sed non explicat praecisam et proximam causam individuationis...et per ipsam verificantur opiniones praedictae inquantum talium formarum individuatō fit per materiam, ut est sub quantitate quae est accidentalis.”

⁴⁴ See Henry of Ghent, *Quodlibet* V, q. 8, ed. Badius, f. 165vM: “Secundum veritatem et fidem catholicam debet poni quod omnes formae separatae propter primam creaturæ sunt, et quia quaelibet forma creaturæ, inquantum forma et essentia est, habet rationem universalis...oportet eas individuari, ut habet rationem suppositi. Et hoc non debet fieri per accidentia alia a quantitate, ut iam ostensum est, neque potest fieri per materiam sub quantitate, quia nullum habent. Oportet igitur in eis ponere alium modum individuationis. Quare cum illa quae non dependent a materia esse non recipient nisi per solum agens, et ab eodem habent res esse et esse hoc aliquid in supposito distincto.”

capable of individuating forms: every act terminates in something singular; agents cause by nature singular things, however this might work in detail.⁴⁵ On the contrary, the proximate cause of individuation has to be located in the resulting singular thing or supposit.⁴⁶ More precisely, the cause of individuation is the very thing that makes a supposit a supposit. This also explains why Henry does not consider matter the precise and proximate cause of individuation either, although it is undoubtedly involved in bringing about individuation. Agent causes cease to exist without annihilating the existence and individuality of their products, and similarly some forms (such as the human soul) persist as individual forms after separation from matter. Therefore there must be something more intimately related to forms that is responsible for their individuation, even if the individuation of forms never occurs without an agent or matter or both.⁴⁷

Surprisingly, Henry does not simply restate the conclusion of his earlier *Quodlibet* II and say that existence is this intrinsic cause of individuation. But this has rather to be explained, I believe, in terms of the different context (*Quodlibet* V, q. 8, is mainly about the Trinity and asks “whether in God the supposit is something absolute”) than in terms of a doctrinal change. Anyhow, Henry declares that this individuating disposition cannot be something positive, i.e., another existing thing, for we would then have to ask what makes this other positive thing individual and so in infinitum. Nor can it be a positive relative thing, because this would presuppose the individuation of the underlying thing in which the relation is grounded. The disposition is thus only a negative condition, one that brings about a double negation:

⁴⁵ Henry of Ghent, *Quodlibet* V, q. 8, ed. Badius, 166rM. See also *Quodlibet* XI, q. 1, ed. Badius, f. 439rV.

⁴⁶ The term “supposit” has its origin in discussions on the nature of Christ. In the vocabulary of medieval theologians, Christ has two natures (divine and human) in one supposit. On Henry’s understanding of *suppositum*, see G. Wilson, “Supposite in the Philosophy of Henry of Ghent,” in *Henry of Ghent*, Vanhamel, ed., pp. 343–72. Wilson also discusses *Quodlibet* V, q. 8, at some length on pp. 354–62.

⁴⁷ See Henry of Ghent, *Quodlibet* V, q. 8, ed. Badius, f. 166rM: “Sed quid est in supposito super formam quo habet esse hoc et quo per ipsum forma habet esse hoc quia est huius? Dico aliquid praeter materiam et praeter agens, quod est quasi dispositio suppositi inquantum suppositum est, quod non potest esse materia nec agens. Haec enim dispositio derelicta est circa formam in supposito et facit suppositum esse suppositum... Hoc enim viso videbitur ratio suppositi et individuationis proxima et quod est quod formaliter faciat in creaturis. Et est dicendum quod est aliquid extra intentionem formae concomitans eius productionem vel per agens vel per materiam vel per utrumque.”

It removes from inside any possibility for plurification and diversity and removes from outside any identity, so that in this way the form is called this form, because it is only this form, not having within the possibility to be another one.

Henry concludes by emphasizing that, contrary to matter and the agent, this double negation is the ultimate cause of individuation and what formally (*formaliter*) individuates forms, and he explains again that this negative disposition can be called, in a broader sense, an accident.⁴⁸

Roger Marston, OFM

If the dating of Roger Marston's four Oxford *Quodlibeta* is correct (1282–84), Roger is among the first authors who react to Henry's doctrine of individuation.⁴⁹ The Franciscan master seems to agree with Henry that there are different aspects under which we can describe individuation and that because of these different aspects, we can allow for more than one principle of individuation. For Roger, however,

individuation is brought about by what generates and gives being as by an efficient cause; matter is what provides the occasion of individuation, and the form is what formally constitutes the individual. For the form formally bestows being and consequently also bestows being distinct and being one.⁵⁰

So contrary to Henry, Roger considers the substantial form itself, and not some disposition added to the form, as that which formally (*formaliter*) causes individuation. And since in Roger's opinion the role of matter is here only that of a *sine qua non* cause,⁵¹ it is not astonishing to see him defending the 1277 Condemnation. For Roger, it is indeed a challenge to God's omnipotence to deny God the possibility to individuate forms without matter. For God as the first cause can do whatever

⁴⁸ Henry of Ghent, *Quodlibet* V, q. 8, ed. Badius, f. 166rM. Henry uses the same way of describing individuation also in *Summa quaestionum ordinariarum*, a. 39, q. 3, ed. J. Badius Ascensius (Paris 1520; reprint St Bonaventure, NY 1953), f. 246rR–vS.

⁴⁹ See G.J. Etzkorn's chapter in the first volume, esp. pp. 144ff.

⁵⁰ Roger Marston, *Quodlibet* I, q. 3, ed. Etzkorn-Brady, p. 13. The question Roger is dealing with is "whether there can be in the same species many forms differing numerically by themselves without matter."

⁵¹ Other Franciscans, e.g., Bonaventure, also regard matter merely as a *sine qua non* cause of individuation. See Bonaventure, *In II Sententiarum*, d. 3, p. 1, a. 2, q. 3 ad 4–6, *Opera omnia* II (Quaracchi 1885), p. 110.

any secondary cause can accomplish. And he compares the case where forms are multiplied without matter to the Eucharist, where accidents exist without a subject.⁵²

In question 30 of his second *Quodlibet*, Roger Marston provides his readers (or listeners) with a direct refutation of the account of individuation developed in question 8 of Henry of Ghent's *Quodlibet* V. The anonymous *quidam*, mentioned by the Franciscan, who hold that material forms are individuated by matter and that immaterial forms are individuated by the efficient cause are clearly identical with Henry. Roger's summary is by no means appropriate,⁵³ yet this is only of minor importance, insofar as he correctly renders the main point of Henry's discussion, namely that forms are individuated by what determines them in a supposit: a double negation. Roger, however, declares that he does not understand Henry's subtleties. His reply is what will become the standard objection to Henry's doctrine of individuation: individuation cannot occur by means of a purely negative principle.⁵⁴ If the double negation individuates a form by making it distinct from others (first negation) and indivisible in itself (second negation), then the double negation is what causes it to be one (*unum esse*). Roger's main argument then proceeds from an examination of the meaning of the term "one." Although "one" indeed expresses a negation, it does so only because for us and our senses a multitude is easier to grasp than unity and because we understand unity through multitude, its opposite. By itself "one" expresses something positive, such as the coherence of the parts (in composite things) or the "convenience a thing has with respect to itself" (*eiusdem ad se convenientia*).⁵⁵ Roger concludes:

Through a negation a thing cannot be one and be this particular something (*hoc aliquid*). But as it has being (*esse*) through its principles, so it has that it is one (*unum esse*) and that it is an individual (*individuum esse*).⁵⁶

⁵² Roger Marston, *Quodlibet* I, q. 3, ed. Etzkorn-Brady, p. 13.

⁵³ Compare Roger Marston, *Quodlibet* II, q. 30, ed. Etzkorn-Brady, pp. 295–6, and Henry of Ghent, *Quodlibet* V, q. 8, ed. Badius, ff. 165rK–166rM. In paraphrasing, for example, Roger seems to pay no attention to the differences between Henry's summary of Aristotle's doctrine and Henry's comments on this doctrine.

⁵⁴ See, e.g., Peter John Olivi, *Quaestiones in II Sententiarum*, q. 15, ed. Jansen, p. 277; John Duns Scotus, *Ordinatio* II, d. 3, p. 1, q. 2, ed. Balić et al., pp. 413ff, nn. 49ff.

⁵⁵ Roger Marston, *Quodlibet* II, q. 30, ed. Etzkorn-Brady, pp. 296–7.

⁵⁶ Roger Marston, *Quodlibet* II, q. 30, ed. Etzkorn-Brady, pp. 296–7.

However, the principles of a thing, and of a substance in particular, are its four causes. And Roger again insists that among these causes the form is what formally causes individuation.

How can a form cause the individuation of that in which it inheres if the form itself is universal? For Henry, forms are universal or common; this is the very reason why they have to undergo individuation! Obviously, Roger has a different understanding of forms. In his view people like Henry go astray in believing that forms are by themselves common to many things. But for Roger, everything in nature is singular.⁵⁷ The universality of forms is nothing pertaining to forms in themselves, but is rather a consequence of the fact that forms are in many different individuals. For Roger, the question is not how forms are individuated, but how things are individual. The problem of individuation as understood by Henry, the question of the multiplication and individuation of universal forms,⁵⁸ is clearly not the problem of individuation Roger aims to address. As we saw in the two quotations, according to Roger, everything is individual, i.e., distinct from others and one in itself, insofar as it actually exists. If individuation is the mechanism by which this sort of unity and difference is brought about, the principle of individuation seems to coincide with the principle(s) of existence.

What exactly is Roger's attitude toward the Aristotelian account of individuation? For Aristotle, matter, or better, matter with quantitative dimensions, is a principle of individuation. Roger does not entirely reject Aristotle's doctrine. But strictly speaking, quantity is not a principle of individuation for Roger. Imagine that God decides at one point to take away all quantitative dimensions of the universe. According to Roger, the distinction between the substances and other parts of the universe would not be destroyed by such an act. The essential order (*ordo essentialis*) between all the parts would remain intact. Although quantity is therefore not a fundamental principle of this order, it is nevertheless important for us human beings. For it is by means of the quantitative material parts that we grasp things as distinct individuals. And this is,

⁵⁷ Roger Marston, *Quodlibet* II, q. 30, ed. Etzkorn-Brady, pp. 296–7: “Haec ergo videtur causa deceptionis hominum, quia imaginamur quod forma de se sit communis, cum secundum veritatem natura numquam intendat nisi singulare et particulare.”

⁵⁸ That for Henry the problem of individuation is primarily the problem of the individuation of forms can clearly be gathered from the quotes in nn. 23 and 44.

according to Roger, what Aristotle alluded to when he said that matter receives its distinctness from quantity.⁵⁹

Roger Marston discusses Henry's doctrine of individuation in a question that asks "whether individuals belonging to one species differ only on account of an accident" (*Quodlibet* II, q. 30). And he concludes his official reply by saying that, "therefore, individuation is not caused by an accident, but by the principles of a substance." Roger apparently reads Henry's doctrine as locating individuation in an accident. This might not be entirely fair to Henry, but Roger will not be alone in understanding Henry this way.

Giles of Rome, OESA, and Henry of Ghent

Giles of Rome is one of the most important defenders of the (Aristotelian) doctrine that individuation is caused by matter or quantity.⁶⁰ Giles even goes so far as to defend this doctrine with regard to the Condemnation of 1277. This attitude is not surprising. Although Giles was not himself targeted by Bishop Tempier in the Condemnation of 7 March 1277, we know of the existence of a separate inquiry against Giles' teachings immediately after Tempier's first strike. Giles refused to recant the doctrines the censors considered erroneous and he had to leave the University of Paris.⁶¹ His university career did not resume until 1285 when he was rehabilitated and became a regent master of theology.

His *Quodlibet* I (1285/86) was held immediately after his return to the University of Paris and it can, as Giorgio Pini has suggested, be described as a way for Giles to come to terms with the past.⁶² In question 11, Giles defends the view that corporeal objects are individuals

⁵⁹ Roger Marston, *Quodlibet* II, q. 30, ed. Etzkorn-Brady, p. 298.

⁶⁰ On Giles' life see F. Del Punta, S. Donati, and C. Luna, "Egidio Romano," *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 42 (1993), pp. 319–41; for Giles' doctrine of individuation, see S. Donati, "La dottrina delle dimensioni indeterminate"; D. Trapp, "Aegidii Romani de doctrina modorum," *Angelicum* 12 (1935), pp. 449–501.

⁶¹ His views on individuation, however, were not the subject of this separate inquiry.

⁶² See Pini's chapter in volume I, esp. pp. 255ff. Giles also held two non-university quodlibetal disputations, both taking place during General Chapters of the Augustinian friars (in 1281 and 1291). But he did not address the issue of individuation in these *Quodlibeta*.

on account of their matter; or rather, on account of quantity in matter. For Giles, the individuality of corporeal objects can only be caused by some intrinsic feature that is primarily individuated (*cui de se competat individuat*); other components of bodies are then individuated through this feature. He quickly denies that forms can be such a feature, and he refers to quantity and matter:

Individuation occurs in this way: because it belongs to matter to be extended by quantity and because different forms are received in different parts of matter, forms are divided and as divided they are individuated by extended matter. But since extension is caused by quantity, we have to look at quantity when we want to talk about the individuation of corporeal objects.⁶³

But, Giles goes on to explain, because there can be no quantity without a subject, it is said that matter, “the cause and principle of quantity,” is “the principle of individuation, which must happen by quantity.”⁶⁴

Giles makes no effort to conceal that on his view the individuality of an individual material body is caused by an accident. This, however, leads to at least two major problems which Giles tries to address. First, accidents are ontologically posterior to the subjects in which they inhere. But their subject can only be an actual substance composed of matter and form. How can they then individuate the forms with regard to which they are posterior? Giles counters this common objection by pointing out a difference between kinds of accidents. Some accidents belong more to matter, some more to form. Quantity is one that “especially” (*specialiter*) belongs to matter.⁶⁵ Thus quantity is posterior with respect to matter, but not with respect to form.

A second objection says that this doctrine of individuation challenges the substantiality of individual corporeal objects. If, as it appears, quantity is the subject of individual forms, individual bodies seem to fall under the category of quantity, since they derive their ontological status from their immediate subjects. In his response, Giles introduces an important distinction between the extension of matter and the exten-

⁶³ Giles of Rome, *Quodlibet* I, q. 11, ed. Louvain 1646, p. 24. See also *ibid.*, q. 8, p. 18.

⁶⁴ Giles of Rome, *Quodlibet* I, q. 11, ed. cit., p. 24: “Materia ergo, quae specialiter est causa et principium quantitatis, dicitur esse principium individuationis, quae per quantitatem fieri debet.”

⁶⁵ Giles of Rome, *Quodlibet* I, q. 11, ed. cit., p. 24.

sion of quantity. It is true that quantity causes the extension of matter, for by itself matter has no extension. But the extension of matter is different from the extension of quantity. For the parts of matter (having parts is what it means to have extension) are nothing else than matter, but the parts of quantity are not. This allows Giles to introduce some precision with regard to the role of quantity in individuation: quantity does not fundamentally change matter (i.e., change matter into an accident); it just adds a “mode” (*modus se habendi*) to matter and to the substance it individuates.⁶⁶

In *Quodlibet* I, Giles also addresses the much more controversial question of the individuation of angels. This happens only indirectly, however, and without his explicitly affirming the contentious view that there is only one angel in each species.⁶⁷ In question 8 he discusses the question whether angels have matter. This idea, Giles immediately notes, has been proposed to explain why there can be many angels belonging to one species. But for Giles this explanation is completely ill conceived and fails to attain its goal. In one respect, however, the proposal does not go completely wrong:

However, there is here something that does occupy the place of matter. For angels are not pure act, but they have some potentiality mixed in. Therefore it is also written in the *Liber de causis* that intelligences have their *yleachin*, i.e., their material. And this is probably also what those people have in mind who posit matter in angels, because they say that this matter is not of the same kind as the matter of corporeal things.⁶⁸

The remark is important, for it offers an example of what someone who holds that, due to the lack of matter, there cannot be more than one angel for a given species might answer to accusations (of the kind Henry of Ghent put forth) suggesting that this makes angels into

⁶⁶ Giles of Rome, *Quodlibet* I, q. 11, ed. cit., p. 25.

⁶⁷ But there can be no doubt that Giles holds exactly this. See *Reportatio lectionum super libros Sententiarum* II, q. 24, ed. C. Luna, *Opera omnia* III.2 (Florence 2003), pp. 234–5.

⁶⁸ Giles of Rome, *Quodlibet* I, q. 8, ed. cit., p. 18; see also *Quodlibet* II, q. 1, p. 49; *Reportatio lectionum super libros Sententiarum* II, q. 20, ed. Luna, pp. 228–30; *In II Sent.*, d. 3, p. 3, q. 1, a. 1 (ed. Venice 1581; reprint Frankfurt a.M. 1968), vol. I, pp. 160–70. The Leuven edition of the *Quodlibeta* has “υληαχην,” which is obviously a correction for forms such as *yleachin* (this is, for instance, the spelling in the Venice 1504 edition of the *Quodlibeta*). The passage referred in the *Liber de causis* is prop. 8 (9), ed. A. Pattin, in *Tijdschrift voor Filosofie* 28 (1966) (pp. 90–203), §90.98–2.

necessary beings: angels don't possess matter, but they are nevertheless composite beings; this is how they retain their character as non-necessary beings.⁶⁹

There are no references to the condemnation in Giles' discussion of individuation in *Quodlibet* I and Giles' treatment gives the general impression that he wanted to avoid controversy as much as possible. Yet the tone has distinctively changed in his *Quodlibet* II (Lent 1287) where, in question 7, he directly discusses the individuation of angels and reacts explicitly to Henry's doctrine that forms of immaterial substances are individuated by virtue of their being received in different supposits.⁷⁰ Giles begins his reply by quoting article 81 of the condemnation and declaring that he wishes that the condemned articles had been issued after more careful reflection; he expresses his hope that in the future people will exercise better judgment on the issues in question. In the meantime he intends, as far as possible, to provide an account of angelic individuation that complies with the demands of the article.⁷¹ It is hard to miss the irony in his handling of the condemnation. "We can now say," explains Giles at the end of the question, "that what the condemned article says is possible." Yes, it is true that it is erroneous to affirm "that, because intelligences do not possess matter, God cannot produce many of the same species." For God could have created a world in which things are ordered differently and in that world there would be many intelligences of one species. Proposing that the condemnation was only concerned with God's absolute power gives Giles all the freedom to defend the thesis that under God's ordained power there is only one intelligence or angel of each species. Although possible, it would actually be unfitting if God, given the order He created among the creatures, were now to multiply angels of one species.⁷²

⁶⁹ Henry of Ghent accused Aristotle and the "philosophizers" of holding this view. See *Quodlibet* II, q. 8, ed. Wielockx, pp. 41–2 and supra p. 25. In Thomas Aquinas we can basically find the same idea as in Giles' *Quodlibet*. Jan Aertsen has emphasized the importance the notion *yleachin* or *hylatim* has for Aquinas' account of the individuation of immaterial substances and he has defended Aquinas on these grounds against Henry's criticism: see Aertsen, "Thesen zur Individuation."

⁷⁰ See Giles of Rome, *Quodlibet* II, q. 7 in opp., ed. cit., p. 65.

⁷¹ Giles of Rome, *Quodlibet* II, q. 7, ed. cit., p. 65: "Dicendum quod de hoc sit articulus Parisiensis, in quo dicitur quod error sit dicere quod, quia intelligentiae non habent materiam, Deus non possit plures eiusdem speciei facere. Optandum vero foret quod maturiori consilio tales articuli fuissent ordinati, et adhuc sperandum, quod forte de iis in posterum sit habendum consilium sanius. Hinc in praesenti, quantum possumus et ut possumus, articulum sustinemus." See also Pini's chapter in volume I, pp. 264ff.

⁷² See Giles of Rome, *Quodlibet* II, q. 7, ed. cit., pp. 65 and 69.

But why, according to the given order, are there not many angels under one species? Giles' answer is based on the idea that higher beings and their forms are more perfect than lower ones. The lower forms, the forms of material substances, have to be determined by being (*esse*), and this explains why there can be many different individuals of one species of material substances. For their forms receive their determining being in matter. Yet, forms of immaterial substances don't have to be determined by something else; rather they themselves determine their being. This is why we could say that the being belonging to angels is individuated by their nature.⁷³ Giles puts this hierarchy also in terms of sufficiency of being (*esse*): forms of immaterial substances such as angels possess perfect being (*esse perfectum*), but that just means that they have all the being their form demands. On the contrary, forms of lower beings have only imperfect being (*esse imperfectum*), i.e., they do not possess all the being the form demands. This is why they are not capable of existing without matter. They thus have their being only in accordance with the capacity of the matter in which they inhere, and this is what, for Giles, accounts for the possible multiplication of such forms.⁷⁴

From this understanding of immaterial substances and their forms it is obvious why it wouldn't be fitting for God to produce (or allow for the production of) many members of one species of angels. For if multiplication involves a limitation of being (*esse*), this would just mean that God had to deny to the forms of angels their perfect being, i.e., "that God would now not give to such a form as much being as the form can receive." God could of course do that, but it would completely change the order of immaterial substances and their relationship to material ones.⁷⁵ From this idea Giles' reply to the argument *in oppositum*, which suggests that angels are individuated (and can be multiplied) by being in different supposita, follows immediately. Giles rejects this (i.e., Henry's) account because he holds that the multiplication of forms presupposes the determination or restriction of forms and their being. But according to the normal order, only matter is capable of such a restricting role and a suppositum would only be capable of restricting forms through matter.⁷⁶ Some scholars have concluded that Henry of Ghent's account

⁷³ Giles of Rome, *Quodlibet* II, q. 7, ed. cit., p. 66.

⁷⁴ Giles of Rome, *Quodlibet* II, q. 7, ed. cit., p. 67.

⁷⁵ Giles of Rome, *Quodlibet* II, q. 7, ed. cit., p. 68.

⁷⁶ Giles of Rome, *Quodlibet* II, q. 7, ed. cit., pp. 68–9.

of individuation was driven by the desire to find a comprehensive explanation of individuality that covers all objects of reality. For this reason he was after the “precise” cause of individuation.⁷⁷ But from Giles of Rome’s discussion it becomes clear that his opponents also have an all-encompassing account, an account that is fundamentally based on the hierarchy of forms and their respective being.

Giles’ discussion of angelic individuation in *Quodlibet* II received an immediate response from Henry of Ghent in *Quodlibet* XI, qq. 1–2, disputed in Advent 1287. Henry’s later *Quodlibeta* are full of critical references to Giles’ opposing doctrines, but in this case Giles’ extravagant attitude towards the condemned articles might have been a further reason for Henry’s prompt reaction. Henry’s insistence that the relevant articles were rightly (*rationabiliter*) condemned⁷⁸ is surely meant as a retort to Giles’ doubts in this respect. Henry even devotes two separate questions to his rebuttal. Question 1 addresses Giles’ theory of angelic individuation; question 2 attacks Giles’ claim that it would be unfitting for God to multiply angels of one species.⁷⁹

Giles, Henry admits, does not commit the crude mistake of the philosophers who say that in separate substances the species and supposit coincide so that the mode of being of the essence (*esse essentiae*) does not differ from its actual being (*esse existentiae*), something that would make angels into necessary, God-like beings.⁸⁰ Yet, according to Henry, Giles still upholds that, in the case of angels, being a species and being a supposit are the same, because for Giles an angel exists “only in one supposit in which the perfect aspect of the species is present.” The coincidence of species and supposit, however, precludes the possibility of another supposit of the same species.⁸¹ Henry objects to this identity by pointing out that to be in a supposit is something accidental with respect to the essence or form itself (which is in a supposit). For it is not part of essences or forms to be in supposita, just as it is not part of them to be in the mind and to be actually existing outside the mind. Take, for example, a triangle. It is part of the essence of a triangle that the angles of a triangle equal two right angles, but existence in the

⁷⁷ See Aertsen, “Thesen zur Individuation,” p. 257.

⁷⁸ See the passages mentioned in n. 10 above.

⁷⁹ Henry, however, does not mention Giles by name (he never does so). In the following I will focus only on q. 1.

⁸⁰ See, e.g., Giles of Rome, *Quodlibet* I, q. 10, ed. cit., p. 22, where Giles emphasizes that, unlike in God, there is a difference in angels between *esse* and *essentia* or nature.

⁸¹ See Henry of Ghent, *Quodlibet* XI, q. 1, ed. Badius, f. 438rO–vP.

mind, for instance, is not part of the essence of a triangle. If it were, then triangles would of necessity exist in the mind, just as triangles of necessity have angles equal to two right angles. The same reasoning applies, for Henry, to the property “to be in a supposit” with respect to essences or forms. This is why, for Henry, “species”—species just express forms or quiddities—“of themselves do not have the property ‘to be in a supposit’.”⁸²

The line of reasoning sketched above allows Henry to show two things. First, the argument explains why forms as such are universal in the sense that they are common to many. They are common to many because they are of themselves indeterminate with respect to possible supposita. In this sense Henry’s later *Quodlibet* clarifies this important presupposition of his doctrine of individuation, for he insisted from the beginning that every form is universal and multipliable. Second, Giles’ appeal to a perfect being is a non-starter. It is unable to explain the individuation of immaterial substances because of the difference that exists between the essence or form in itself and the essence or form insofar as it is determined to a supposit. Henry expresses this in terms of his famous notion of *esse essentiae*: the essential being (*esse essentiae*) of a form differs from its being in a supposit; Giles is wrong in apparently denying this difference. To produce some form in actuality in a supposit requires thus a further determination of the form or species, even for immaterial substances, and because of their qualitative difference, no degree of the former can bring about the latter. Given this requirement for being a supposit, God is for Henry perfectly capable of producing different angels of one species.⁸³ Against Giles, one can conclude that a multitude of angels under a species does not conflict with the present course of nature; it does not require God’s changing the order of creation. But whether it follows from this general possibility that there are actually many existing angels of one species is yet another question and one that Henry intends to leave completely open.⁸⁴

Henry also used his controversy with Giles as an occasion to clarify some central points of his own account of individuation. One passage is especially important. After repeating the main lines of his earlier expositions, Henry concludes:

⁸² Henry of Ghent, *Quodlibet* XI, q. 1, ed. Badius, f. 438vQ.

⁸³ Henry of Ghent, *Quodlibet* XI, q. 1, ed. Badius, f. 439rX.

⁸⁴ Henry of Ghent, *Quodlibet* XI, q. 2, ed. Badius, f. 440rF.

And in this way the positive individuation of an angel is caused “efficiently” only through the producing agent and formally only through this being [i.e., the being proper to the supposit]. But I have sufficiently explained elsewhere how individuation happens to take place negatively.⁸⁵

This passage is obviously a reaction to criticism of the sort Roger Marston advanced against the idea that the principle of individuation is a purely negative principle, namely a double negation. Yet it should first and foremost be read as an explanation of how Henry’s own accounts of the principle of individuation in *Quodlibet* II (existence) and *Quodlibet* V (double negation) go together: both “principles” are in fact one and the same explained from different perspectives. From the “positive” perspective, individuation is caused by something “intentionally” added to the form or essence—and thus Marston’s objection seems to fall short, at least in part. But this addition causes a double negation. And since individuality is often defined in negative terms, namely in terms of indivisibility and incommunicability, Henry takes recourse to a double negation as principle of individuation. But both accounts are best considered as two sides of the same coin.

Although Giles of Rome himself did not dispute another quodlibetal question in reply to Henry’s criticism,⁸⁶ it is not difficult to imagine that he might not have been too impressed with Henry’s objections. Giles rejects the notion of *esse essentiae* and does not hold that forms as such are universal or common. Since Giles defends the real distinction between essence and being he might not have problems accepting that being in a supposit is in a sense accidental to the form or essence of an immaterial substance. Still, given his idea of the perfection of being in angels, he would presumably have insisted that the *degree* of actual being angels have (if they exist) is not accidental. And so angels, at least according to the present order, are not multipliable by many “existences.”

In his later *Quodlibeta*, Giles occasionally comes back to his account of individuation of material objects. There he is particularly concerned with the notion of the extension of matter or quantity of matter (*quantitas materiae*) (as distinguished from the extension of quantity or quantity *tout court*) and he tries to add further clarifications to his earlier account.

⁸⁵ Henry of Ghent, *Quodlibet* XI, q. 1, ed. Badius, f. 439rV.

⁸⁶ Giles’ mature views on individuation can be found in *In II Sententiarum*, d. 3, p. 1, q. 2, aa. 1–4, ed. cit., pp. 179–204.

Of what sort is this peculiar quantity of matter that Giles readily identifies with Averroes' indeterminate dimensions?⁸⁷ In *Quodlibet* V, q. 14 (1289/90 or 1290/91), for example, Giles repeats his earlier solution: quantity causes the extension of matter and it is this extension or quantity of matter (and not a quantitative form) that is then responsible for individuating forms, for there can be nothing between form and matter. Yet Giles adds a new nuance: the mode quantity causes in matter is a real addition, although it is not the addition of another thing (for instance, of an accidental form), otherwise there would be an infinite regress.⁸⁸ But despite these minor additions and changes, his general views on individuation remain fundamentally the same.

Godfrey of Fontaines and Peter of Auvergne

Godfrey of Fontaines shares Giles of Rome's reservations about the inclusion of articles on individuation in the Condemnation of 1277. In his twelfth *Quodlibet* (debated 1296/97)⁸⁹ he was asked to reply to the question "Whether the bishop of Paris sins by neglecting to correct some articles condemned by his predecessor" (q. 5). Godfrey favors a correction: "To impose restraints and shackles" in questions that are of no danger at all to faith and morals means nothing else than to inhibit "the pursuit of truth." Truth in these matters is rather to be sought in disputation than by means of academic censorship. Articles 81 and 96 of the condemnation, to which Godfrey explicitly refers, fall under this category; they express plausible opinions, for they have been

⁸⁷ See Giles of Rome, *Quodlibet* IV, q. 1 ("Whether God can make it so two accidents of the same species exist at the same time in the same subject") and q. 9 ("Whether an accident can exist in two subjects"); *Quodlibet* V, q. 14 ("Whether something can really be distinct from itself without something that is called another thing but only through some other disposition"). For the problems Giles had in further explaining the idea of extension of matter or quantity of matter, see Donati, "La dottrina delle dimensioni indeterminate."

⁸⁸ Giles of Rome, *Quodlibet* V, q. 14, ed. cit., p. 307. If quantity weren't by itself able to cause extension in matter, then maybe it could by impressing extension on matter. But if quantity doesn't have this capacity of immediately producing extension in its subjects, then this extension too would need to imprint another extension to cause the extension of its subject, and this new extension again had to impress yet another extension, etc.

⁸⁹ For the dates of Godfrey's *Quodlibeta* see the chapter by Wippel in volume I, esp. n. 1, and J.F. Wippel, *The Metaphysical Thought of Godfrey of Fontaines. A Study in Late Thirteenth-Century Philosophy* (Washington, DC 1981), pp. xxiii–xxviii.

defended by many “Catholic doctors,” so they should never have been condemned in the first place.⁹⁰

Earlier in his career, in *Quodlibet* VI (Advent 1289) and *Quodlibet* VII (1290/91 or 1291/92), Godfrey contributed his part to the pursuit of truth concerning individuation. Question 5 of *Quodlibet* VII has received considerable attention in the secondary literature, partly because Godfrey’s solution in this question was later “recycled” by Peter of Auvergne for his own discussion of individuation. Like John Wippel, however, I believe that *Quodlibet* VI, q. 16, a question that “officially” deals with the numerical unity of the resurrected body, provides us with a better understanding of Godfrey’s view and his sources.⁹¹ In his response, which obviously requires some clarification about the notion of unity involved, Godfrey introduces the traditional distinction between two kinds of unity. On the one hand, there is so-called transcendental unity, the unity that is convertible with being; on the other, there is unity that is the principle of number, unity that belongs to the category of quantity. This distinction is easily misunderstood, as Godfrey himself admits, because in a sense both kinds of unity have to do with number, but the idea behind it is more or less clear: all things insofar as they exist are one, but there is another sense of unity that applies only to those things having quantity, i.e., extended objects. Godfrey also offers a “definition” of unity: to be one is not to be divided in itself, but to be divided from other things.⁹²

The so-called transcendental unity is obviously closely related to the issue of individuation. For to be an individual just means to be numerically one and not divided in itself, but divided (or distinct) from everything else. So not surprisingly Godfrey turns to the causes of transcendental unity, i.e., to the causes of the individuality of individuals:

⁹⁰ *Quodlibet* XII, q. 5, ed. Hoffmans, pp. 101–2. For this passage see also Aertsen, “Thesen zur Individuation,” pp. 251–2; J.F. Wippel, “Godfrey of Fontaines at the University of Paris in the Last Quarter of the Thirteenth Century,” in *Nach der Verurteilung von 1277. Philosophie und Theologie an der Universität von Paris im letzten Viertel des 13. Jahrhunderts. Studien und Texte*, J.A. Aertsen, K. Emery, and A. Speer, eds. (Miscellanea Mediaevalia, 28) (Berlin-New York 2001) (pp. 359–89), pp. 386–9.

⁹¹ The importance of this text is also emphasized by Wippel, *The Metaphysical Thought of Godfrey of Fontaines*, pp. 353–5. For Godfrey’s doctrine of individuation in general, see *ibid.*, pp. 349–69; J.F. Wippel, “Godfrey of Fontaines, Peter of Auvergne, and John Baconthorpe,” in *Individuation in Scholasticism*, Gracia, ed., pp. 221–56; E. Hocedez, “Une question inédite de Pierre d’Auvergne sur l’individuation,” *Revue néoscholastique de philosophie* 36 (1934), pp. 355–86.

⁹² Godfrey of Fontaines, *Quodlibet* VI, q. 16, ed. De Wulf-Hoffmans, p. 256.

But what exists does not exist except individually and so everything existing is an individual. To be an individual, I say, formally belongs to an individual through its form by which it is what it is and by which it is undivided in itself but divided from other things. What does the supposit and individual... add to the nature and by what does such an individuation happen? Although this does not belong to the present inquiry, nevertheless it seems that the efficient cause is the agent producing the nature into actual being (*esse existentiae*). For the endpoint of the action of any agent whatever is nothing else than a singular thing (*hoc aliquid*). Formally the individual or supposit does not seem to add anything positive, but it adds in some way a negation.

And he then goes on to explain, basically with the same arguments as Henry of Ghent, why no positive addition can account for individuation.⁹³

The passage is very illuminating. On the one hand, it shows Henry's influence on Godfrey's account of individuation, and on the other, it allows us to notice important differences. Since everything that exists is an individual, matter cannot be the precise cause of individuation. For Godfrey, as for Henry, the efficient cause of an object is a cause of its individuation. But because it is by their form as an intrinsic principle that objects exist in actuality, individuality is formally caused by forms. Godfrey thus rejects Henry's idea of something else being the formal cause of individuation. In particular, he does not say that actual being (*esse existentiae*) is the principle of individuation, although he calls the production of a nature into actual being the result of the efficient cause. I believe that the reason for this refusal lies in Godfrey's rejection of the real as well as of the intentional distinction between being and essence that he defends elsewhere.⁹⁴ If the individual really does not add anything positive to the nature, then it does not add an intention either.

But what does Godfrey think about quantity or quantitative matter, traditionally considered principles of individuation? He does not deny that quantity has a role in individuation, but it cannot be the sole principle of individuation, for not everything that is individual or has transcendental unity is also extended. Quantity or, more precisely, continuous quantity has a special feature that explains its role in individuation. Continuous quantity is divisible into parts of the same kind: the parts of a line are still lines, parts of a surface are still surfaces, and so on. And quantity conveys this characteristic to quantitative objects:

⁹³ Godfrey of Fontaines, *Quodlibet* VI, q. 16, ed. De Wulf-Hoffmans, p. 257.

⁹⁴ See Wippel, *The Metaphysical Thought of Godfrey of Fontaines*, pp. 79–99.

a part of a stone, as Godfrey remarks, is a stone and generally every part of a material body is itself a material body. In all of these cases quantity causes a numerical difference that is not a difference in kind (species)—the stone that was a part of a stone is obviously not different in kind!⁹⁵ Quantity thus has to account for the individuality of objects belonging to the same species, such as human beings.

In *Quodlibet* VI, q. 16, it looks as if there are two principles of individuation or unity, one for substantial or transcendental unity (form) and one for what we might call “numerical unity” (quantity). But how do they relate? Some clarification on this issue can be found in *Quodlibet* VII, q. 5. The question Godfrey pursues in this later *Quodlibet* is “Whether the supposit adds something positive to the essence or nature.” It can already be gathered from the quotation above that Godfrey rejects this idea, defended by Giles of Rome and in a sense also by Henry of Ghent.⁹⁶

Since different individuals come together under one common species, it seems that natures as expressed by these species are contracted and determined to this or that individual. Yet this determination can only occur through something outside the essences, something that is accidental to an essence. Thus it seems as if individuation is brought about by accidents, as Porphyry, Boethius, John of Damascus, and Avicenna held. For obvious reasons, however, accidents cannot cause individuation. Godfrey offers a whole battery of arguments against this idea. One of these is already well known to us: since accidents are ontologically posterior to their subjects, accidents are rather individuated by their subjects than vice-versa.⁹⁷ Subsuming John of Damascus and Avicenna in the group of people holding the individuation-by-accident view is clearly a way to distance oneself from Henry of Ghent’s position, for whom these two figures are proponents of what he considered the correct view of individuation.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ See Godfrey of Fontaines, *Quodlibet* VI, q. 16, ed. De Wulf-Hoffmans, pp. 258–9.

⁹⁶ Henry would of course deny that the supposit adds some positive *thing* to the nature; but Godfrey seems to be justified in treating Henry here together with Giles insofar as both hold that the supposit is something different from the nature and is thus something that is more than just the nature (whether because there is a real or only an intentional addition to the nature); L.M. de Rijk, “Giraldus Odonis, Godfrey of Fontaines, and Peter Auriol on the Principle of Individuation,” in “*Ad Ingenū Acuitionem*,” *Studies in Honor of Alfonso Maierù*, R. Imbach et al., eds. (Turnhout 2007), pp. 403–36, here pp. 409–22.

⁹⁷ Godfrey of Fontaines, *Quodlibet* VII, q. 5, ed. De Wulf-Hoffmans, pp. 319ff. For a comprehensive interpretation of this question, see Wippel, *The Metaphysical Thought of Godfrey of Fontaines*, pp. 227–41 and 349–64.

⁹⁸ Godfrey speaks of the view of the *philosophi et sancti doctores*, which is definitely

If it were possible for individuation to be caused by an accident, then, Godfrey remarks, quantity would be the only serious candidate. But quantity cannot be the efficient or final cause of individuation. Nor can it be the material cause, “because the subject or substance composed of matter and substantial form is the matter (i.e., the material cause) of an accident (i.e., of quantity), and not the other way round.” And finally quantity cannot be a formal cause of individuation; if it were, individual things would only differ from each other accidentally (namely, by an accidental form), but not substantially.⁹⁹ But as we know from *Quodlibet* VI, Godfrey wants to maintain that quantity plays a role in the individuation of corporeal objects belonging to the same species. How is this possible? Godfrey’s way out of this dilemma lies in his understanding of quantity as a “dispositive principle” (*principium dispositivum*) of individuation, a dispositive principle that belongs on the side of matter.¹⁰⁰ The idea behind this is quite traditional: matter is in a way the material principle of the individuation of corporeal objects. But matter as such is indivisible and thus incapable of individuating forms unless it is rendered divisible by something that is by itself divisible. Quantity is what renders matter divisible, and it is qua matter that quantity causes individuation. In other words, quantity’s causal role in individuation is reduced to the causality of matter.¹⁰¹

At this point Godfrey’s account of quantity’s role in individuation seems to provoke the traditional objections. Isn’t quantity an accident and thus ontologically posterior to the substance in which it inheres? Godfrey counters by distinguishing different senses of priority. It is true that form is prior to matter and extension, for it is form that gives matter (and extension) its actual existence; but form is not prior to matter and extension in terms of “subjectivity,” that is, insofar as form inheres in matter. In Godfrey’s words, according to the order of formal causality,

a reference to the vocabulary Henry uses in *Quodlibet* II, q. 8, to introduce different positions. However, this is as close as Godfrey gets to attacking Henry’s view. Godfrey’s arguments against the individuation-by-accident view seem to have no force against Henry’s doctrine. For Henry the individuating factor is something accidental with respect to the essence or common nature, but it is of course no accident in the strict sense. And since the essence, for instance, is by itself not a complete subject capable of receiving real accidents, the above-mentioned argument doesn’t apply.

⁹⁹ Godfrey of Fontaines, *Quodlibet* VII, q. 5, ed. De Wulf-Hoffmans, pp. 322–3.

¹⁰⁰ The idea that quantity is a dispositive principle is not new; it can already be found in Thomas Aquinas. See *Summa Theologiae* III, q. 77, a. 2.

¹⁰¹ See Godfrey of Fontaines, *Quodlibet* VII, q. 5, ed. De Wulf-Hoffmans, pp. 325–6.

form is indeed prior to matter and extension (or quality), but according to the order of material causality, matter and extension are prior to form. So the objection according to which quantity is something ontologically posterior to form (or the substance) does not apply, because there is a sense in which quantity (Godfrey is obviously thinking here of undetermined quantity, quantity with undetermined dimensions) is prior to the individual form and the resulting substance. And this is enough for Godfrey to make room for quantity to be a dispositive principle of individuation.¹⁰² Godfrey's response to the objection sounds like a trick; yet there is undoubtedly some truth in it. Many people who use the objection believe matter has an explanatory role in our account of composite substances. But matter is in a sense ontologically posterior to form. This, however, does not lead those people to discard the notion of matter and to deny matter causal roles. Godfrey merely applies this insight to quantity.

In considering substantial form the principle of individuation, Godfrey's account of individuation has the virtue of covering material substances as well as immaterial ones.¹⁰³ But what exactly does it mean to call form the principle of individuation? In the passage quoted above, he calls form that which "formally" makes something an individual. This sounds like a truism. If forms are really what render their objects individual, one might say, they can do so only if they themselves are individual or singular. Are all forms individual forms for Godfrey? But what makes forms individual? And isn't the latter the true principle of individuation? Confronted with such questions, Godfrey would probably (like Roger Marston) have replied that this concern arises from a category mistake. Nowhere in his discussion of individuation does Godfrey talk about individual or singular forms. Individuality or transcendental unity applies primarily to things that actually exist and not to forms as such. An individual, existing tree is therefore individualized by a form precisely insofar as the form causes it to exist (and not insofar as there is an individual form for each tree, a form that then transmits its individuality to what it informs). From here, the role of matter, informed by quantity, becomes equally clear. Strictly speaking, quantity does not individuate material objects because it individuates, through matter, the

¹⁰² Godfrey of Fontaines, *Quodlibet* VII, q. 5, ed. De Wulf-Hoffmans, p. 327.

¹⁰³ For Godfrey's views regarding the individuation of human souls and angels, see Wippel, *The Metaphysical Thought of Godfrey of Fontaines*, pp. 364–9.

forms of composite substances; rather quantity prepares a chunk of matter which can then serve as the subject of form. And by providing a subject for a form, which then brings about the individual existence of a composite material substance, quantity or matter, respectively, can be called a principle of individuation.¹⁰⁴ Of course, by being in different subjects specific forms of material objects, for example the form of beaver, are multiplied: the form in the actually existing beaver₁ is distinct from the form of the actually existing beaver₂. We might even want to talk about individual forms here, and we might want to say that through these individual substantial forms each individual has its individuality.¹⁰⁵ Again, however, it is not the individuality of these forms that makes material substances individual, but their individuality is the result of these forms' causing something to exist in actuality.

These clarifications are important. (1) Some readers of Godfrey, both his contemporaries and modern scholars, assume that there is an ambiguity in his use of the term *individuation*. For Robert Arway, for instance, Godfrey's main aim in *Quodlibet* VII, q. 5, is individuality and not individuation proper. Form is not the principle of individuation but of individuality. Arway concludes: "With regard to the principle of individuation Godfrey seems to have agreed with St Thomas in assigning this role to matter signed by dimensive quantity."¹⁰⁶ I don't think that the distinction between individuality and individuation is helpful for understanding Godfrey's account. To be an individual is to be undivided

¹⁰⁴ Godfrey of Fontaines, *Quodlibet* VII, q. 5, ed. De Wulf-Hoffmans, pp. 323–4: "Ergo etiam in materialibus forma per quam individuum est id quod est et subsistit in natura est etiam principium individuationis, quia per illud per quod aliquid est id quod est est individuum et unum, sed substantia materialis per formam subsistit in esse... Et quia materia est in potentia ad formam per quam existit in actu, de se est in potentia ad indivisionem quae est per ipsam formam et pro tanto est principium individuationis pro quanto est principium quoddam formae, scilicet sicut subiectum."

¹⁰⁵ Godfrey comes close to saying something like this in the following passage (*Quodlibet* VII, q. 5, ed. De Wulf-Hoffmans, pp. 328–9): "Patet ergo quod in materialibus eius quod est esse individuum sive individuationes, id est indivisionis in se et divisionis ab aliis eiusdem speciei, quae solo numero differre dicuntur, causa per se secundum genus causae formalis est forma substantialis in uno existens formaliter in se indivisa et a forma quae est in quocumque alio eiusdem speciei divisa et distincta, ita quod illae formae substantiales sunt plures se ipsis ad invicem formaliter differentes, licet dividi sicut extendi formaliter competit eis ex quantitate qua materia quam perficit forma materialis et simul etiam in hoc ipsa forma substantialis extenditur et dividitur formaliter."

¹⁰⁶ R.J. Arway, "A Half Century of Research on Godfrey of Fontaines," *The New Scholasticism* 36 (1962), p. 206, n. 36.

in itself and to be divided from something else; individuality furthermore is a necessary feature of actual, existing things. In this respect, form is the primary principle of individuation because it makes things individual, it individuates them, by bringing them into existence. Quantity is a principle of individuation only insofar as it is a subject of form. By itself, matter does not bring it about that something is undivided in itself and divided from something else. Godfrey, in my opinion, is absolutely justified to call form the principle of individuation.

(2) There are some striking similarities between Roger Marston's teaching on individuation and Godfrey's. Both regard individuality primarily as a concomitant feature of existence, and both call form a formal principle of individuation. Like Marston, Godfrey too mentions a material cause of individuation (matter under the disposition of indeterminate quantity) and an efficient one (the agent producing a substance).¹⁰⁷ But contrary to Marston, for whom individuation seems equally caused by all the causes of an object, Godfrey really singles out form. It is thus not surprising that Peter of Auvergne, whose account of individuation closely follows Godfrey's, will finally call form the "per se cause of individuation."¹⁰⁸

Peter of Auvergne is a good example of the influence Godfrey's teaching on individuation exercised on his contemporaries. In his *Metaphysics* commentary (one of Peter's earlier works), Peter defended the peculiar doctrine that individuation is caused by a relation, namely a relation to the agent. Form, matter, and accidents are ruled out as individuating factors because they are all in themselves common and need themselves to be individuated. Peter agrees that individuation can only occur with something added to the substance or nature, but this addition can, for obvious reasons, be neither an accident nor something substantial like matter or form. Individuation, he therefore concludes, is not caused by the addition of a *thing* to the substance but by the addition of a *ratio*, namely by a relation to the substance's agent cause.¹⁰⁹ This idea seems

¹⁰⁷ Godfrey of Fontaines, *Quodlibet* VII, q. 5, ed. De Wulf-Hoffmans, p. 329.

¹⁰⁸ The texts relevant to Peter of Auvergne's teaching on individuation are edited in E. Hocedez, "Une question inédite de Pierre d'Auvergne sur l'individuation," *Revue Néoscholastique de Philosophie* 36 (1934), pp. 355–86. See here *Quodlibet* II, q. 5, ed. Hocedez, p. 377: "Per hoc apparet principium quid scilicet per se sit principium individuationis substantie composite quoniam forma per quam subsistit. Ex hoc apparet quod individuum dicit indivisionem in esse, quod est per formam."

¹⁰⁹ See *In VIII Metaphysicorum*, q. 25, ed. Hocedez, p. 386: "Sic ergo apparet omnibus istis per quid substantia dicitur individua et *hoc aliquid*, quoniam non per materiam, nec

odd: how can relations individualize that in which they are founded? Isn't the opposite the case, namely that relations are individualized by their foundations? However this may be, when Peter, many years later, disputes his *Quodlibet* II (Advent 1297), he has completely changed his mind. In using large chunks of Godfrey's own text, question 5 of Peter's *Quodlibet* II fully endorses Godfrey's view.¹¹⁰

James of Viterbo, OESA

Not long after Godfrey of Fontaines disputed his *Quodlibet* VI and VII, the Augustinian master of theology James of Viterbo held his first *Quodlibet* (1293).¹¹¹ Like Godfrey before him, James was asked to respond to a question about the numerical unity of the resurrected body and, again like Godfrey, James uses this occasion to talk about what causes the numerical unity of a composite substance (q. 21). He admits that what is an individual and what is numerically one might strictly speaking not be the same; according to some unnamed ancient writers the causes of individuality are different from those of numerical unity. But for didactical purposes James is happy to consider them the same, for this, as he says, allows him to show that one can speak about the causes of numerical unity in different ways (i.e., according to the different ways people try to account for individuation).¹¹²

per formam, nec per aliquod accidens, nec universaliter per aliquam rem sibi additam, sed per solum respectum." Someone might wonder why a relation is, according to Peter, a *ratio* and not a thing (*res*). Peter's understanding is obviously influenced by Henry of Ghent, for whom relations do not add new things to the accidents in which they are founded. Relations are by themselves mere *rationes*, but not *rationes* in the sense of purely mental constructs. For Henry's theory of relations see M.G. Henninger, *Relations: Medieval Theories, 1250–1325* (Oxford 1989), pp. 40–58. Because of Henry's impact on Peter's *Metaphysics* commentary it seems most likely that the commentary has to be dated to the late 1270s (after 1277) or early 1280s. See also G. Galle, "A Comprehensive Bibliography on Peter of Auvergne," *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale* 42 (2000), p. 58, n. 21.

¹¹⁰ For the date of this *Quodlibet*, see the following chapter by Schabel. Wippel, "Godfrey of Fontaines, Peter of Auvergne, and John Baconthorpe," offers a detailed analysis of Peter's text (pp. 228–35); see also Hocedez, "Un question inédit de Pierre d'Auvergne."

¹¹¹ For the date of James' *Quodlibet* (discussed by Schabel and Courtenay below) as well as for James' teaching on individuation, see J.F. Wippel, "James of Viterbo," in *Individuation in Scholasticism*, Gracia, ed., pp. 257–69.

¹¹² James of Viterbo, *Quodlibet* I, q. 21, ed. E. Ypma (Würzburg 1968), p. 223.

So the first main section of *Quodlibet* I, q. 21, basically presents many well-known views about individuation. The first view James mentions is that individuation or individuality is caused by the agent. The causes of being and the causes of being an individual seem to be identical; everything that exists exists as an individual. Yet the agent is a cause of being, so it should also be considered a cause of individuality. This view is problematic, however, because the agent is obviously only an extrinsic cause. It cannot explain what makes a composite substance intrinsically an individual.¹¹³ What about accidents as entities that account for the intrinsic cause of individuation? Quantity seems to be an especially promising candidate, because quantity has the feature of being self-individuating. But that can't be true either: an individual has a certain essential or substantial unity that is more fundamental than an accidental unity. How could an accident possibly account for that? And of course accidents are ontologically posterior to that in which they inhere. Therefore they cannot render something individual; rather they are signs of individuals.¹¹⁴ The color of my hair and my skin, my height, my fingerprints, the spacio-temporal location of my body, all these are features through which my individuality is manifest, but none of these actually causes it. If that's the case, there remain only two other candidates: matter and form. But since form is of itself common to many, matter seems to be the intrinsic principle of individuation. James mentions two versions of how this might be the case: either matter absolutely and in itself is considered the principle of individuation or matter is considered to individuate only insofar as it is subject to indeterminate dimensions. Whatever version we adopt, the view that matter is a principle of individuation is problematic too. If it is true that existing and being an individual are the same, then, as was already said, the principles of existence and individuality seem to be identical. Now, matter is not a principle that brings about existence, so it can't be the principle of individuation. From this last point of view it seems instead as if form is the principle we are looking for.¹¹⁵

James of Viterbo's own account of individuation has to be understood against the background of this census of different opinions. All the positions seem to have something plausible and so James makes

¹¹³ James of Viterbo, *Quodlibet* I, q. 21, ed. Ypma, p. 224.

¹¹⁴ James of Viterbo, *Quodlibet* I, q. 21, ed. Ypma, pp. 224–5.

¹¹⁵ James of Viterbo, *Quodlibet* I, q. 21, ed. Ypma, pp. 225–6.

efforts to combine the strengths of these seemingly exclusive views. To be numerically one, to be an individual, can mean two things. Either the formula is used to refer to something insofar as it is singular (i.e., to its singularity) or it is used to refer to something insofar as it is something complete and perfect belonging to a species. According to this first meaning of individual, matter is the principle of individuation. Since matter functions as a receptacle and cannot itself be received in something else (as in a receptacle), matter is what accounts for the unshared singularity of an object. According to the second meaning of individual, form is the principle of individuation. For it is through its form that something is an existing and complete member of a species. So matter and form are both principles of individuation of material substances but in different respects.¹¹⁶ And at least one accident, namely quantity, has a role in individuation too. The unity in the sense of singularity, the unity that matter conveys to the object, has two aspects: there is a substantial unity or singularity, of which matter, as has already been said, is the cause, but there is also another kind of unity or singularity, one that is accidental and thus secondary. James here obviously has in mind what Godfrey of Fontaines referred to as the unity as principle of number. The idea is simple: every composite substance has substantial unity or singularity through its substance. But composite substances can also be called one with regard to many other substances of the same kind. Quantity—or better, quantitative dimensions—account for this secondary kind of unity. Quantity conveys a special divisibility to matter that allows for the plurality of members of a species.¹¹⁷ James does not return to the agent, but there is no reason to doubt that his considered account of individuation does include a positive, though external, role for the efficient cause of individuation. With changes this model also explains the individuality of immaterial substances. In this case, in the absence of matter and quantitative dimensions in matter, the nature or essence as it is in act is the cause of both their singularity and their perfection.¹¹⁸

In his second *Quodlibet*, disputed in the following year (1294), James further clarifies his understanding of individuation and makes it clear to his audience once more that he considers individuation something that

¹¹⁶ James of Viterbo, *Quodlibet* I, q. 21, ed. Ypma, pp. 226–8.

¹¹⁷ James of Viterbo, *Quodlibet* I, q. 21, ed. Ypma, p. 227.

¹¹⁸ James of Viterbo, *Quodlibet* I, q. 21, ed. Ypma, p. 228.

applies to the whole individual and that is brought about by many different factors. Question 1 of *Quodlibet* II deals with the question “Whether God can produce an accident without a subject.” It seems as if at least quantity could exist without a subject, because quantity doesn’t require a subject for its individuation. Quantity is self-individuating. As we’ve seen, this latter claim about quantity is quite common in debates about individuation¹¹⁹ and rarely the object of a critical examination. James is determined to show why the claim is wrong. Again James starts from the meaning of the term “individual.” The term is normally applied in two main respects: (1) to express the singularity of an object; (2) to express the exclusivity of an object, i.e., to express that in its totality the object does not conform to something else. Both aspects are genuinely different; it is possible that something is a singular and conforms to something else.¹²⁰ The new distinction is not identical with the one James mentioned in his first *Quodlibet*, but there seems to be a direct connection between the exclusivity feature and the perfection feature (from *Quodlibet* I). However this may be, a quantity cannot be called an individual, because quantities are neither singulars nor exclusive. Singulars are incommunicable; they cannot be received in something else as in a receptacle. But of course quantities can be received in something else; quantities are accidents, and accidents, at least according to the natural order of things, inhere in subjects. Accidents are also not exclusive in the sense that they do not conform to each other. Two surfaces of exactly the same size, for example, naturally conform to each other. Exclusivity is a result of combining many different properties. The set of properties applying to me makes me very different from the set of properties applying to other people around me. One quantity is not of itself capable of being exclusive.¹²¹ Quantities, James concludes, are therefore not self-individuating, but quantity has in itself a capacity to

¹¹⁹ See, for instance, above p. 36 (Giles of Rome).

¹²⁰ James of Viterbo, *Quodlibet* II, q. 1, ed. Ypma, pp. 15–16: “Individuum enim dupliciter solet accipi a philosophis, quantum ad propositum pertinet. Uno enim modo sumitur individuum pro singulari; et sic dicitur quod haec humanitas et haec albedo est individua. Alio modo dicitur individuum quod secundum se totum nulli alii potest esse conforme; et sic sumptum individuum addit aliquid supra singulare. Illud enim quod est singulare potest esse alii conforme, ut haec albedo huic albedini.”

¹²¹ This idea, according to which individuality in the second meaning is related to a multitude of properties, can be read as a defense of the individuation-by-accidents view. James here also mentions Porphyry, who is normally cited as someone defending the role of accidents in individuation.

be divided.¹²² Presumably it's the latter capacity that those who appeal to quantity confuse with the capacity for self-individuation.

James of Viterbo's discussion of the principle of individuation is peculiar. Certainly, his solution is somewhat similar to that of Godfrey of Fontaines, yet the attitudes of these two writers are different. Unlike Godfrey, James seems to be driven by the desire to offer a compromise position with which everyone can to some extent agree.¹²³ Those who defend matter's role in individuation will be pleased by his account, as well as those who claim this role for forms, and so on.

*Franciscan Authors before John Duns Scotus: Peter John Olivi,
Peter Sutton, Vital du Four*

Godfrey of Fontaines and even more James of Viterbo attempt to provide an account of individuation that combines insights from opposing traditions. Theories like that of Roger Marston are partly true insofar as they rightly stress the role of form in individuation, and theories that emphasize the role of matter and quantity are also true in a certain respect. Their harmonizing attitude becomes clearer if we look briefly at the tremendous opposition to the latter view, an opposition that was mostly articulated by Franciscan authors.

Presumably during his three years in Montpellier (1289–92), Peter John Olivi debated the question “Whether individuals belonging to the same species differ according to their substance or only by accident” (*Quodlibet* III, q. 4).¹²⁴ His answer states clearly that individuals differ by their substances, yet Olivi does not provide us with an explanation of how exactly this is meant.¹²⁵ Olivi is more concerned with showing how individuals do not differ. They cannot differ merely by means of accidents, for accidents, according to one of the many arguments Olivi draws upon, by being ontologically posterior to substances in which they inhere, cannot account for a real difference between individuals.¹²⁶

¹²² James of Viterbo, *Quodlibet* II, q. 1, ed. Ypma, p. 16.

¹²³ See also Wippel, “James of Viterbo,” p. 264.

¹²⁴ For the date see the preface (pp. 125–6) of the edition: *Petri Iohannis Olivi Quodlibeta Quinque*, ed. S. Defraia (Grottaferrata 2002), and Piron's chapter in volume I, p. 416.

¹²⁵ Peter John Olivi, *Quodlibet* III, q. 4, ed. Defraia, p. 177.

¹²⁶ Peter John Olivi, *Quodlibet* III, q. 4, ed. Defraia, p. 177. These passages are interesting because they show that for Peter *individuation* basically means “individuality” and is not necessarily that by which individuality is attained. See *ibid.*: “Constat enim

Matter is equally inappropriate, because in order to individuate matter would need to have a causal power with respect to forms that it simply does not have.¹²⁷ Common to all such attempts, and in Olivi's diagnosis the root of all errors, is the idea that unity (and individuality) must be accounted for by something really added to what is to be individuated. Nothing is one in virtue of something added to it, however, for this would lead to an infinite regress.¹²⁸ Further, Olivi puts considerable effort in his attempt to show that the whole idea of matter's being plurified by quantity is also wrong. According to one argument, for instance, matter can only have (or be under) an accident if it already exists prior to the accident. Yet in order to exist, matter has to be under a substantial form and, as actually existing matter, unity and a numerical plurality would belong to it. So what further role could quantity possibly play in the plurification of matter?¹²⁹ To my knowledge there is no discussion of individuation of angels in Olivi's *Quodlibeta*. But this issue is amply discussed in his *Questions on the second book of the Sentences*.¹³⁰

Quodlibet I of the two *Quodlibeta* attributed to the English Franciscan Peter Sutton is another example of a more critical attitude towards the view according to which matter or quantity causes individuation.¹³¹ In question 12 ("Whether there is individuation in corporeal substances"), Peter distinguishes three kinds of unities: the unity of the genus, the unity of the species, and the unity of the individual. A thing has the

quod indiuiduatio unius indiuidui est alio numero ab indiuiduatione alterius. Constat enim quod iste ab inuicem differunt per seipsas... Si indiuiduatio est accidens, ergo est in aliquo, ut accidens in subiecto..."

¹²⁷ Peter John Olivi, *Quodlibet* III, q. 4, ed. Defraia, p. 178.

¹²⁸ Peter John Olivi, *Quodlibet* III, q. 4, ed. Defraia, p. 178. For Olivi's argument for why unity cannot be explained in terms of an addition, see his *Quaestiones in II Sententiarum*, q. 13, ed. B. Jansen, vol. I (Quaracchi 1922), pp. 231–55.

¹²⁹ Peter John Olivi, *Quodlibet* III, q. 4, ed. Defraia, p. 179.

¹³⁰ See T. Suarez-Nani, "Pierre de Jean Olivi et la subjectivité angélique," *AHDLM* 70 (2003), pp. 233–316. For a general discussion of Olivi's views regarding individuation, see W. Hoeres, "Der Unterschied von Wesenheit und Individuation bei Olivi," *Scholastik* 38 (1963), pp. 54–61.

¹³¹ It is unknown when exactly this *Quodlibet* was debated. For G. Etzkorn, the editor, any date between 1285 and 1323 is in principle possible. If Peter Sutton really is the author, then the *Quodlibet* was most probably held in the years 1309–11 (the time when Peter was active in Oxford). See G. Etzkorn, "Petrus Sutton (?), O.F.M., *Quodlibeta*," *Franciscan Studies* 23 (1963) (pp. 68–139), p. 70, and Duba's chapter in this volume. But nothing in the author's teaching on individuation forces us to date this *Quodlibet* so late. There is for instance no influence of Duns Scotus' teaching on individuation. From the point of view of the doctrine of individuation this *Quodlibet* could be fairly early (late 1280s).

first unity from what Peter calls the unity of potency and the second from the form or the unity of act, and he declares that the unity of the individual is the result of the actual union of both, i.e., form and potency (matter). By adopting this view according to which the individuation of corporeal substances happens via both matter and form, Peter turns out to defend a stance that can be traced back to Bonaventure.¹³² In his rather short question, Peter also mentions the agent and accidents and their respective roles in individuation:

But because an agent produces such a union [of matter and form] and because an accident discloses and highlights it, it is said by some that individuation is caused by the agent—and it is true [that the agent causes individuation] effectively [i.e., as an efficient cause]. And by some it is said that individuation is caused by an accident—and it is true [that accidents cause individuation] by disclosing it. But individuation is caused formally and completely by the union of form and matter in effect.¹³³

Whereas as an efficient cause the agent has a real causal role in individuation, the role of accidents is merely to point out the individuality of individuals to us human beings. Aristotle, on Peter's understanding, seemed to have attributed individuation to matter alone, presumably because Aristotle thought that matter individuates corporeal substances due to its own prior individuation (due to quantity). But according to Peter, matter, insofar as it has been individuated by a preceding form, is only an accidental cause of individuation.¹³⁴ The crucial point in the individuation of a corporal substance is that the matter of this substance is in potency towards the form of the substance (and not whether matter already has accidentally some other form). Peter does not explicitly mention quantity and the role it could possibly play in individuation, but one suspects he would be equally dismissive. From this perspective his reply to the question "Whether indeterminate dimensions have to be posited in matter" (*Quodlibet* I, q. 8) is somewhat surprising. Instead of rejecting the idea of indeterminate quantitative dimensions, Peter calls both opinions—that of the defenders of such dimensions and that

¹³² See Bonaventure, *In II Sent.*, d. 3, p. 1, a. 2, q. 3, ed. cit., pp. 109–10. For Bonaventure's teaching on individuation, see also P. King, "Bonaventure," in *Individuation in Scholasticism*, Gracia, ed., pp. 141–72.

¹³³ Peter Sutton (?), *Quodlibet* I, q. 12, ed. Etzkorn, p. 93.

¹³⁴ Peter Sutton (?), *Quodlibet* I, q. 12, ed. Etzkorn, p. 93.

of their opponents—"plausible," and he abstains from determining in favor of one or the other.¹³⁵

As with Olivi, the Franciscan *studium* in Montpellier is probably also where Vital du Four disputed his first *Quodlibet* (1296).¹³⁶ His target in question 9 of *Quodlibet* I is the view that spiritual substances are individuated by themselves and material substances are individuals on account of quantity; no doubt he has Thomas Aquinas in mind. This view is incorrect with regard to the individuation of immaterial substances, for it makes those substances into necessary beings. If an immaterial substance is of itself an individual, then it is also of itself an existing being.¹³⁷ Obviously, Vital is here influenced by Henry of Ghent's criticism of Aquinas' theory of individuation. But the view targeted is also erroneous with regard to the individuation of material substances: quantity cannot turn a universal substance into an individual one, because quantity is of itself abstract and thus common to many things. And quantity is ontologically posterior to the subject in which it inheres.¹³⁸ Vital also advances a more specific argument: quantitative matter is the subject of change; it basically remains the same in number when, for instance, air undergoes corruption and fire is generated. So if quantity were the principle of individuation, air and fire would be numerically identical.¹³⁹ This, I believe, is a very bad argument and it demonstrates a complete misunderstanding of the opponent's position. People who hold that quantity is the principle of individuation are not bound to hold that quantity or quantitative matter is the principle of identity (and persistence). Indeed, for many of them, form is the principle that accounts for identity and persistence over time, yet the individuation of these forms is due to their (initial) occurrence in matter. Vital's positive account of individuation is very similar to Henry of Ghent's. Essences are not individuated by the addition of another thing. Such a thing could only be an accident or a substance, but both alternatives lead to serious trouble. Essences are nevertheless not individuated by themselves, however; they are individuated insofar as they exist in actuality. Existence is therefore the principle of individuation.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁵ Peter Sutton (?), *Quodlibet* I, q. 18, ed. Etzkorn, pp. 86–8.

¹³⁶ For the date see the preface to Delorme's edition, *Vitalis de Furno Quodlibeta tria*, ed. F.M. Delorme (Rome 1947), and Piron's chapter in volume I, p. 409.

¹³⁷ Vital du Four, *Quodlibet* I, q. 9, ed. Delorme, p. 20.

¹³⁸ Vital du Four, *Quodlibet* I, q. 9, ed. Delorme, p. 20.

¹³⁹ Vital du Four, *Quodlibet* I, q. 9, ed. Delorme, p. 21.

¹⁴⁰ Vital du Four, *Quodlibet* I, q. 9, ed. Delorme, p. 21. For Vital there is obviously no

There is a way that Vital's account of individuation can be read as a direct criticism of Godfrey's—although it is unclear whether he actually knew of Godfrey's relevant quodlibetal questions. On the one hand, individuation is for Vital (as for Henry) primarily about individuation of forms or essences (and not of the individual objects); on the other, and more important, Vital draws a distinction between individuation and multiplication. The individuality of essences is one thing, the explanation why there are many individuals under a species is another. For Godfrey, as we saw, both aspects belong together, but for Vital multiplication demands a different account. He seems to take it as an irreducible fact that species allow for degrees among their members. In this sense there are five causes for the multiplicity of material individuals: the difference between the degrees, actual existence (as the principle of individuation), the principles of the individual (presumably the four causes), the conjunction of these principles, and quantity as merely a *sine qua non* cause. The causes of the multiplicity of immaterial substances are only four, the five causes mentioned minus quantity.¹⁴¹ To refer to quantity (and presumably also to quantitative matter) as *sine qua non* cause (as opposed to a real cause) seems to have been common among some Franciscan authors and reminds one of Roger Marston.

The Dominicans Richard Knapwell, Thomas of Sutton, and John of Paris

As it was common for Franciscan authors to reject accounts of individuation that stress the role of matter or quantity, so it was common for Dominican authors to defend the role of matter or quantity in individuation, the view associated with Thomas Aquinas. Compared with Richard Knapwell's fervent advocacy of Aquinas' teaching on individuation in his *Correctorium* against William de la Mare, Richard's *Quodlibet* is somewhat disappointing. In question 16 of the *Quodlibet* (Oxford, ca. 1284/85),¹⁴² Richard discusses the problem "Whether there are many angels belonging to one species." He denies this; because they

real distinction between existence and essence. Like Henry of Ghent, he believes that the defenders of the real distinction are unable to give a proper account of creation and generation.

¹⁴¹ Vital du Four, *Quodlibet* I, q. 9, ed. Delorme, pp. 21–2.

¹⁴² For the date see T. Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, 4 vols. (Rome 1970–1993), vol. III, pp. 306–7, and Friedman's chapter in this volume. The *Quodlibet* is only preserved in one manuscript, Cambridge, Peterhouse 128 (ff. 112r–119v).

lack matter, angels differ from each other only as one species differs from another, that is, by specific differences or, to use Richard's term, by degrees of nature (*gradus naturae*). Richard is not at all concerned here with the individuation of material substances, and thus he does not explain why matter is otherwise capable of individuating objects that have matter. Most of his response deals with disproving the theory that angels have something like spiritual matter (which might then be capable of accounting for their individuality).¹⁴³

Thomas of Sutton, another English Dominican, spent considerably more effort in discussing quodlibetal questions on individuation. The exact chronology of Sutton's *Quodlibeta* is difficult to determine and the proposed dates range from 1284–87 (*Quodlibeta* I–IV) to 1295–1305 (*Quodlibeta* I–II) and after 1311 (*Quodlibeta* III–IV).¹⁴⁴ From the perspective of the theory of individuation, the earlier dates are impossible and Johannes Schneider's hypothesis of ca. 1293 for I–II and ca. 1300 for III–IV is most plausible. *Quodlibet* III briefly refers to Duns Scotus' teaching on individuation, a fact that speaks in favor of a date after 1300. In the questions regarding individuation in *Quodlibet* I, Scotus' influence is completely absent, but this does not necessarily mean that this *Quodlibet* was disputed many years earlier. It is plausible to assume that already by the time of his first *Quodlibet* Sutton knew of Godfrey's quodlibetal questions on individuation. This would point to a date after 1291.¹⁴⁵

Thomas of Sutton's *Quodlibeta* argue strongly in favor of the individuation-by-accident view. According to Sutton, there is confusion about the exact meaning of individuation and the principle or cause of individuation, and once this confusion has been lifted the correct account of individuation becomes clear. This is how Sutton begins his reply in question 21 of *Quodlibet* I:

When it is asked "What is the cause of individuation of material substances?" the question asked is this: "What is the cause of its incommunicability (*causa incommunicabilitatis*) or its being contracted under an ultimate species (*contractionis sub specie specialissima*) so that it is predicated of one thing alone and not of many?" Therefore to ask "What is the

¹⁴³ See Cambridge, Peterhouse Library 128, f. 116vf. See *Correctorium Corruptorii "Quare,"* art. 8 and art. 11, ed. Glorieux.

¹⁴⁴ For these dates see the preface (pp. XIXff) of the edition: Thomas von Sutton, *Quodlibeta*, eds. M. Schmaus and M. González-Haba (Munich 1969).

¹⁴⁵ See Schneider's preface in Thomas von Sutton, *Quaestiones ordinariae*, ed. J. Schneider (Munich 1977), pp. 45*–51*, and Friedman's chapter below.

cause of individuation?" is different from asking "What is the cause of an individual?" An individual substance has all four causes, namely a material, a formal, a final, and an efficient cause. But not all of these causes are causes of individuation, i.e., of the incommunicability or limitation under an ultimate species.¹⁴⁶

No doubt this remark is directed against some of the theories proposed by Franciscan authors and also against the more conciliatory accounts of Godfrey of Fontaines and James of Viterbo. These authors seem to confuse causes and principles of individuation with causes and principles of individuals. However, it is very unlikely that those criticized would have been moved by Sutton's remark. First, if the problem of individuation is really the problem of the limitation and contraction of what is contained in a species, then this presupposes the existence of something that can be limited or contracted, namely a common form.¹⁴⁷ Some of the criticized authors reject this kind of common form (for example Roger Marston). Second, someone might deny that Sutton's use of the term "individuation" is correct. Everything that exists is an individual, so individuation seems to be what makes all things exist as individuals. From this point of view it is not unreasonable to run together the causes of existence with the causes of individuality.

Given this specific understanding of individuation as rendering something incommunicable, Sutton singles out quantity, or rather dimensional quantity (*quantitas dimensiva*), as the "fundamental principle of individuation" (*radicale principium individuationis*) of material substances. Dimensional (or continuous) quantity has the peculiarity that its parts are of exactly the same kind as that of which they are parts. Parts of lines are still lines etc., and this is the kind of divisibility that is also needed in the individuation of different members of the same species.¹⁴⁸ On Sutton's picture quantity first informs matter and thereby individuates matter; forms are then contracted by being received in such individuated matter. Someone could say that material substances are individuated by matter, but because the individuality of matter is further reducible to

¹⁴⁶ Thomas of Sutton, *Quodlibet* I, q. 21, ed. Schmaus-González-Haba, pp. 138–9. Cf. also *ibid.*, pp. 144–5. The title of the question Sutton discusses is "Whether the principle of the individuation of a substance is a substantial property that by nature precedes every accident."

¹⁴⁷ As a consequence Thomas of Sutton says that forms (at least the forms of material objects) are by themselves common or universal. See, e.g., the text quoted below in n. 149.

¹⁴⁸ Thomas of Sutton, *Quodlibet* I, q. 21, ed. Schmaus-González-Haba, p. 141.

something else, this something else, namely quantity, is fundamentally (*radicaliter*) responsible for individuation.¹⁴⁹

As one can see, Sutton's account of individuation entails two well-known but controversial claims: (1) Quantity is capable of individuating material substances because it is self-individuating. Authors such as James of Viterbo would deny this.¹⁵⁰ (2) The principle of individuation is an accident. Sutton makes no effort to hide this fact, even emphasizing that only dimensional quantity and nothing from the other categories is capable of distinguishing one individual of a species from all the others.¹⁵¹ He admits that the doctrine of individuation he has laid out is controversial and might not appeal to many. Opponents would rather like to say that material substances are individuated by themselves and not by accidents.¹⁵² But such opponents confuse causes of individuals with causes of individuation.

In the remainder of the reply, Sutton tries to make his account more attractive by answering obvious objections. One of these objections derives from the nature of substantial generation. Substance has a priority with regard to accidents such as quantity, because substance is the endpoint of generation. Sutton grants this, but he also alludes to Averroes' doctrine of indeterminate dimensions and points out that, before this process of generation comes to an end, there is quantity in the matter in which this generation takes place.¹⁵³ Sutton also wants to make clear that his account of individuation does not deny that two substances have their own individual substantiality. My individual substantiality is something that distinguishes me from other human beings

¹⁴⁹ See Thomas of Sutton, *Quodlibet* I, q. 21, ed. Schmaus-González-Haba, p. 142: "Materia enim existens sub una quantitate est eiusdem rationis cum materia existens sub alia quantitate. Quia igitur per quantitatem habet distinctionem huiusmodi partium, ideo per quantitatem habet individuationem. Forma autem materialis, quae communis est quantum est de se, contrahitur per hoc quod recipitur in materia determinata. Et sic individuatur et distinguitur per materiam illam ab omni alia forma eiusdem speciei. Et sic relinquitur tota substantia composita individuata radicaliter per quantitatem."

¹⁵⁰ Thomas of Sutton, *Quodlibet* I, q. 21, ed. Schmaus-González-Haba, p. 143: "Sola quantitas in rebus materialibus per se individuatur." For dimensional quantity as self-individuating see also *Quodlibet* II, q. 6, ed. Schmaus-González-Haba pp. 211ff.

¹⁵¹ Thomas of Sutton, *Quodlibet* I, q. 21, ed. Schmaus-González-Haba, p. 140: "Illud autem, per quod distinguitur per se et primo unum individuum ab alio eiusdem speciei, est quantitas dimensiva et nihil de genere substantiae nec de aliquo genere alio quam de genere quantitatis."

¹⁵² Thomas of Sutton, *Quodlibet* I, q. 21, ed. Schmaus-González-Haba, p. 143: "Verum est quod ista positio multis non placet, sed dicunt quod substantia materialis per se ipsam individuatur et non per aliquod accidens."

¹⁵³ Thomas of Sutton, *Quodlibet* I, q. 21, ed. Schmaus-González-Haba, pp. 145–6.

or other substances in general. From this, however, it does not follow that my substantiality or substantiality in general is a first principle of individuation. To be sure, it is a principle of individuation; some of my accidental features are individuated by the fact that they belong to me. But individual substantiality is derivative, for it could never exist in the first place had there not been quantified matter. In this sense dimensional quantity is the *first* cause of individuation.¹⁵⁴

Thomas of Sutton is quite explicit about the fact that this theory of individuation only applies to material beings. But this is no disadvantage; immaterial substances such as angels don't have to be individuated. Individuation as understood by Sutton is what makes species incommunicable. But in the case of immaterial substances there can only be one substance for each species. These species are already incommunicable. There are individual immaterial substances, but there is no room or need for their individuation.¹⁵⁵

Later in his career, in *Quodlibet* III, q. 21 ("Whether a thing belonging to a material nature has in itself something by which it is individuated"), Thomas of Sutton is once again presented with the occasion to discuss individuation. This later treatment repeats many of the points made in his earlier *Quodlibet*. But there is one noteworthy addition: using language recalling Godfrey of Fontaines,¹⁵⁶ Sutton now describes the role of quantity more precisely as disposing matter in a certain way. Quantity individuates "dispositively" (*dispositive*):

Quantity is not an intrinsic constitutive principle of the individual, but it is a disposition through which matter and form happen to become by virtue of an agent constitutive principles of an individual. For quantity does not belong to the intrinsic nature of an individual substance in the way that the specific difference belongs to the intrinsic nature of the species. But dispositively (*dispositive*) through quantity matter and form have parts of the same kind... But matter cannot be made divisible in parts of the same kind if it is not so disposed by dimensional quantity.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁴ Thomas of Sutton, *Quodlibet* I, q. 21, ed. Schmaus-González-Haba, pp. 148–9: "Et videte, non nego in substantiis esse proprietatem substantialem vel substantialitatem propriam individualement... Istam substantialitatem individualement non nego, sed nego eam esse primum principium individuationis. Istam enim substantialitatem individualement agens non posset producere, nisi esset materia quanta, in qua produceretur. Et ideo materia quanta est principium et causa individuationis illius substantialitatis. Materia etiam est individuata per quantitatem, quantitas autem non per aliquid aliud. Et ideo prima causa individuationis est quantitas dimensiona."

¹⁵⁵ Thomas of Sutton, *Quodlibet* I, q. 21, ed. Schmaus-González-Haba, p. 150.

¹⁵⁶ And of course of Thomas Aquinas; see above p. 47.

¹⁵⁷ Thomas of Sutton, *Quodlibet* III, q. 21, ed. Schmaus-González-Haba, p. 471.

So to a certain extent Sutton is willing to agree with those who call matter a principle of individuation. This is true, but only insofar as matter here means a special kind of matter, namely matter disposed by quantity. The priority of quantity is not given up.

There is another important addition in the later *Quodlibet*. Sutton here explicitly engages with the rival theories of Henry of Ghent and John Duns Scotus. Sutton advances two arguments against Henry's view that individuation is caused by a double negation. First, this idea is hardly able to explain individuation unless we are further told what brings about this double negation in individuals. For Sutton, "it is the same to ask what is the cause of the individuation of a substance and to ask what is the cause by which the two negations [i.e., the negation of intrinsic divisibility and the negation of extrinsic identity] apply to a substance." Henry's solution is more a game with words than a substantial account of individuation. Second, if Henry's account were a substantial explanation of individuation, it would be false. Two individuals under one species are two positive beings. So it seems to follow that what contracts the species to this or that individual must equally be something positive.¹⁵⁸ As was said earlier, this popular argument against Henry hardly seems fair in light of Henry's attempt to provide a positive account of individuation as well.¹⁵⁹

More interesting is Sutton's criticism of Duns Scotus. After mentioning the shortcomings of Henry's doctrine, Sutton continues:

Because of that, some say that the cause of individuation is something positive, but that it is neither matter, nor form, nor the whole substance, nor quantity, nor some accident, but that it is a unity and entity distinct from every other entity of the same species. And this unity or entity is not known to us through some operation... And so, what the cause of individuation is cannot be explained other than by means of circumlocution. For it is not known to us in particular, but in general we conclude by reason that there is such a unity or entity in an individual in the same way as there is in a species a difference contracting a genus.¹⁶⁰

The passage can equally apply to the various treatments Scotus devotes to the principle of individuation. In all of these, Scotus first provides a

¹⁵⁸ Thomas of Sutton, *Quodlibet* III, q. 21, ed. Schmaus-González-Haba, pp. 472–3.

¹⁵⁹ See above p. 42. Sutton also refers to Henry in *Quodlibet* I, q. 21. But there he only mentions him with respect to the individuation of angels. See *ibid.*, ed. Schmaus-González-Haba, p. 149.

¹⁶⁰ Thomas of Sutton, *Quodlibet* III, q. 21, ed. Schmaus-González-Haba, p. 473.

critical overview of the accounts of his predecessors and contemporaries (refuting the candidates named in the quotation), and on all occasions he remarks in his own positive account that only “by comparison and analogy” can one explain what the positive feature responsible for individuation actually is.¹⁶¹ Sutton rejects Scotus’ idea that a special individual difference (to which Scotus refers by expressions such as *forma individualis*, *entitas*, *realitas*, *gradus individualis*, or even *haecceitas*),¹⁶² which is supposed to be different from the items mentioned in the quotation above, can be responsible for individuation. If there really is such a special item, then it must fall under one of the ten categories, i.e., it must be either a substance or one of the accidents. For every real extra-mental being belongs to one of the categories. But if the individual difference is neither a substance nor an accident, yet still something positive added to the nature, then this leads to a contradiction.¹⁶³ As we can see, his reply to Scotus forces Sutton once again to embrace fully the view that the principle of individuation is a real accident, namely quantity. Yet he is prepared to defend this position against the obvious objections and primarily against those that Scotus himself has formulated. Consequently, the remainder of *Quodlibet* III, q. 21, assembles several objections (seventeen altogether) from Scotus’ *Lectura* to which Sutton then responds.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ John Duns Scotus, *Lectura* II, d. 3, p. 1, qq. 1–6, ed. C. Balić et al., *Opera omnia* XVIII (Vatican City 1982), pp. 229–92; *Ordinatio* II, d. 3, p. 1, qq. 1–6, ed. Balić et al., pp. 391–516; *Reportatio Parisiensis* II, d. 12, qq. 3–8, ed. J. Vivès, *Opera omnia* XXIII (Paris 1894), pp. 20–41; *Quaestiones super libros Metaphysicorum Aristotelis* VII, q. 13, ed. G. Etzkorn et al., *Opera philosophica* IV (St Bonaventure, NY 1997), pp. 215–80. For the impossibility of giving a straightforward account of the individuation feature, see, e.g., *Lectura* II, d. 3, p. 1, q. 6, ed. Balić et al., pp. 281–2, n. 169: “Et quid est illud positivum quod sic ponitur, per quod natura specifica individuatur? Quid autem hoc sit, declaratur per comparisonem et similitudinem ad differentiam specificam, iuxta cuius similitudinem apparet quid sit differentia individualis.”

¹⁶² The literature on Scotus’ account of individuation is vast. For more recent discussions see S.D. Dumont, “The Question on Individuation in Scotus’s ‘Quaestiones super Metaphysicam’,” in *Via Scoti. Methodologica ad mentem Joannis Duns Scoti. Atti del Congresso Scotistico Internazionale, Roma 9–11 marzo 1993*, L. Sileo, ed. (Rome 1995), vol. I, pp. 193–227; P. King, “Duns Scotus on the Common Nature and the Individual Difference,” *Philosophical Topics* 20 (1992), pp. 51–76; idem, “Duns Scotus on Singular Essences,” *Medioevo* 30 (2005), pp. 111–37; G. Pini, “Scotus on Individuation,” *Proceedings of the Society for Medieval Logic and Metaphysics* [http://www.fordham.edu/gsas/phil/klima/SMLM/PSMLM5/PSMLM5.pdf] 5 (2005), pp. 50–69.

¹⁶³ Thomas of Sutton, *Quodlibet* III, q. 21, ed. Schmaus-González-Haba, pp. 473–4. Sutton also mentions two other arguments, and all of them are founded on the premise that there is nothing existing that does not fall under one of the categories.

¹⁶⁴ Sutton even follows Scotus’ habit of classifying the arguments against the individuation-by-accident view in different groups. Sutton’s classification has arguments

Compared with Thomas of Sutton's *Quodlibet* III, John of Paris' quodlibetal disputation on individuation seems less up-to-date. I follow Johannes Müller's suggestion in considering the ten questions edited by Ambrose J. Heiman as only an incomplete version of John's *Quodlibet*, which John most likely disputed in 1304/05, the year he was *magister actu regens* at Paris.¹⁶⁵ Müller himself edited two questions that might well have been part of John's original disputation. The literary form of these additional questions definitely points to an oral presentation.¹⁶⁶

Like many of his contemporaries, John surveys the traditional list of candidates for the principle of individuation. He starts by mentioning authorities for the view that individuation is caused by accidents and, after raising two (standard) objections, he turns to the doctrine that individuation occurs by means of matter. After objecting to this view, he moves on to the next candidate, quantity, and by the same procedure he also scrutinizes doctrines proposing being or an external agent as individuating principles. At the end, after none of the five mentioned theories remains unchallenged and when we seem to have arrived at a complete impasse, John expresses his favor for the second candidate, matter, because this option seems "more plausible" (*probabilior*) to him.¹⁶⁷

ex ratione unitatis, ex ratione prioritatis substantiae, ex ratione entis per se, and ex ratione ordinis praedicamentalis. I do not have the space here to demonstrate this in detail, but Sutton's text seems to be closer to the (earlier) *Lectura* version of Scotus' *Sentences* commentary. For more discussion of Thomas of Sutton's doctrine of individuation (especially his view on the individuation of angels and human souls), see J. Schneider, "Einleitung," in Thomas von Sutton, *Quaestiones ordinariae*, pp. 140*–63*; G. Klima, "Thomas Sutton on Individuation," *Proceedings of the Society for Medieval Logic and Metaphysics* [<http://www.fordham.edu/gsas/phil/klima/SMLM/PSMLM5/PSMLM5.pdf>] 5 (2005), pp. 70–8. The short q. 5 of Nicholas Trivet's *Quodlibet* II ("Utrum principium individuationis vel unitatis, quod idem est, sit quantitas tamquam prima et per se causa eius?"), disputed in 1304, seems to have been influenced by Thomas of Sutton. Nicholas repeats Sutton's claim that some people confuse the principle of individuation with the principle(s) of individuals and he holds that quantity is the principle of individuation. The question is edited in H. Hauke, *Die Lehre von der beselgenden Schau nach Nikolaus Trivet* (Diss. University of Munich 1967), pp. 31*–8*. For the date of this *Quodlibet*, see Friedman's chapter in this volume, pp. 427–9.

¹⁶⁵ A.J. Heiman, "The First Quodlibet of Jean Quidort," in *Nine Medieval Thinkers. A Collection of Hitherto Unedited Texts*, J.R. O'Donnell, ed. (Toronto 1955), pp. 271–91. For the date of John's *Quodlibet*, see Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi* II, p. 523, and Friedman's chapter in this volume.

¹⁶⁶ J.P. Müller, "Eine Quästion über das Individuationsprinzip des Johannes von Paris O.P. (Quidort)," in *Virtus politica. Festgabe zum 75. Geburtstag von Alfons Hufnagel*, J. Möller and H. Kohlenberger, eds. (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt 1974), pp. 335–56. For Müller's arguments see esp. pp. 335–8.

¹⁶⁷ John of Paris, *Quaestio quodlibetalis de individuatione*, ed. Müller, pp. 348–9: "Videtur

Clearly, John of Paris knows Henry of Ghent's discussion of individuation. This is evident from the way he presents the view that the external agent is the principle of individuation.¹⁶⁸ Godfrey of Fontaines seems to have been another source of inspiration for John, as is clear, for instance, from how John presents the authorities for the individuation-by-accident view.¹⁶⁹ But surprisingly, John does not list substantial form, Godfrey's principle of individuation, among the candidates he discusses.¹⁷⁰ Nor does John mention Scotus' account of individuation, a fact that makes John's discussion more traditional than, for example, Sutton's. Yet there is a striking similarity between John's question and the discussion of individuation in Scotus' *Quaestiones super Metaphysicam*, book VII, q. 13. John's five candidates (accidents, matter, quantity, being, and external agent) for a principle of individuation are identical with the five candidates Scotus lists (and then rejects) at the beginning of question 13. This coincidence, however, should not be overstated, for it could be the case that there is a common, but hitherto unidentified, source for both works.¹⁷¹

Does John's treatment of individuation reflect any influence of Thomas of Sutton? John's critical attitude towards the individuation-by-quality view is, for Müller, directed against Sutton. By itself, and without precise textual support, this is not a very strong argument for a connection between the two Dominican masters. But there are other hints that John might have known Sutton's *Quodlibeta* (at least *Quodlibet* I). John begins his presentation of the individuation-by-matter view, the view he himself will later accept as more plausible, in the following way:

ad praesens opinio secunda recitata superius esse probabilior, scilicet quod materia sit principium individuationis et quantitas principium multiplicationis sub una specie."

¹⁶⁸ John even mentions that defenders of this view chastise the philosophers for turning separate substances into divine beings (*Quaestio quodlibetalis de individuatione*, ed. Müller, pp. 348 and 345)—a clear reference to Henry's *Quodlibet* II, q. 8.

¹⁶⁹ Compare John of Paris, *Quaestio quodlibetalis de individuatione*, ed. Müller, p. 343, with Godfrey of Fontaines, *Quodlibet* VII, q. 5, ed. De Wulf-Hoffmans, pp. 319–20.

¹⁷⁰ He mentions Godfrey's individuation-by-form view in *In I Sententiarum*, q. 91, ed. J.P. Müller (Rome 1961), p. 257.

¹⁷¹ Compare John of Paris, *Quaestio quodlibetalis de individuatione*, ed. Müller, pp. 343–8, with John Duns Scotus, *Quaestiones super libros Metaphysicorum Aristotelis*, lib. VII, q. 13, ed. Etzkorn et al., pp. 215–80. With regard to matter and quantity the order of the two texts is reversed. Although the presentations of the candidates, including the references to authorities, are strikingly similar, there seems to be no overlap between the objections both authors advance against them. The similarities are interesting, because only in the *Quaestiones super Metaphysicam* does Scotus discuss accidents, quantity, matter, being, and external agent in succession.

Therefore other people say that matter is the principle of individuation, but not that it is the principle of multiplication under one species. Thus it [matter] is the principle of individuation, i.e., of the contraction to a supposit or an individual, as the Philosopher says in book V of the *Metaphysics*... And this is clear, because a material form, which does not subsist in itself but in something else, is in itself capable of being common to many things. And therefore it does not seem to be individuated except by that in which it is received, and by that it [the form] also becomes contracted. But matter is of such a kind. For matter receives in it the form and, since it is the first subject, is not received in something else.¹⁷²

As such, this statement sounds unspectacular; yet, if we take it for what it is, namely John's own position and a possible reply to Sutton's claim regarding the confusion between the principles of individuals and the principles of individuation, it takes on a more specific meaning. John turns Sutton's remark on its head: it is not true, as Sutton maintains, that quantity is the principle of individuation, that is, the principle of the individuality of an individual; quantity is merely the principle of the multiplication of many items under one species. The principle of individuation has to be sought among the principles of the individual. For Sutton, to individuate means to render a common form incommunicable and to limit (or contract) it to one single item. But, as John explains in the text quoted above, this limiting role can only be performed by matter. Forms of material objects receive their incommunicability from matter, which is by itself incommunicable. Quantity, to be sure, has a role in the individuation of material objects, but this role is limited to bringing about the multitude of different items and not its individuation.

The third of the three objections that John of Paris initially brought forward against his own view regarding matter as the principle of individuation denies that a distinction between a principle of individuation and a principle of multiplication makes any sense. For contracting a form to one singular item means at the same time distinguishing it from something else. In his reply, John partially agrees with the objection, but to the extent that he now calls matter the principle of both. But, as he explains, it is in different respects that matter causes individuation and distinction from something else of the same species. By its very essence, matter has the capacity to do the first, but only because matter

¹⁷² John of Paris, *Quaestio quodlibetalis de individuatione*, ed. Müller, p. 344.

is itself distinguished by quantity does it have the power to distinguish one member of a species from another.¹⁷³

Another objection follows the lines of Henry of Ghent: how can there be individual immaterial substances if matter is the principle of individuation? If one responds that immaterial substances are by themselves individuals, then this seems to make them into God-like beings. Every essence of a creature is common and in need of being determined to this or that supposit. So there has to be a principle of individuation capable of achieving this. John of Paris responds by rejecting the very idea that every creaturely essence is common. There is a hierarchy of being and those creatures at the top of the hierarchy are not indifferent with regard to existing in many different supposita, which is why only essences and forms of material things need individuation.¹⁷⁴ The remaining objection, one that can also be found among Scotus' arguments against the individuation-by-matter view,¹⁷⁵ argues that matter (as well as form) is by itself common. Rather than being a principle of individuation, it is itself in need of being individuated by something else. Matter, John responds, indeed has some degree of indeterminacy with respect to the many material objects it is capable of constituting. But the indeterminacy of matter is different from that of form. Material forms are in themselves common, for which reason they have to be limited; matter, however, is in itself one and it is only through quantity that matter is divided into many parts. This is why matter does not have to be individuated and why it in turn is capable of individuating forms.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷³ John of Paris, *Quaestio quodlibetalis de individuatione*, ed. Müller, p. 352.

¹⁷⁴ John of Paris, *Quaestio quodlibetalis de individuatione*, ed. Müller, p. 349.

¹⁷⁵ See John Duns Scotus, *Lectura II*, d. 3, p. 1, q. 5, ed. Balić et al., pp. 272–3, n. 133.

¹⁷⁶ John of Paris, *Quaestio quodlibetalis de individuatione*, ed. Müller, p. 351. For more on John of Paris' teaching on individuation, see *In II Sententiarum*, q. 15, ed. J.P. Müller (Rome 1964), pp. 60–71; *Correctorium Corruptorii "Circa,"* ed. J.P. Müller (Rome 1941), art. 10 (11) and 28 (29). In his quodlibetal question John repeats many of the elements of these earlier works, e.g., the distinction between a principle of individuation (matter) and a principle of multiplication (quantity).

The Dominicans Hervaeus Natalis and Henry of Lübeck

Quodlibetal questions on individuation, as we have seen, for the most part follow a traditional pattern. Authors attempt to provide a census of different possible principles of individuation (accidents, matter, quantity, etc.) with respect to which they then position themselves. This model receives new input when Duns Scotus' novel account of individuation, according to which the individuality of individuals is due to an individual difference or "thisness" (*haecceitas*), becomes more widely known. From now on the relevant quodlibetal questions include *haecceitas* as one of the candidates under scrutiny. A good example of this new trend is *Quodlibet* III, q. 9, of Hervaeus Natalis (disputed 1309).¹⁷⁷ In his response to the question "Whether matter is the principle of individuation," Hervaeus presents three rival accounts of individuation. The first theory claims that every individual is individual, and thus distinct from others, on account of its essence. Mark Henninger has, I believe convincingly, shown that Hervaeus here refers to Richard of Menneville's (Middleton's) teaching on individuation.¹⁷⁸ According to one of the four arguments Hervaeus puts forward for this opinion, a thing has its being and its unity from the same principles. But the formal principle of being is the essence. Therefore it must also be the formal principle of its unity or individuality.¹⁷⁹ According to the second account, individuation is due to quantity, while the third opinion, obviously Scotus', traces individuality back to an individual *haecceitas*.

Hervaeus rejects Scotus' account in its entirety. He does not really engage with Scotus' arguments, but instead he oversimplifies Scotus' reasons for positing "thisnesses." For Scotus, according to Hervaeus, matter and form are both common to many, and since nothing individual can result from two common things, there needs be something

¹⁷⁷ For the date of this *Quodlibet* and for a thorough discussion of Hervaeus' teaching on individuation, see M.G. Henninger, "Hervaeus Natalis and Richard of Mediavilla," in *Individuation in Scholasticism*, Gracia, ed., pp. 299–318. On the complex dating of Hervaeus' *Quodlibeta* in general, see Friedman's chapter below.

¹⁷⁸ See Henninger, "Hervaeus Natalis and Richard of Mediavilla," pp. 304–7. Richard develops his own account of individuation mainly in his *Sentences* commentary. See *In II Sententiarum*, d. 3, aa. 3–5 (ed. Brixia 1591), pp. 55–62. Richard's *Quodlibeta* do not contain questions on individuation. See also E. Hocedez, *Richard de Middleton: sa vie, ses œuvres, sa doctrine* (Louvain-Paris 1925), pp. 204–8.

¹⁷⁹ Hervaeus Natalis, *Quodlibet* III, q. 9 (ed. Venice 1513; reprint Ridgewood, NJ 1966), f. 81rb.

else by means of which an individual is individual, namely a *haecceitas*.¹⁸⁰ In his reply, Hervaeus remarks that matter and form are common only *secundum rationem*, but not in extra-mental reality (*secundum rem*), for one and the same existing matter or form (for example, the matter and form that constitute me) is not actually common to many. But if matter and form are common in our understanding (*secundum rationem*), then the same could be said about “thisness.” But if we allow “thisness” to be a particular “thisness,” why should we not also concede the existence of particular (or better: designated) matter and form?¹⁸¹ Moreover, what exactly is this mysterious “thisness”? Is it identical with form or matter? If so, then we would better refer to it as the principle of individuation. If not, then it must be either a substance, or an accident, and so on.¹⁸² We have already encountered this argument in Thomas of Sutton; it was a standard objection to Scotus’ doctrine of individuation.

Hervaeus is less critical with regard to the other two opinions. For him, they both contain “some truth” (*aliquid veritatis*), although they are in themselves not sufficient to explain individuation, namely how it is possible that there can be multiple subjective parts of the same kind (for instance, many members of the species “human being”) distinct from each other. Hervaeus therefore proposes to distinguish between intrinsic and extrinsic causes of individuation. By the first, one object is distinguished from another by what is essential to it, i.e., by its essence. Extrinsic causes, on the other hand, are of four kinds: there are efficient, final, subjective, and dispositive causes. Most important here are the last two, for they are strictly speaking responsible for the numerical plurality of individuals under one species. According to Hervaeus, the subjective cause is ultimately matter and the dispositive cause is quantity.¹⁸³ In this way, it is clear how the two general opinions are both true: one of them accounts for the intrinsic cause of individuation (essence), while the other emphasizes one of the extrinsic causes (quantity). Matter and quantity, the subjective extrinsic and the dispositive extrinsic cause, however, are closely related, for they individuate or multiply themselves mutually.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁰ Hervaeus Natalis, *Quodlibet* III, q. 9, ed. cit., f. 81va–b.

¹⁸¹ Hervaeus Natalis, *Quodlibet* III, q. 9, ed. cit., f. 81vb.

¹⁸² Hervaeus Natalis, *Quodlibet* III, q. 9, ed. cit., f. 81vb.

¹⁸³ Hervaeus Natalis, *Quodlibet* III, q. 9, ed. cit., ff. 81vb–82ra.

¹⁸⁴ See Hervaeus Natalis, *Quodlibet* III, q. 9, ed. cit., f. 82ra: “Mutuo sunt sibi causa pluralitatis, nam pluralitas subiecti est causa subiectiva pluralitatis quantitatis; quantitas autem e converso est causa dispositiva pluralitatis in subiecto, non solum quantum

Hervaeus' account of individuation looks quite familiar. If we drop the distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic causes of individuation and if we replace "essence" with "form," we are back to Godfrey of Fontaines' theory. The way Hervaeus distinguishes between intrinsic and extrinsic causes seems odd indeed. Why is matter or quantity not an intrinsic cause of individuation? Matter seems to be an intrinsic part of material objects. By "extrinsic," as Hervaeus tells us, he here just means what is "essentially different from something else, however much this might be identical with it with regard to their subject."¹⁸⁵ Particular matter is obviously what he has in mind as something extrinsic to the essence, say, of a human being, although particular matter and the essence of human being exist in reality in the same subject, the individual human being. But since the essence of human being includes matter (human beings are essentially enmattered), there is then another kind of matter, so-called common matter, which is part of the essence. But this matter is obviously not the matter Hervaeus refers to as extrinsic subjective cause of individuation.

Hervaeus Natalis has also left us another quodlibetal disputation on exactly the same question, "Whether matter is the principle of individuation," in his *Quodlibet* VIII (q. 11).¹⁸⁶ According to Glorieux, this *Quodlibet* should instead be regarded as the second *Quodlibet* of John of Paris. But with respect to the question on individuation this seems very implausible: (1) The strong defense of quantity as the principle of individuation (and not just multiplication) is at odds with the view expressed in John's works (matter). What is more, the author of the question in *Quodlibet* VIII explicitly denies that matter is the true principle of individuation.¹⁸⁷ (2) There are striking similarities between *Quodlibet* VIII and *Quodlibet* III indicating that both texts were written by the same person. If we follow Ludwig Hödl, Hervaeus disputed *Quodlibet* VIII,

ad hoc quod idem numero dividatur in plura sicut cum dividitur lignum, sed etiam quantum ad hoc quod aliquid idem numero generetur, quia hoc non posset fieri nisi materia existente sub alia parte quantitatis."

¹⁸⁵ Hervaeus Natalis, *Quodlibet* III, q. 9, ed. cit., f. 81vb.

¹⁸⁶ Question 10 (on dimensions of matter and dimensions of quantity) of this *Quodlibet* is also of interest. In it, the author attacks Giles' view that quantity causes dimensions in matter that are not identical with the dimensions of quantity.

¹⁸⁷ See Hervaeus Natalis, *Quodlibet* VIII, q. 11 ad 1, ed. cit., f. 153ra. Here Hervaeus calls quantity the first cause (*prima causa*) of individuation; matter is only a secondary cause (*causa secundaria*).

as well as the other so-called "*Quodlibeta minora*" (i.e., *Quodlibeta* V–X), while he was a bachelor of theology under John of Paris.¹⁸⁸

It makes good sense to see in this other question an earlier presentation of Hervaeus' views on individuation. Some of the traditional candidates for principles of individuation are mentioned and discussed in *Quodlibet* VIII, q. 11, but the text does not (yet) engage with Duns Scotus' view. Both questions start with a definition of *individuum* as what is undivided in itself and divided from others, and following this in both texts there is an almost identical distinction between two kinds of "being undivided in itself," even though this distinction receives a more developed treatment in *Quodlibet* III.¹⁸⁹ It is true that the author of *Quodlibet* VIII is a more outspoken proponent of the individuation-by-quantity view, and he has not yet applied the intrinsic/extrinsic distinction to the principle of individuation, although he mentions the distinction at one point (ad 6). But despite his advocacy for quantity, he too does not regard quantity as the exclusive principle of individuation: "Individuation," he says, "occurs partly by quantity, partly by other things."¹⁹⁰ *Quodlibet* III, q. 9, is, on this picture, a further elaboration of the "other things" (*alia*) on which the earlier *Quodlibet* is relatively silent. Moreover, in both texts we find the author exploring individuation by permanent continuous quantity (spatial dimensions), as well as by successive continuous quantity (time).¹⁹¹

Hervaeus Natalis was an outstanding figure among the Dominicans of his day, a celebrated theologian who was successively provincial (1309) and later (1318) Master General of the order. We might thus expect that his teaching in general and that on individuation in particular had followers. One of these followers was the German Dominican Henry of Lübeck, who disputed his three *Quodlibeta* probably in the Dominican *studium* at Cologne (ca. 1323–25).¹⁹² Today we would accuse Henry of plagiarism; in his first *Quodlibet* (q. 19), he recycles large chunks of

¹⁸⁸ L. Hödl, "Die *Quodlibeta minora* des Hervaeus Natalis O.P.," *Münchener Theologische Zeitschrift* 6 (1955), pp. 215–29; Henninger, "Hervaeus Natalis and Richard of Mediavilla," p. 299; Friedman's chapter below.

¹⁸⁹ Compare Hervaeus' *Quodlibet* III, q. 9, ed. cit., f. 81ra, and *Quodlibet* VIII, q. 11, ed. cit., f. 152vb. On this similarity see Henninger, "Hervaeus Natalis and Richard of Mediavilla," p. 303.

¹⁹⁰ Hervaeus Natalis, *Quodlibet* VIII, q. 11, ed. cit., f. 152va.

¹⁹¹ Compare Hervaeus' *Quodlibet* III, q. 9, ed. cit., f. 82ra–b, and *Quodlibet* VIII, q. 11, ed. cit., f. 152vb.

¹⁹² W. Bucichowski, "Le principe d'individuation dans la question de Henri de Lubeck 'Utrum material sit principium individuationis,'" *MPP* 21 (1975), pp. 89–113. See also Friedman's chapter below.

Hervaeus' *Quodlibet* III, q. 9. Yet Henry also adds other material and thus further emphasizes the somewhat harmonizing tendencies of Hervaeus' original treatment.

According to Henry, there are generally seven ways to reply to the question regarding the principle of individuation. Three answers, answers pointing either to the supposit, to being, or to *haecceitas* as principles of individuation, are all hopelessly wrong, but four other common replies, namely those invoking matter, form, the whole essence, and quantity, contain some truth, although they seem to contradict each other.¹⁹³ Henry's main task is to show why each of these latter candidates can rightly be called a principle of individuation. His strategy is to remind his readers that one can consider an individual in two different ways: (1) insofar as an individual, i.e., an individual substance, is an ultimate subject; (2) insofar as an individual is a member of a certain kind. Matter, form, and the whole essence are related to the first way of looking at individuals. Matter is the principle of individuation with respect to the origin of such an individual as ultimate subject, form is a principle of individuation with respect to its perfection, and essence is the same with respect to completeness. Quantity can be called a principle of individuation because it is linked to the second aspect of individuality (of material objects), for quantity is primarily responsible for multiplication under one species.¹⁹⁴ In particular, the reasons with which Henry argues for the role of essence and quantity are taken verbatim from Hervaeus' *Quodlibet* III.

Why does Henry appeal to the twofold consideration of the individual? This element of his response has no equivalent in Hervaeus' texts. The reason, I believe, lies in the uneasiness Henry felt with Hervaeus' move to make matter and especially quantity a merely extrinsic principle of individuation. In the case of matter, Henry simply does not follow his source; matter is for Henry clearly an intrinsic principle of individuation. But with regard to quantity, the twofold consideration of the individual is somewhat applicable. For if we consider an individual as it is an individual substance and ultimate subject, quantity is indeed something extrinsic. It is an accident inhering in a subject. But if we look at an individual insofar as it is one of many members of a

¹⁹³ Henry of Lübeck, *Quodlibet* I, q. 9, ed. Bucichowski, pp. 105–8. The arguments against *haecceitas* are, for instance, taken verbatim from Hervaeus.

¹⁹⁴ Henry of Lübeck, *Quodlibet* I, q. 9, ed. Bucichowski, p. 109.

species, then quantity is an intrinsic principle, because quantity is the principle of number.¹⁹⁵

John of Naples, OP

People often regard the quest for a principle of individuation and metaphysical realism as two sides of the same coin. If one believes in the existence of universal forms or essences, the existence of individuals becomes problematic and requires an explanation, so the one cannot be without the other. From this perspective it is natural to expect authors rejecting realism also to dismiss the very idea of looking for a principle of individuation. This is exactly what we find Peter Auriol doing in his commentary on the *Sentences*:

When we talk about reality, there is no real question when one asks, “what does the individual add to the content of the species?” For each thing is by the fact that it exists singular and what is indifferent and common is merely something understood by the mind. Therefore, to look for something by which an extramental object is singular is to look for nothing. This would be like asking whether there is some universal extramental thing and whether there is something joining this thing by which it is made particular. But this is nothing, because each thing is by the fact itself that it is an existing thing (and not a concept) a singular thing. Thus when it is asked “through what is a thing a singular thing?” I answer: each thing is through itself singular, and through nothing else but through itself.¹⁹⁶

In this quotation, the principle of individuation is described as that which added to the species produces a singular. Since in reality no

¹⁹⁵ Henry of Lübeck, *Quodlibet* I, q. 9, ed. Bucichowski, p. 110: “Licet ergo sic loquendo de individuo ipsum individuatur per materiam et formam et totam suam essentiam intrinsece, tamen nihil prohibet, quin quantitas faciat ad individuationem extrinsece. Sed loquendo de individuo secundo modo, prout videlicet est pars alicuius multitudinis habentis partes eiusdem rationis, sic necessarium est dicere quod quantitas sit principium individuationis intrinsecum.” Reconciliatory treatments of individuation, like Henry’s, seem to have been popular among 14th-century theologians. Another, somewhat different, example is Gerard Odonis’ discussion of individuation in books II and III of his commentary on the *Sentences*. See de Rijk, “Giraldus Odonis, Godfrey of Fontaines, and Peter Auriol on the Principle of Individuation.”

¹⁹⁶ Peter Auriol, *Commentarium in secundum librum Sententiarum*, d. 9, q. 3, a. 3 (ed. Rome 1605), f. 114a. For Auriol’s views on the principle of individuation, see P. Duhem, *Le système du monde: Histoire des doctrines cosmologiques de Platon à Copernic* VI (Paris 1956), pp. 397ff; R. Dreiling, *Der Konzeptualismus in der Universalienlehre des Franziskanerbischofs Petrus Aurioli (Pierre d’Auriol)* (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters, 11.6) (Münster 1913), pp. 159–70.

universal exists outside the mind, there is in consequence no addition to anything and no need for a principle of individuation. Everything is by itself a singular or individual. The whole problem of individuation seems to derive from an incorrect understanding of metaphysical reality.

Auriol's criticism is targeted at authors such as Henry of Ghent or Thomas of Sutton who are no doubt realists and conceive of individuation primarily as a mechanism for the limitation and contraction of existing universal forms or essences. But one lesson we have learned thus far from the present survey of the debate about the principle of individuation is that one does not have to be a realist in order to be interested in individuation. Some of the authors discussed here, Roger Marston for example, do not consider the problem of individuation to be the problem of individuation of common forms. These authors emphasize the fact that everything that exists is an individual, but nevertheless they are eager to explain what is primarily responsible for the individuality of an individual. If we keep this in mind, then William of Ockham's alleged dismissal of the inquiry into the principle of individuation emerges in a different light. At one point in his discussion of universals Ockham writes:

We do not have to search for some cause of individuation besides perhaps the extrinsic causes of an individual and the intrinsic causes, if the individual is a composite. But rather we have to search for a cause for how it is possible that there is something common and universal.¹⁹⁷

There is more need to inquire into the causes of universals, because none of the objects surrounding us is a universal. The very nature of universal seems to be unclear. Individuals are less mysterious and thus an inquiry into their causes is less pressing. This does not mean that looking for causes of individuals is absolutely speaking futile, however, and Ockham does not say this at all. He rather refers us to the intrinsic and extrinsic causes of individuals as the causes of their individuality. Ockham would definitely agree with Auriol's rejection of a principle capable of individuating universal forms, but there is a different way to think about individuation, and this way is in Ockham's eyes apparently not discredited by realism. Indeed this particular understanding of individuation seems to be neutral with respect to whether someone is a realist or a nominalist.

¹⁹⁷ William of Ockham, *Ordinatio* I, d. 2, q. 6, eds. G. Gál and S.F. Brown, *Opera theologica* II (St Bonaventure, NY 1970), p. 197.

Ockham's remark is less original than it looks at first sight. A similar passage can be found in the *Quodlibeta* of the Dominican John of Naples. As far as we know, John disputed his *Quodlibet* VII in the academic year 1316–17 while he was regent master at Paris. Question 6 of this *Quodlibet* deals with the rather peculiar question “Whether it is numerically the same human being as before if the soul of Peter is united to the matter of Paul or to that of a stone.” Large parts of John's reply treat numerical unity or individuality and provide him with an occasion to incorporate (and develop) material from an earlier *Quodlibet* (III, q. 5), which he presumably discussed while he was still a bachelor.¹⁹⁸ However, if the dating of the *Quodlibeta* is correct, then John of Naples predates Ockham's Oxford lectures on the *Sentences* (1317–19).

With regard to the strategy followed in the two quodlibetal questions, John is obviously influenced by Hervaeus Natalis, James of Viterbo, and John of Paris.¹⁹⁹ He introduces four candidates for a principle of individuation (matter, form, quantity, agent) and puts forward in each case a whole series of counter-arguments, followed by a solution showing that all candidates are genuine principles of individuation. In the main part of the solution to the question of individuation, John emphasizes the singularity of real objects and then concludes from this that universality is something secondary:

A real being (*ens reale*) of any kind does not have of itself universality, but only through something else. Therefore it has its individuation from itself or from its real entity (*ex sua entitate reali*) and not from something else except from that by which it has its real entity... So nothing is the cause of individuation or numerical unity except what is a cause and in the way it is a cause of the real entity. For each thing... has its individuation and its numerical unity from its entity and from its reality, but it has its universality from something else, namely from the fact of being perceived by the intellect. Therefore, as was already said, it is futile (*frustra*) to ask “What is the principle and cause of individuation?” But one should rather ask “What is the principle of universality?”²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁸ John of Naples, *Quodlibet* III, q. 5, asks more directly “What is the principle of individuation?” For the dating see Glorieux II, p. 159, and Friedman's chapter below. The two questions are edited in P.T. Stella, “Zwei unedierte Artikel des Johannes von Neapel über das Individuationsprinzip,” *Divus Thomas (Freiburg)* 29 (1951), pp. 129–66.

¹⁹⁹ Hervaeus and James are even mentioned by name at the end of *Quodlibet* III, q. 5. See *ibid.*, ed. Stella, p. 156. John Duns Scotus' teaching is remarkably absent in both questions.

²⁰⁰ John of Naples, *Quodlibet* VII, q. 6, ed. Stella, p. 162; see *Quodlibet* III, q. 5, ed. Stella, p. 154.

Yet, although John considers it absolutely clear that everything existing is an individual, there is still a way we can ask for the causes of the individuality of an individual, namely for the causes of the existence of an individual. Exactly like Ockham, he has here in mind the intrinsic and extrinsic causes of a thing. This finally allows John to explain why matter as well as form, quantity, and the agent are principles of individuation. They are, because they contribute differently to the existence of the individual. Matter and form are intrinsic, the agent and quantity are extrinsic causes.²⁰¹

Conclusion

Some readers might be puzzled by this overview and what looks like a lack of progress in the medieval discussion on the principle of individuation. Why isn't there in the end, after so much debate, one single solution medieval philosophers settled on? Although this wish is fair-minded, it misses the real significance of the debate: accounts of individuation are deeply rooted in some other basic metaphysical claims, such as those about the very nature of hylomorphism, the understanding of essences, the nature of the categories, and so on. The debate over individuation is really just the tip of an iceberg and a result of the fundamentally different ontological conceptions of their key players. Take for example the view that the individuation of material objects is (at least partly) due to quantity. This view is only acceptable to someone having a certain understanding of hylomorphic composition. How all these metaphysical views hang together exactly is a matter for further inquiry. Here I have only managed to indicate some of them. There is no reason to despair in the face of the persisting disagreement. The debates had an important effect; they forced proponents to strengthen their respective doctrines as a reaction to contemporary criticism. Without the preceding debate John Duns Scotus, to name just one example, would hardly have been able to develop his very famous account of individuation. So in this sense there is progress.

But let me end on a more positive note: there are some conclusions that we can draw from our overview: (1) Many of the questions on individuation follow a similar model. To understand this will help to

²⁰¹ John of Naples, *Quodlibet* VII, q. 6, ed. Stella, p. 163.

better evaluate, for example, Duns Scotus' contribution. It is often seen as a distinctive feature of Scotus to have attempted a comprehensive and thorough review of existing positions.²⁰² From the overview we gather that Scotus actually follows (and develops) a well-known model. (2) I have often referred loosely to the "Aristotelian" or the "Thomistic" account of individuation, an account that stresses the role of matter or better, designated matter, in individuation—this was deliberate. Many of the figures in the survey make obvious attempts to defend Aquinas' teaching on individuation, and many have no doubts that their own understanding of individuation is identical with Aristotle's. But we can see that it is not even clear what exactly these generic (i.e., the "Thomist" or the "Aristotelian") accounts of individuation are. Among so-called early Thomists there are people (like John of Paris) who believe that matter and not quantity is the principle of individuation, while other so-called Thomists (e.g., Hervaeus Natalis) hold exactly the opposite. Compared with the Franciscan authors, for whom matter is merely a *sine qua non* cause of individuation, these authors definitely form one group. But within this group there was considerable room for disagreement. (3) It has emerged from the survey that there are two main conceptions of individuation: individuation in the strict sense as limitation or contraction of common forms or essences, and individuation in the broad sense as what accounts for the individuality of individuals. The first understanding of individuation is by no means the more widespread. Yet the fact that it comes under massive attack by nominalist philosophers at the beginning of the fourteenth century might explain why quodlibetal questions on individuation are less frequent in the years after 1320. If existence and being an individual are the same, then, as we have seen, the principles of the individuality of an individual are simply the principles of existence of that individual. This makes it less pressing to ask about the principles of individuation in the first place, because such a question no longer has a specific target.

²⁰² See, e.g., T. Noone, "Scotus's Critique of the Thomistic Theory of Individuation and the Dating of the *Quaestiones in libros Metaphysicorum*," in *Via Scoti*, Sileo, ed., vol. I, pp. 391–406, esp. p. 394.

THE *QUODLIBETA* OF PETER OF AUVERGNE

Chris Schabel*

The scholars of the generations of secular masters of theology that succeeded Henry of Ghent and Godfrey of Fontaines at the University of Paris were not of the same stature. Nevertheless, several left written *quodlibeta*, including those recorded in the compilations of Nicholas of Bar and Prosper of Reggio Emilia, other fragmentary collections of *quodlibeta* or those contained in single witnesses—notably by John Lesage and Francis Caracciolo—and, most significantly, the back-to-back *quodlibeta* of a succession of important secular masters dating sequentially from 1296 to 1316: Peter of Auvergne (1296–1301), Thomas of Bailly (1301–06), John of Pouilly (1307–12), and Thomas Wylton (master from ca. 1312, *Quodlibet* from 1315 or 1316). Thomas of Bailly's six efforts from the academic years 1301–02 to 1306–07 have been critically edited by Glorieux himself. Since they are readily available, they will not be treated here. In contrast, the *quodlibeta* of the more influential scholars Peter of Auvergne, John of Pouilly, and Thomas Wylton circulated more widely and had a greater impact on contemporary Parisian theology, yet they are for the most part unedited, except for the piecemeal publication of Wylton's questions. Thus they each receive separate attention in this volume.¹ This chapter concerns Peter of Auvergne's six *Quodlibeta* and

* I wish to thank the following for manuscripts, information, and other materials: the libraries themselves, the Thomas-Institut in Cologne, the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, the Institute de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Stephen F. Brown, Stephen D. Dumont, Christoph Flüeler, Russell L. Friedman, Griet Galle, Marek Gensler, Thomas Jeschke, Martin Pickavé, and Marco Toste.

¹ Besides the edition of Bailly's *Quodlibeta* in *Thomas de Bailly. Quodlibets*, ed. P. Glorieux (Textes philosophiques du Moyen Age, 9) (Paris 1960), Glorieux also edited Lesage's in *Jacques de Thérines Quodlibets I et II. Jean Lesage Quodlibet I*, ed. P. Glorieux (Textes philosophiques du Moyen Age, 7) (Paris 1958), pp. 327–50. For Pouilly and Wylton, see the chapters by L. Hödl and C. Trifogli, respectively, below. On Nicholas' collection, see S. Piron's chapter in this volume. Prosper's collection in BAV, Vat. lat. 1086, which W.J. Courtenay discusses in a chapter in this volume, includes summaries of quodlibetal questions by the secular masters Alain Gontier, Henry Amandi, and Radulphus Brito. Glorieux's Anonymous XIX, XXI, and XXII (Glorieux II, pp. 299–301), from BAV, Vat. lat. 932, have been dated ca. 1310 and assigned to Francis Caracciolo, the latter

will focus on basic issues, rather than doctrine. Its aim is to facilitate and encourage further editing work.

The Dating, Composition, and Contents of Peter of Auvergne's Quodlibeta

Peter of Auvergne had been a rather prolific and influential Parisian arts master for a quarter of a century before he took over one of the chairs in theology reserved for canons of Notre-Dame as a secular master in 1296. His numerous Aristotelian commentaries have long drawn the attention of historians of virtually every aspect of medieval philosophy. Perhaps the sheer number of his surviving works has obscured the importance of what is—besides a small fragment of his *Sentences* commentary²—his only surviving theological work, his *Quodlibeta*, although attention to these last has not been completely lacking.³ Nevertheless, they deserve more, since the *Quodlibeta* circulated widely and are among the last things he wrote in his long career. Indeed, since *Quodlibeta* by nature can touch on just about any subject, Peter of Auvergne's forays into the genre offer historians of medieval thought not only his theological opinions on a wide spectrum of issues, but also his final say on a great variety of topics that he had already treated in his Aristotelian commentaries. Anyone interested in his earlier opinions should there-

two being his *Quodlibeta* V and VI respectively. Since late in life Francis joined the Dominicans, R.L. Friedman claims him for the Friars Preacher in his chapter below. One might also mention that five brief quodlibetal questions attributed to Henry of Harclay, a fragment of a larger group, are on one folio (96v–97v) of BAV, Borghese 36 (Glorieux II, pp. 133–4), while the five questions that Glorieux (Glorieux II, p. 69) claims make up a *quodlibet* from Walter Burley are actually the chapter titles of his *Tractatus primus*, not a *quodlibet*, but probably his *Disputatio collativa* connected to his *Principium* for book IV of the *Sentences*.

² Nine somewhat brief questions from the early sections of book I, preserved among questions from other theologians in the first few folios of Bologna, Archiginnasio A. 913; see. V. Doucet, *Commentaires sur les Sentences. Supplément au répertoire de M. Frédéric Stegmüller* (Florence 1954), pp. 65 and 90–3. The questions are as follows: 1: Quid est <theologiae> subiectum, utrum videlicet Deus aut non (f. 1ra–v); 2: Utrum theologia sit practica vel speculativa (3va–b); 3: Utrum theologia subalternet sibi alias scientias et subalternetur scientiae beatorum (4va–b); 4: Utrum Deus sit unus (5rb–va); 5: Utrum in divinis sit pluralitas personarum (6vb); 6: Utrum ex creaturis possit haberi cognitio de Deo (7rb); 7: Utrum Deum esse sit per se notum (8ra–b); 8: Utrum potentiae animae sint idem quod animae essentia (8va–b); 9: Utrum essentia generet (12ra–b).

³ For the works of and about Peter of Auvergne, see G. Galle, "A Comprehensive Bibliography on Peter of Auvergne," *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale* 42 (2000), pp. 53–79 (pp. 64–5 on the *Quodlibeta*), and the "Supplement" in vol. 47 (2005), pp. 87–96 (p. 89 on the *Quodlibeta*).

fore consider the *Quodlibeta*. Sometimes he changed his mind, as in the case of the principle of individuation (*Quodlibet* II, q. 5), as Martin Pickavé points out in the previous chapter, or in discussing the various solutions to the problem of the intension and remission of accidental forms (III, q. 6), where Peter himself reveals that “*aliquando videbatur mihi*” to be one way, but now “*videtur aliter esse dicendum*.” On other occasions, as when considering how angels are in a place (III, q. 1), the old theologian admits that “*nec vidi hucusque, nec adhuc video... sed inde confiteor intellectum meum deficere, sicut in multis aliis. Et si aliquando apparuerit mihi circa hoc aliquid rationale, tunc libenter manifestabo*.”

Peter left six written *Quodlibeta*, 108 questions in total, surviving in nineteen known medieval manuscripts and one later witness, which will be discussed below in the second section. After Glorieux, Giuseppina Cannizzo published a lengthy study of Peter's *Quodlibeta* in 1964–65,⁴ and eighteen questions have been printed in some form until now, plus a few fragments.⁵ Numerous incipits, explicits, and running titles

⁴ Glorieux I, pp. 257–63, and II, p. 219, and G. Cannizzo, “I ‘Quodlibeta’ di Pietro d’Auvergne. Problemi di storia letteraria e dottrinale. La tradizione manoscritta. Testo critico delle *Quaestiones de Verbo*, 1296, 1300,” *Rivista di filosofia neo-scolastica* 56 (1964) (part I: pp. 486–500; part II: pp. 605–48) and 57 (1965) (part III: pp. 67–89), henceforth cited thus: Cannizzo I, II, and III. For previous editions, see below and the question list. Omar Argerami announced in *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale* 33 (1991), p. 63, that he was working on the edition of the *Quodlibeta*, but this has not yet appeared.

⁵ According to the numbering in the question list below: I.8, ed. R.C. Dales and O. Argerami, *Medieval Latin Texts on the Eternity of the World* (Leiden 1992), pp. 144–8, with Portuguese translation in J. Beatriz da Costa, “Se Deus teria podido fazer o mundo existir desde a eternidade,” *Veritas* 49 (2004), pp. 569–72; I.14, ed. J. Leclercq, “La théologie comme science d’après la littérature quodlibétique,” *RTAM* 11 (1939) (pp. 351–74), pp. 354–7; I.15, ed. J.R. Eastman, *Papal Abdication in Later Medieval Thought* (Lewiston, NY 1990), pp. 137–41; I.18, ed. B.G. Guyot, “Textes inédits relatifs à l’étude précédente: Y. Congar, Aspects ecclésiologiques de la querelle entre mendiants et séculiers,” *AHDLMA* 28 (1962), pp. 153–8; I.20, ed. F. Segarro, “Un precursor de Durando: Pedro d’Auvergne,” *Estudios eclesiásticos* 12 (1933) (pp. 114–24), pp. 119–24, and also ed. H.J. Weber, *Die Lehre von der Auferstehung der Toten in den Haupttraktaten der scholastischen Theologie von Alexander von Hales zu Duns Scotus* (Freiburger theologische Studien, 91) (Freiburg-Basel-Vienna 1973), pp. 372–6; I.21, ed. Cannizzo III, pp. 72–80; II.4, ed. A. Monahan, “Quaestiones in Metaphysicam Petri de Alvernia,” in *Nine Medieval Thinkers*, J.R. O’Donnell, ed. (Studies and Texts, 1) (Toronto 1955) (pp. 145–81), pp. 177–81; II.5, ed. E. Hocedez, “Un question inédit de Pierre d’Auvergne sur l’individuation,” *Revue néoscholastique de philosophie* 36 (1934) (= *Hommage à monsieur le professeur Maurice de Wulf* [Louvain 1934]) (pp. 355–86), pp. 370–9; II.11, ed. A. Pattin, *Pour l’histoire du sens agent. La controverse entre Barthélémy de Bruges et Jean de Jandun, ses antécédents et son évolution* (Ancient and Medieval Philosophy, 1.6) (Louvain 1988), pp. 9–15; III.14, ed. E.A.R. Brown, “‘Cessante causa’ and the Taxes of the Last Capetians:

testify that Master Peter of Auvergne, canon of Paris, authored these texts. Almost all surviving *quodlibeta* from secular theologians stem from Parisian debates, and the explicit of *Quodlibet* II in BAV, Vat. lat. 932 (V), specifies that it was “determined at Paris.” Fortunately, as Glorieux knew,⁶ the dating of Peter’s six *Quodlibeta* is only slightly less secure. The explicit for *Quodlibet* III in Berlin, Magdeburg 149 (S), BAV, Ottob. lat. 196 (O), Troyes 269 (T), and Paris, BnF 14562 (X), remarks that the questions were disputed in the year 1298 before Christmas, i.e., in the Advent session. In *Quodlibet* V, q. 15, part of a series of questions on the date of the coming of the Antichrist in reaction to the theories of Arnau de Vilanova, Peter mentions “anno isto, scilicet 1300,” allowing us to date *Quodlibet* V to 1300, while just below he refers to “Septembri sequenti, scilicet anno 1301,” thus clarifying that it is Advent of 1300. A letter of Boniface VIII dated 18 June 1296 granting a canonry to “Petro de Croc,” as Peter was sometimes known, suggests that Peter had only recently become master of theology and grants him the canonry in Notre-Dame that would allow him to be *magister regens*.⁷ Thus, since he seems to have preferred Advent anyway and probably avoided holding two sessions in any given academic year, we can tentatively date *Quodlibeta* I and II to the Advent sessions of 1296 and 1297 respectively, placing *Quodlibet* IV in Advent 1299. Although the explicit in codex V clearly assigns *Quodlibet* VI to 1304, Paris manuscripts BnF F 3121 A (W) and 14562 (X), Berlin, Magdeburg 149 (S), and a lost

The Political Applications of a Philosophical Maxim,” in *Post Scripta. Essays on Medieval Law and the Emergence of the European State in Honor of Gaines Post*, J.R. Strayer and D.E. Queller, eds. (Studia Gratiana, 15) (Rome 1972) (pp. 565–87), pp. 585–7; V.9–10, ed. Cannizzo III, pp. 80–4 and 84–9; V.11, ed. T. Graf, *De subiecto psychico gratiae et virtutum secundum doctrinam scholasticorum usque ad medium saeculum XIV*, vol. II (Studia Anselmiana, 4) (Rome 1935), pp. 21*–5*; V.16–17 and 3/4 of a column, or 1/9, of 15, ed. J. Perarnau i Espelt, “Guiu Terrena critica Arnau de Vilanova... En apèndix, tres fragments de teòlegs contemporanis relatius a la tesi escatològica arnaldina,” *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics* 7/8 (1988–89) (pp. 171–222), pp. 214–16, 216–18, and 213–14 respectively; VI.14, ed. J. Koch, “Sind die Pygmäen Menschen? Ein Kapitel aus der philosophischen Anthropologie der mittelalterlichen Scholastik,” *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 40 (1931) (pp. 194–213), pp. 209–13, reprinted in M. Gusinde, *Kennmisse und Urteile über Pygmäen in Antike und Mittelalter* (Leipzig 1962), pp. 18–20; VI.16–17, ed. F. Hentschel, “Der verjagte Dämon, Mittelalterliche Gedanken zur Wirkung der Musik aus der Zeit um 1300,” in *Geistesleben im 13. Jahrhundert*, J. Aertsen and A. Speer, eds. (Miscellanea Mediaevalia, 27) (Berlin 2000) (pp. 395–421), pp. 412–18 and 418–21. Of course, several other studies make use of unprinted questions in Peter’s *Quodlibeta* from the manuscripts.

⁶ See also Cannizzo I, 491–3 and passim.

⁷ *CUP* II, no. 596, p. 71.

witness have 1301, which is no doubt correct given that Peter died in September of 1304 and the six *Quodlibeta* were already available from the University stationers on 25 February 1304.⁸ Although Glorieux's reliance on Peter's appointment as bishop of Clermont on 21 January 1302 is unstable, we can probably agree with him in putting *Quodlibet* VI in Advent 1301.⁹

As we shall see, Peter took great care in redacting his *Quodlibeta*. Nevertheless, it seems that he did so one-by-one on a yearly basis. When Peter's *Quodlibeta* were advertised in 1304, the stationers offered them in thirty pecias: "Item, in *Quolibet* magistri Petri de Alvernia, XXX pecias, ii sol.,"¹⁰ and explicits to each *Quodlibet* in Paris, Mazarine 3512 (M), indicate that the six *Quodlibeta* contained 5, 5, 4, 6, 5, and 5 pecias respectively, a total of thirty—numbers confirmed by surviving markings in BnF 15841 (Y). That is, each *quodlibet* was separate. Moreover, given that the lengths of the six *Quodlibeta* (in columns, according to the very uniform witness V), 53.5, 61.2, 40.2, 47.7, 34.5, and 34.5 respectively, do not correspond to the numbers of pecias, the pecias for any particular *Quodlibet* differed greatly in size from those of the others (for I, 10.7 cols. per pecia; II, 12.2; III, 10.1; IV: 8.0; V, 6.9; VI, 6.9). With the possible exception of *Quodlibeta* V and VI, then, it appears that even the exemplars at the stationers were not made all at once at the same workshop.

Moreover, while Peter does not cite his other works in his *Quodlibeta*, he does have about thirty explicit internal references to the *Quodlibeta* themselves. With one notable exception, all of these citations refer either to a question in a previous *Quodlibet* or somewhere else in the present one, although there are vague references to the future: "sicut poterit alias declarari" (I.8), "sicut forte videbitur alias" (II.7), "alias forte videbitur" (III.10). The exception is in *Quodlibet* II, q. 1, where *Quodlibet* III, q. 4, is clearly presaged: "Sed alias forte videbitur de hoc,

⁸ CUP II, no. 642, p. 107. See also Cannizzo I, p. 496, n. 12, and below.

⁹ Actually, there is a slight uncertainty with the dating for *Quodlibeta* V–VI: if Peter used a calendar beginning the year on 25 March or Easter, then since in 1301 Easter fell on 7 April and much of Lent that year would still have been considered 1300, *Quodlibet* V might have been from Lent 1301 and "Septembri sequenti, scilicet anno 1301" would refer to what we would consider later that same year. Likewise, *Quodlibet* VI may date to Lent 1302, since on the old dating almost all of Lent was still in 1301, Easter 1302 coming on 30 March.

¹⁰ CUP II, no. 642, p. 109. See also G. Murano, *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia* (Turnhout 2005), pp. 664–5, and Cannizzo I, p. 496, n. 13, and *passim* on the pecias.

si contingat aliquando quaeri ‘utrum essentiae rerum sint essentiae ab aeterno’.” It would be strange for Peter to resort to such a tentative construct artificially, however, and it seems more likely that “perhaps we shall see about this elsewhere, if it ever happens to be asked ‘whether the essences of things are essences from eternity’” was wishful thinking on Peter’s part, prompting that question the following year.

Thus *Quodlibet* I, which begins with the abrupt “Quaerebatur de potentia Dei,” has only vague references to what was “dictum prius” or “sicut declaratum est prius,” and the “sicut poterit alias declarari” mentioned above, but otherwise there is only a remark in question 6: “sed de hoc dicitur in quadam alia quaestione posterius,” which turns out to be question 8 of the same *Quodlibet*, and later in question 13, “sicut ostensum est prius in alia quaestione,” a reference to question 7. Likewise, in *Quodlibet* II, aside from the hint at III.4 and the “sicut forte videbitur alias” noted above, we merely have three citations of other questions in the same *Quodlibet* and two explicit references to *Quodlibet* I. In both mentions of *Quodlibet* I, moreover, he refers to what “probatum fuit in alio quolibet,” thus clarifying that only one other *quodlibet* has taken place. In *Quodlibet* V, q. 8, finally, there is another vague reference, “in quadam alia quaestione posterius,” but again this is to question 10 of the same set of questions. A chart of precise and explicit internal citations makes manifest the fact that Peter never cites future *Quodlibeta*, with the vertical representing where the references are found and the horizontal containing the texts cited:¹¹

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
I	0	0	0	0	0	0
II	2	3	0	0	0	0
III	0	0	0	0	0	0
IV	0	3	1	3	0	0
V	1	1	1	1	1	0
VI	1	1	0	0	3	6

¹¹ The citations are as follows: II.4 > II.1; II.5 > II.4; II.6 > I.20; II.6 > I.11; II.9 > II.10; IV.1 > II.1; IV.3 > IV.4; IV.5 > IV.4; IV.6 > III.4; IV.8 > IV.4 (2x); IV.8 > II.3; IV.8 > II.3; IV.8 > II.13; V.2 > II.4; V.6 > III.13; V.7 > I.2; V.8 > IV.12; V.17 > V.15; VI.1 > I.2–5; VI.2 > VI.1; VI.4 > V.5; VI.5 > V.2; VI.5 > VI.6 (2x); VI.5 > VI.3; VI.7 > V.3; VI.9 > II.5; VI.17 > VI.16; VI.17 > VI.16. In V.3 there is also a reference to “praecedenti quolibet,” meaning IV.4.

Finally, it should be noted that *Quodlibet* IV begins: “In ultima disputatione communi...” Whether one takes “ultima” to mean “final” or “latest,” it seems that Peter had not held *Quodlibeta* V and VI when he redacted IV.

Thus each year, when writing up the latest *Quodlibet*, he had all previous ones before his eyes. Indeed, as is often the case, he silently reused material from earlier *Quodlibeta*. A good example is from article 1 of *Quodlibet* IV, q. 2, which was used as a mine for *Quodlibet* VI, q. 4, a. 2, since in both situations Peter wanted to treat God’s eternity:

Quodlibet IV, question 2, article 1

Ad declarationem primi accipiendum est quod Deum ex se necesse est esse. Si enim non ex se necesse est esse, ex se possibile est esse. Quod autem tale est, ex alio dependet priori. Quod vero ex alio priori dependet in esse suo primum non est, nec per consequens Deus, cum Deus sit primum simpliciter in entibus. Quod autem ex se necesse est esse, omnino est interminabile, nullam habens rationem termini, nec secundum causalitatem, nec secundum durationem. Si enim hoc haberet, non esset necesse esse ex se. Tale etiam secundum omnem modum est incommutabile. Si enim mutabile esset, dependeret ex alio. Quod vero interminabile et incommutabile est, omnino totum esse suum perfectum simul habet, nihil acquirens in futuro nec amittens in praeteritum. Quod etiam ex se necesse est esse, omnino separatum est a materia. Si enim aliquam rationem materiae haberet, non esset ex se necesse esse. Omne autem separatum simpliciter intelligens est et vivens vita intellectuali. Deus igitur est intelligens et vivens vita intellectuali perfectissima interminabili et immutabili omnino. Haec igitur vitae interminabilitas ‘aeternitas’ dicitur. Unde Boethius, 5 *De consolatione*, eam definiens, dicit

Quodlibet VI, question 4, article 2

De secundo est intelligendum quod Deus, cum sit primum simpliciter in entibus, nullam habet rationem termini neque secundum causalitatem, neque secundum durationem, neque secundum aliquem modum. Si enim haberet aliquam rationem termini, esset eo aliquid prius, et per consequens primum non esset. Et ideo est simpliciter intransmutabilis et immutabilis per se et per accidens. Si enim aliquo modo mutaretur, esset eo aliquid prius a quo mutaretur et non esset primum simpliciter. Quod autem interminabile et incommutabile est simpliciter, totum suum esse perfectum simul habet, nihil acquirens in futuro nec amittens in praeterito. Quia etiam omnino primum est in entibus, omnino immateriale est. Si enim aliquo modo materiam haberet, eo esset aliquid prius. Actus enim prior est semper potentia simpliciter. Quod autem immateriale est, omnino intelligens est et vivens vita intellectuali. Quod autem vivit vita intellectuali interminabili tota simul et perfecta aeternum est. Et propter hoc Boethius, 5 *De consolatione*, definiens aeternitatem, ait quod “aeternitas est interminabilis vitae possessio tota simul et perfecta.” Igitur Deus aeternus est et dicitur aeternitate quae non est

quod “aeternitas est interminabilis vitae possessio tota simul et perfecta.” Et hac Deus simpliciter aeternus dicitur et est, et secundum rem est idem quod ipse. Si enim esset aliud ab ipso secundum rem, esset in ipso aliqua compositio et dependeret ex alio et non esset ex necesse. Differunt tamen secundum rationem, quoniam secundum essentiam consideratus dicitur ‘Deus’ vel ‘deitas’, secundum autem quod interminabilis ‘aeternus’ dicitur, quemadmodum secundum quod indivisus dicitur ‘unus’, secundum essentiam autem acceptus ‘ens’ vel ‘esse’.

aliud ab ipso. Si enim esset aliud ab ipso, esset in eo aliqua compositio, et per consequens non esset primum. Nullum enim compositum potest esse primum simpliciter. Igitur aeternitas qua Deus est aeternus realiter non est aliud ab ipso. Sed est differens secundum modum intelligendi nostrum. Secundum enim quod consideratur ut essentia vel vita, ‘Deus’ vel ‘vivus’ dicitur. Secundum autem quod consideratur ut vita interminabilis tota simul et perfecta, dicitur ‘aeternus’. Et sic apparet quid sit aeternus.

More obvious still is the example from article 3 of the very same *Quodlibet* IV, q. 2, which is basically reused as article 2 of *Quodlibet* VI, q. 2, since both questions concern different aspects of the problem of divine foreknowledge of future contingents:

Quodlibet IV, question 2, article 3

Propter tertium autem intelligendum quod aliqua sunt semper eodem modo entia quae sunt ex necessitate, alia vero semper non-entia quae impossibile est esse, alia vero media inter haec, aliquando quidem entia, aliquando vero non-entia. Et in istis sunt contingentia quae possunt esse et non esse, non quaecumque, sed illa quae ut frequenter et ut in pluribus non procedunt ex causis respectu quarum contingentia sunt, quae sunt causae per accidens. Quia igitur Deus est causa per se omnium qualitercumque entium, et nihil inordinatum est relatum ad ipsum, nihil est contingens ad utrumlibet respectu ipsius, sed omnia per se ordinata et immutabiliter evenientia. Respectu autem causarum particularium, quae non habent per se ordinem ad esse eorum, contingentia dicuntur proprie. Propter quod futura

Quodlibet VI, question 2, article 2

Ex parte vero contingentium accipiendum est quod aliqua sunt eodem modo semper se habentia quae sunt necessaria, alia vero semper non-entia quae sunt impossibilia, alia vero media inter haec, quae aliquando quidem sunt, aliquando autem non sunt. Et in his sunt contingentia ad utrumlibet. Sed istorum quaedam contingunt ut in pluribus ex causis suis, sicut bipes generat bipidem ut in pluribus, alia vero non ut frequenter et in pluribus procedunt ex causis suis per accidens, et haec dicimus contingentia proprie. Quia igitur Deus est causa per se omnium qualitercumque entium, et nihil inordinatum est relatum ad ipsum, nihil est contingens ut ad ipsum relatum est, sed omnia per se ordinata et immutabiliter existentia. Respectu autem causarum particularium et mediarum quae non habent ordinem

contingentia dicuntur et sunt quae ex	per se ad ea, dicuntur contingentia et
causis particularibus non habentibus	sunt.
ordinem ad ipsa in futurum possunt	
esse et non esse.	

Several other phrases and quotations in *Quodlibet* IV, q. 2, are more or less repeated in other sections of Peter's *Quodlibeta*, and naturally there are many other examples from other questions. If the entire text is ever printed, we will surely find substantial borrowings from Peter's own earlier works and from the writings of other scholastics as well. Indeed, in his edition of Peter's *Quodlibet* I, q. 20, Hermann Weber recognized verbatim borrowings from Aquinas' *De ente et essentia*, while Edgard Hocedez caught Peter reproducing passages from Godfrey of Fontaines almost verbatim in *Quodlibet* II, q. 5, and Frank Hentschel referred the reader to Peter's own commentary on the *Politics* in the apparatus fontium for *Quodlibet* VI, q. 16.¹²

Aside from some erroneous readings, Glorieux's question list is more or less accurate except that he missed question 6 of *Quodlibet* I and, in his volume I, he omitted question 3 of *Quodlibet* VI, although he corrected it in volume II. Not all the questions are well marked in the manuscripts, which often have incorrect numbering themselves. Peter's own internal references, however, confirm the new numbering in the question list printed as an appendix to this chapter. As was often the case, due perhaps to space limitations, Glorieux gave only the incipits and explicits to each *Quodlibet* and the question titles. Thus Glorieux left out whatever organizing scheme the author employed in other sections of the text. Appendix I contains all of this material, including the foliation of each question in each manuscript witness.

The appendix demonstrates that, although Peter composed each *Quodlibet* individually and does not appear to have ever made a new, comprehensive redaction (contrary to the theory of Giuseppina Cannizzo; see below), he put much thought into the organization of each *Quodlibet*. What we have is Peter's *determinationes*. Before the foliation information, the question list gives the length of each question in terms of columns in manuscript V, each column being roughly two printed pages, as is borne out by previous editions of questions. Most questions

¹² Weber, *Die Lehre von der Auferstehung der Toten*, p. 374, n. 8; Hocedez, "Un Question inédit de Pierre d'Auvergne," pp. 358 and 376–8 (see also M. Pickavé's chapter above); Hentschel, "Der verjagte Dämon," p. 418, n. 231.

are brief, between three and six pages long, perhaps corresponding to the length of Peter's actual oral determinations. Peter usually employs the imperfect to explain what "quaerebatur" in the session and then gives only one or two of the many arguments *pro* and *contra* that were given when the question "arguebatur" by the *opponens* and *respondens*. Only rarely does Peter allude to the intention of the one asking the question, as in *Quodlibet* I, q. 12: "sed hoc non intendebat quaerens," and *Quodlibet* III, q. 6: "sed sic non est intentio quaerentis." Likewise, the *opponens* almost never appears, the best examples of his appearance being in *Quodlibet* III, q. 10, where he says: "opponens aliud in rationibus videbatur intendere," and in the same *Quodlibet*, q. 1, where Peter remarks: "Quia tamen opponens quaestionem induxit, ut credo, non propter ipsam sed propter id quod accipitur in ratione de loco angeli, ut audiret quomodo sit in loco," at which point Peter focuses the general question whether God can make an intellectual nature without a bodily nature on the specific issue of the place of angels.

Indeed, not only does Peter avoid the adversarial aspect of quodlibetal debates in his written determinations, but he usually steers clear of confrontations in general. Although he has more than 1000 citations, as we shall see, he rarely cites university-era theologians and never by name. The closest he comes to direct citation is a mention of "that doctor," meaning Thomas Aquinas, in *Quodlibet* IV, q. 2: "Et hanc credo fuisse intentionem illius doctoris qui posuit futura contingentia coexistere Deo," and "that man," meaning Arnau de Vilanova, in *Quodlibet* V, q. 15: "...illi qui hoc anno publicavit libellum de adventu Antichristi." Where there are mentions of *moderni*, they are always even more vague, as for example "sicut aliqui de doctoribus nostris" (II.1; cf. IV.5), "diversae opiniones magnorum" (II.4; cf. II.9 and III.12), "anti-qua opinio" (II.5), "sententia doctorum" (II.13), "communis doctorum sententia" (V.1). Otherwise, we have various references to "aliqui" and "quidam." But even these are infrequent, and the overall impression is that of a kind old teacher trying to explain things to his students without engaging in polemics.

We can see this didactic aspect in how Peter arranges his *Quodlibeta* and how he divides each question. Peter goes to extraordinary lengths to explain in simple terms, with tremendous repetition, the logic of his organization—although it sometimes seems as if the general parameters were proposed beforehand. *Quodlibet* I will serve as an example, following the appendix. Although unsaid, perhaps because it was Peter's first

effort, the main division is between God's power and creation, and he further subdivides the twenty-one questions as follows:

- 1–8 God's power
 - 1 God's immensity
 - 2–8 The infinity of His power with respect to produced things
 - 2–6 With respect to an infinite or infinite things
 - 2–5 Questions implied by the main question
 - 6 The main question
 - 7–8 With respect to finite things
 - 7 With respect to separating things conjoined in being
 - 8 With respect to the production of the world
- 9–21 Created being
 - 9 The nature of the good, which is convertible with being universally
 - 10–21 Various genera and species of beings
 - 10–11 Substance or corporal nature *simpliciter*
 - 12–21 Human nature
 - 12–19 Present life
 - 12–15 Human cognition
 - 12 Cognition universally
 - 13 Intellective cognition of something specific
 - 14–15 Some things humans do through cognition
 - 16–18 Church duties
 - 19 A sacrament
 - 20–21 Future life
 - 20 Truth of the Resurrection
 - 21 Understanding of the blessed

We see, more or less, an attempt to fit things into Peter Lombard's scheme for the *Sentences*, but it is already a stretch, and when one looks at individual questions the system looks rather artificial and forced. For example, under "Some things humans do through cognition," question 14 is about whether theologians teach and question 15 concerns astrologers. Peter's impressive efforts make evident the limitations of *Quodlibeta* as a written genre, perhaps one of the main factors in its eventual decline.

This desire to explain things on a basic level is also evident in the questions themselves, which means that more frequently than with most authors we find Peter dealing first with the foundations upon which a question rests. Despite the relative brevity of the questions, this provides raw material for historians interested in tracing these issues in Peter's and others' thought. For instance, *Quodlibet* II, q. 10, "utrum immunitas sit per se principium libertatis," article 1 first asks "quid sit libertas?"

In the pertinent place (III.8) Peter asks “quid sit scientia speculativa et quid practica?”

Peter’s care for order and clarity, as a teacher, may perhaps explain the relative frequency of his quotations from authority, although he himself seems to be a rather independent thinker. He may have wanted his audience and readers to be more familiar with the great pagan, Muslim, and Christian thinkers of the distant past, and of course he knew Aristotle and the pagans and Arabs better than most anyone because of his long teaching and prolific writing career as a master of arts. Peter has some 1065 explicit citations in all.

The following is a count of his citations, first for authors receiving more than twenty:

Aristotle 406 (20 works) name only 64 <i>Metaphysica</i> 103 <i>Physica</i> 60 <i>De anima</i> 42 <i>Ethica</i> 31 <i>De generatione</i> 22 <i>Politica</i> 19 <i>De caelo et mundo</i> 16 <i>Praedicamenta</i> 9 <i>De sensu et sensato</i> 7 <i>Rhetorica</i> 7 <i>Analytica posteriora</i> 7 <i>Analytica priora</i> 6 <i>Metheora</i> 3 <i>De interpretatione</i> 2 <i>De somno et vigilia</i> 2 <i>De natura animalium</i> 2 <i>Magna moralia</i> 2 <i>Topica</i> 1 <i>Historia animalium</i> 1 <i>Sophistici elenchi</i> 1 Pseudo-Aristotle, <i>Problemata</i> 1	Augustine 149 (20 works) name only 14 <i>De trinitate</i> 38 <i>De libero arbitrio</i> 18 <i>De civitate Dei</i> 14 <i>83 quaestiones</i> 14 <i>Confessiones</i> 11 <i>Super Genesim ad litteram</i> 10 <i>De immortalitate animae</i> 4 <i>De doctrina christiana</i> 4 <i>Enchiridion</i> 4 <i>De moribus</i> <i>Manichaeorum</i> 3 <i>De natura boni</i> 2 <i>De vera religione</i> 2 <i>In epistolam ad Ephesios</i> 2 <i>Homilia in Johannem</i> 2 <i>Enarrationes in Psalmos</i> 1 <i>De magistro</i> 1 <i>De summo bono</i> 1 <i>Ad Bonifatium</i> 1 <i>Ad Nebridium</i> 1 <i>Ad Ysicium (?)</i> 1	Averroes 78 name only 12 <i>De substantia orbis</i> 22 <i>In De anima</i> 15 <i>In Metaphysicam</i> 13 <i>In Physica</i> 12 <i>In De caelo et mundo</i> 4 Proclus 54 name only 2 <i>Institutio theologica</i> 50 <i>De fato</i> 2 Boethius 27 name only 3 <i>De consolatione</i> 9 <i>De hebdomadibus</i> 5 <i>De musica</i> 5 <i>De duabus naturis</i> 2 <i>Super Porphyrium</i> 1 <i>In Analytica posteriora</i> 1 <i>In De interpretatione</i> 1 Pseudo-Boethius, <i>De unitate et uno</i> 1
---	---	---

Those receiving twenty or fewer:

Anselm 20 name only 2 <i>De libero arbitrio</i> 8 <i>Monologion</i> 6 <i>Cur Deus homo</i> 3 <i>De incarnatione Verbi</i> 1	Peter Comestor (Magister Historiarum) 4 Algazali, <i>Metaphysica</i> 4 Alexander of Aphrodisias, <i>In Metaphysicam</i> 4	Alphagranus 1 Ptolemy, <i>Cosmographia</i> 1 Theophrastus 1 Seneca, <i>De naturalibus</i> qq. 1 Rabanus Maurus, <i>In Matthaeum</i> 1
Pseudo-Dionysius 17 <i>De divinis nominibus</i> 14 <i>De caelesti hierarchia</i> 2 <i>De ecclesiastica</i> <i>hierarchia</i> 1	John the Grammarians, <i>On</i> <i>John</i> 4 Peter Lombard, <i>Sentences</i> 3 Hostiensis 3 <i>Lectura in Decretales</i> 2 <i>Summa aurea</i> 1	Bernard of Pavia, <i>Summa</i> 1 Tholosanus, <i>Nova</i> <i>proportione centilogii</i> 1 (H)ali, <i>Super nova</i> <i>proportione centilogii</i> 1 <i>Vetus Testamentum</i> 37 <i>Novum Testamentum</i> 66 <i>Glossa</i> (Bible) 14 <i>Decretum</i> 25 <i>Glossa</i> (Decretum) 3 <i>Decretales</i> 24 <i>Digesta</i> 3 <i>Codex Iustiniani</i> 1 <i>Novellae</i> 1 <i>Registrum romani</i> <i>pontificis</i> 1 Articuli condemnati (1277) 6
Avicenna 16 name only 7 <i>Metaphysica</i> 7 <i>Logica</i> 1 <i>Naturalia</i> 1	Cicero 3 <i>De paradoxis</i> 2 <i>De officiis</i> 1 Pythagoras 3 Porphyry, <i>Isagoge</i> 2 Simplicius 2 <i>In De caelo et mundo</i> 1 <i>In Praedicamenta</i> 1 Orosius, <i>Hormesta</i> <i>mundi ad</i> <i>Augustinum</i> 2	<i>Symbolum Athanasii</i> 3 <i>Symbolum Nicaenum</i> 1 <i>Liber de causis</i> 2 <i>Sex principia</i> 1
Plato 16 name only 13 <i>Timaeus</i> 3	Gregory the Great 2 Richard of St Victor, <i>De trinitate</i> 2 Origen, <i>In Exodum</i> 2 Themistius, <i>In De</i> <i>anima</i> 2 Anaxagoras 2	
John of Damascus 13 <i>De fide orthodoxa</i> 13		
Huguccio, <i>Summa</i> 6		
Eustratius, <i>In Ethica</i> 5		
Albumasar, <i>De</i> <i>coniunctionibus</i> 5		
John Chrysostom, <i>On Gospels</i> 5		
Bernard of Clairvaux 5 name only 1 <i>De precepto et</i> <i>dispensat.</i> 2 <i>De libero arbitrio</i> 2		

Of these citations, almost 40% are from Aristotle with another 5% from Aristotelian commentaries, while 15% are from Augustine and only 10% from Scripture. Arab scholars receive as much explicit attention as Scripture, in fact, and the number of Platonic and Neoplatonic citations is impressive again. Peter pays particular attention to Proclus, citing him over fifty times, usually with a quotation and the number of the *conclusio* from the *Elements of Theology*. The audience at Peter of Auvergne's *Quodlibeta* would have been treated to a wide variety of quotations and

citations of the Bible, pre-Socratics, Plato, Aristotle, Greek commentators, Roman authors, Greek and Latin Fathers, Boethius, Arab philosophers and scientists, Roman and canon law texts, and twelfth-century writers. All along Peter appears not to be merely displaying his erudition, but providing some basic as well as advanced instruction to his listeners in a rather neutral way.

Students of Peter's *Quodlibeta* have long noted this attitude: in 1931 Joseph Koch spoke of Peter's dispassionate and methodical objectivity when determining whether Pygmies are men;¹³ in 1934 Edgard Hocedez emphasized Peter's precision and clarity in a question on individuation;¹⁴ in 1939 Jean Leclercq remarked that in Peter's analysis of theology as a science he showed his usual precision and subtlety.¹⁵ In her article on Peter's *Quodlibeta* published in 1964–65, Giuseppina Cannizzo described Peter's approach well when she wrote that he does not "grab everyone's attention immediately," that he was not a "revolutionary" thinker, not a logician desiring to trap his adversary, not a polemicist, "in a word, not spectacular." Nevertheless, he was serious, began by taking what was indisputable, and built on that with an "extreme simplicity," without taking any opponent to task.¹⁶

Perhaps this helps explain the relative brevity of most of Peter's questions. A few years later John of Pouilly would take over one of the secular chairs of theology at Paris, but he used his *Quodlibeta* to launch lengthy and often angry attacks on his opponents, whom he occasionally named explicitly.¹⁷ Whereas one could fit all six of Peter of Auvergne's *Quodlibeta* into one, admittedly large, tome, each of Pouilly's five main efforts would better be published in a separate volume. Thus while Pouilly goes on at length about the Templars' heresy, in contrast, when asked in 1296 (I.16) whether a pope can resign in the context of Celestine V's recent and controversial actions, Peter calmly and briefly replies that whatever is permitted by the Church is just, and since the Church allowed this, "as appears in the resignation of Lord Celestine, therefore it can happen with reason." He then goes on to give a dispassionate determination.¹⁸ Likewise, a few months after he himself was

¹³ Koch, "Sind die Pygmäen Menschen?," p. 200.

¹⁴ Hocedez, "Un Question inédit de Pierre d'Auvergne," p. 358.

¹⁵ Leclercq, "La théologie comme science," p. 353.

¹⁶ Cannizzo I, pp. 486–7.

¹⁷ On Pouilly's *Quodlibeta*, see the chapter by L. Hödl below.

¹⁸ As Roberto Lambertini noted in his chapter in volume I, p. 463, n. 83, Eastman's edition in *Papal Abdication*, pp. 137–41, is problematic. While the manuscript the editor

summoned to play a role in the controversy over Arnau de Vilanova's predictions about the coming of the Antichrist, Peter answers the related quodlibetal questions (V.15–17) without much fuss.

Peter does sometimes present the opposing views of “quidam” and “alii,” but without being too strident, as when deciding on the primacy of the will vs. the intellect (II.9): “His suppositis, est intelligendum quod de hac quaestione sunt opiniones oppositae magnorum, quibusdam dicentibus intellectum esse principale simpliciter, aliis autem ipsam voluntatem. Mihi autem ad praesens videtur esse dicendum quasi via media quodam modo...” When asked whether *caritas* can be remitted with the effect (III.12), he says that “de ista quaestione fuit et est magnorum et multorum opinio” that it can, but that people adhere to this “opinionem magis propter auctoritatem dicentium quam propter rationem,” so he argues against it, “dicentium salva reverentia.” Although he himself is an old and experienced master of theology, Peter shows restraint when answering the question whether God can assume prime matter without form in the unity of the *suppositum* (IV.5): “Quidam de doctoribus nostris—subtilis intellectus et magnae considerationis, pie et religiose considerantes—posuerunt Deum non posse assumere in unitate suppositi naturam irrationalem, ad evitandum aliqua quae aliquibus minus considerantibus appareant absurda esse, puta Deum esse asinum vel equum.” “Less reflective” is about as strong an insult one finds in Peter. Once in a while it may appear that Peter is frustrated with a question that he thinks is irrational (e.g., VI.12), but this is rather part of his teaching strategy in bringing out the possible ways of taking a question.

There is only one real exception to this generalization concerning the length of Peter's questions, an exception that proves the rule. *Quodlibet* IV, q. 8, “utrum potentia in materia et forma ad quam est sint idem secundum rem,” is five times the size of most questions and twice as long as the next largest. It is really only in this question that Peter loses his patience. At an early point Peter interjects: “Sed hoc dictum est ne forte aliqui minus intelligentes credant hoc esse verum, maxime cum hoc audiunt dici cum assertionem a quibusdam.” Peter then presents the gist of their opinion, so that his point is made more clear, and afterwards remarks: “Quaedam alia etiam interponunt quae propter brevitatem

employs (BnF 15841) is very good (according to a complete collation done against Eastman's text), his transcription is often faulty.

et manifestam falsitatem omitto ad praesens.” His counterarguments begin: “Primo, ista <opinio> est falsa et irrationabilis, et contradictoria implicat, et contradicit opinionibus et dictis sapientum in naturalibus.” Peter’s long disproofs of what is “absurd” and “stupid” are unusual in the context of the general spirit of his *Quodlibeta*.¹⁹

Actually, there is one question that is slightly more than half the length of the longest one: *Quodlibet* II, q. 2, on whether rainbows are the work of God. Here Peter goes off on one of his many scientific *excursus*. Perhaps if there is something Peter is enthusiastic about, although not in an argumentative fashion, it is natural philosophy. The two largest questions deal with natural philosophy, and so do many of the other more lengthy ones: *Quodlibet* II, q. 7, asks whether something can first move itself; II, q. 10, whether immunity from matter is the basis of freedom, includes an *excursus* on the matter of the heavens; several questions, such as III, qq. 6–7, deal with the intension and remission of forms; IV, q. 17, asks whether a universal flood is possible naturally; VI, q. 6, concerns the angels moving the heavens.

¹⁹ I have not been able to discover who exactly is the object of Peter’s attack, so I quote some elements of the position here: “Sed hoc dictum est ne forte aliqui minus intelligentes credant hoc esse verum, maxime cum hoc audiunt dici cum assertione a quibusdam, verumtamen quidam, coacti ponere potentiam passivam materiae realiter differre a forma et per consequens materiam, in maiora dilapsi sunt impossibilia. Quod ut manifestius fiat, ponatur opinio sicut a proponentibus accepta est in summa, et postmodum vera, si qua sunt in ea, supponantur et falsa et impossibilia referantur. Dicunt igitur primo, supponentes secundum Philosophum, quod nulla potentia nec generabilis nec corruptibilis est, quoniam si esset, esset materia prima alia prior. Secundo, quod est potentia simpliciter non habens actum nec sub esse completo nec sub esse incompleto. Tertio, quod est in potentia ad omnes formas materiales, loquendo generaliter. Et haec, quia vera sunt, si recte intelligantur, supponantur cum eis.

Quibus suppositis, subiungunt quod materia sic est potentia quod vere et proprie secundum substantiam suam transmutabilis est in quodlibet ens naturale, et non manet in fine transmutationis, sed transmutatur in substantiam termini acquisiti habentis esse specificum, non habens in potentia materiam distinctam a forma. Et per consequens generatum per se est simplex, non compositum ex diversis naturis, sicut de caelo posuit Averroes, ita ut forma sit tota essentia rei. Quia tamen huiusmodi forma, quae est terminus transmutationis, fit ex materia sub alia forma, resolubilis est in illam et ipsa forma est in potentia ad formas alias. Et sic quodammodo entia naturalia composita sunt ex forma et potentia et habent actum permixtum potentiae materiali, licet materia non sit in eis secundum substantiam. Et ex hoc nituntur ulterius salvare transmutationes naturales et reddere causas omnium naturalium, asserentes quod per hanc viam est liber exitus ad omnia naturalia salvanda et ad verificandum primas propositiones in naturalibus, et ad evitandum multa gravia et difficilia contingentia aliter potentibus, puta de productione formarum et salvatione relinquiarum corporum corruptorum de susceptione magis et minus in substantiis et huiusmodi aliis.”

Of course, there are also many traditional theological questions in Peter's *Quodlibeta*, as well as the kind of interesting questions one expects from *quodlibeta*, such as (II.16) whether murdering someone according to one's erroneous conscience is better than going against one's conscience and not murdering that person, or (II.18) whether someone who commits incest or theft while drunk should have a double penance. Roberto Lambertini commented on some of Peter's political questions in the previous volume of the present work (pp. 450, 459, 462–63), while Jean-Luc Solère looked at his *Quodlibet* I, q. 20, on identity and the resurrection (pp. 513–16). There is no shortage of interesting material in Peter's 108 quodlibetal questions.

It must be said that Peter of Auvergne's theological impact, while pronounced, may have been short-lived. A couple of the manuscripts are post-1400, including Troyes 639 from the seventeenth century, but most witnesses are rather early and the tradition appears to be horizontal. Neither Gregory of Rimini from the 1340s nor John Capreolus from the early fifteenth century cites Peter's *Quodlibeta*. In the quarter century after his death, however, Peter's ideas circulated widely. Scotus' edited Oxford works are a bit early, but he cited Peter of Auvergne in his Parisian *Sentences* commentary.²⁰ A search through manuscripts reveals that John of Pouilly cites Peter's *Quodlibeta* explicitly on several occasions: in his own *Quodlibet* I, q. 11, referring to Peter's *Quodlibet* II, q. 3, but "nescio si alicubi dixerunt alia verba"; in IV, q. 2, citing Peter's *Quodlibet* III, qq. 8–9; in *Quodlibet* IV, q. 5, referring to Peter's *Quodlibet* V; and in IV, q. 10, mentioning Peter's *Quodlibet* III. In *Sentences* commentaries Peter is cited twice explicitly in the *Scriptum in primum* (dd. 1 and 27) of the Franciscan Peter Auriol, at least three times in the commentary of the Franciscan Gerard Odonis, once in Ockham's book IV, five times in the commentary on book I of the Augustinian Dionysius de Borgo San Sepolcro, and once or twice in the commentary on the first book of the Carmelite John Baconthorpe.²¹ Considering the reluctance of

²⁰ Noted in the apparatus of *Ordinatio* I, d. 1, pars 2, a. 1, in *Ordinatio I*, dd. 1–2, ed. C. Balić et al., *Opera omnia* II (Vatican City 1950), p. 57, although the editors could not find the opinion in Peter's *Quodlibeta*.

²¹ For references in Auriol, Odonis, Dionysius, and Baconthorpe, see C. Schabel, "Auriol's Rubrics: Citations of University Theologians in Peter Auriol's *Scriptum in Primum Librum Sententiarum*," in S.F. Brown, T. Dewender, and T. Kobusch, eds., *Philosophical Debates at Paris in the Early Fourteenth Century*, Brill: Leiden, forthcoming, and the literature cited there. The Pouilly references are based on the copy of his *Quodlibeta* in BAV, Vat. lat. 1017, while for Rimini, Capreolus, and Ockham I employed the indices of the critical

scholastics to cite their contemporaries, especially those with whom they agreed, this sampling is impressive.

So the prospective editor of Peter of Auvergne's *Quodlibeta* will be dealing with an important text. Editing the *Quodlibeta* will not be an easy task, especially given Peter's tendency to reuse his own and others' material, probably from those who influenced him the most, Thomas Aquinas, Henry of Ghent, and Godfrey of Fontaines. But at least the manuscript tradition, in my opinion, presents few obstacles.

The Manuscripts and Sole Redaction of Peter of Auvergne's Quodlibeta

The medieval manuscripts containing Peter's *Quodlibeta*, almost all from the fourteenth century, are as follows (s = selected questions; a = abbreviations):

G = Angers, Bibliothèque publique 223 (214) (ff. 34va–60vb)	I	II	—	—	—	—
B = Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, lat. fol. 428 (ff. 48ra–103rb)	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
S = Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Magdeb. 149 (ff. 1ra–100rb)	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
R = Brugge, Openbare Bibliotheek 228 (ff. 61ra–86vb)	I	II	—	—	—	—
E = Erfurt, Universitätsbibliothek, Dep. Erf. CA 2 ^o 108 (ff. 200ra–231va)	—	—	—	IV	V	—
F = Firenze, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, II.II.182 (ff. 419ra–433vb)	I	II	—	—	—	—
C = Padova, Biblioteca Antoniana XVII. 373 (ff. 128va–146vb)	I	II	—	—	—	—
D = Padova, Biblioteca Antoniana XXIII. 662 (ff. 97ra–186rb)	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
L = Pamplona, Biblioteca de la Catedral, 28 (see Appendix I)	s	s	s	s	—	s
M = Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 3512 (ff. 59rb–119vb)	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
W = Paris, BnF lat. F 3121 A (ff. 1ra–91rb)	I	II	III	IV	V	VI

editions of their *Sentences* commentaries. For Odonis' reaction to Peter on the principle of individuation, see now L.M. de Rijk, "Giraldus Odonis, Godfrey of Fontaines, and Peter Auriol on the Principle of Individuation," in *Ad Ingenii Acuitionem. Studies in Honour of Alfonso Maierù*, S. Caroti, R. Imbach, Z. Kaluza, G. Stabile, and L. Sturlese, eds. (Louvain-la-Neuve 2006) (pp. 404–36), pp. 406–7.

X = Paris, BnF lat. 14562 (ff. 2ra–85vb)	I	II	III * IV	V	VI
A = Paris, BnF lat. 15350 (ff. 339ra–348rb)	sa	sa	—	—	—
Y = Paris, BnF lat. 15841 (ff. 1ra–51vb)	I	II	III	IV	V
Z = Paris, BnF lat. 15851 (ff. 3ra–80vb)	I	II	III	IV	V
P = Praha, Národní Knihovna, XIII.D.5 (Y.II. 3.n.1.) (2297) (ff. 26vb–57vb)	s	s	s	s	s
T = Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale 269 (ff. 136ra–196ra)	I	II	III	IV	V
O = Città del Vaticano, BAV, Ottob. lat. 196 (ff. 51ra–75rb)	I	II	III	—	—
V = Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. lat. 932 (ff. 102ra–170ra)	I	II	III	IV	V

Witnesses per *quodlibet*, not including selected questions in A, L, and P

* X actually contains two copies of *Quodlibet* III back-to-back.

This generally corrects or makes more precise Glorieux's chart, except that the Angers and Berlin Magdeburg witnesses have not been noted previously in studies on Peter's *Quodlibeta*, nor has the second copy of *Quodlibet* III in X (BnF 14562). Likewise, the ten questions copied in various places in the Pamplona manuscript have not been noted thus far.²² No doubt other witnesses, or at least fragments, will eventually come to light.

In Giuseppina Cannizzo's article on Peter's *Quodlibeta*, the author defended the theory that Peter himself produced a second "edizione" of the first five *Quodlibeta* (I, 489), represented solely by manuscript Y (BnF 15841). Her first evidence was "la quasi irreprensibilità del testo, la correttezza grafica, la presenza di alcune—non numerose ma significative—varianti d'autore" (I, 498). According to Cannizzo, manuscript Y, which had rarely been employed until then, is the oldest and best (II, 605). She knew it to be from the early fourteenth century and so

²² I learned of the Angers manuscript via Murano, *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia*, p. 665, who found it via Destrez's index. For the Berlin Magdeburg manuscript, see U. Winter and K. Heydeck, *Die Manuscripta magdeburgica der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin preussischer Kulturbesitz* (Wiesbaden 2004), pp. 153–4. For Pamplona, see J. Goñi, "Catálogo de los manuscritos teológicos de la Catedral de Pamplona," part 2, *Revista Española de Teología* 17 (1957) (pp. 383–418), pp. 399–406 (contains I.15; II.13, 16, 18–19; III.14, 16; IV.16; VI.16–17). According to the Institute de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, MS Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale 639, is from the 17th century and hence is not considered here. On the other manuscripts, see especially Cannizzo II, pp. 606–13; Pattin, *Pour l'histoire du sens agent*, p. 9 (noting that A dates from the end of the 13th century and belonged to Godfrey of Fontaines); and Hentschel, "Der verjagte Dämon," p. 411, and the catalogues cited in those places.

maintained that it was from before 1304 (II, 609). She also remarked that the manuscript tradition was almost completely contaminated (II, 607, 634). She was able to look at all medieval witnesses except B (Berlin 428, which she guessed was in Tübingen at the time), P (Prague), and of course G, L, and S, but her findings on the manuscript tradition were based mainly on her edition of three questions *de verbo* (I.21 and V.9–10), less than 400 lines of text in all, for which she only employed six of the eight (ten including B and S) complete witnesses plus manuscript O for the first question.

Cannizzo herself concluded that the basic text is fundamentally the same in all witnesses, but that Y contains consistent variants and sometimes inserts superior, “corrette” readings, although she gave no specific examples of this. For the main version of the text, she took Z to be the best witness, remarking that the two manuscripts are independent because of divergent variants (II, 618–20). On the basis of some internal and external differences between the first five *Quodlibeta* and *Quodlibet* VI in Y, and the lack of “quasi impercettibili” (I, 498; II, 630) indications of *pecias* in the latter, Cannizzo asserted that the last *Quodlibet* was added to Y—or its tradition—after Peter’s death, or perhaps after he became bishop of Clermont in 1302 (II, 622, 627). In sum, Y contains “una revisione unitaria ed organica eseguita dallo stesso autore sulle singole dispute” for the first five *Quodlibeta* (II, 627).

Cannizzo had no doubts about her theory, declaring that Y “è certamente il più antico codice” (II, 628) and “indubbiamente si può parlare con sicurezza di revisione” (II, 629). Then, again without giving specific examples, she attempted to construct possible stemmata that would take into account all combinations of shared variants (II, 637–48), having stated that *eliminatio* was not possible (II, 637), no doubt because of the extensive contamination. In order to explain these variants, Cannizzo resorted to some rather complex diagrams.

It seems to me, however, that there is a much simpler explanation: the scribe of Y made intelligent corrections on occasion. Cannizzo herself admitted (II, 636) that Y contains unshared omissions and errors, and her edition and my own show that Y even has omissions *per homoioteleuton*, so Y would then have to stem from an exemplar of the revision. But this would then mean that obvious scribal corrections above the line or in the margins of Y indicate a flawed exemplar, entailing that Y is at least two steps from the revision. And why then posit a dating of before 1304 for the manuscript? A better alternative is that there

is no revised text and that Y's scribe made smart conjectures, a common occurrence with an intelligent scribe. The surviving indications of pecias, moreover, agree with the numbers in M, suggesting that the same exemplar(s) was used. Finally, the fact that there are no such markings preserved in Y for *Quodlibet* VI is of little importance, since only one of the five markings remains for *Quodlibet* II. Thus there is no good reason to suppose that *Quodlibet* VI in Y is radically different from the first five.²³ In any case, if Y represented a new redaction, one would have expected other revisions, such as the elimination of the reference to the "ultima disputatione" in the incipit to *Quodlibet* IV, or the insertion of an explicit organizing plan in the incipit to *Quodlibet* I.

Y is not the only witness with an intelligent scribe. In fact, rather than resort to the extensive contamination theory, it would be easier to say that all witnesses are independent and that most stem either directly or indirectly from the exemplar deposited with the stationers. Despite the requirement that such exemplars be accurate and clear, it is obvious that in places the exemplar of Peter's *Quodlibeta* was neither, as the editions—and even the question list below²⁴—show. The scribes often failed to decipher a reading, and we have a great variety of groupings as a result. Although there is most likely some contamination, there are also many chance sharings of "erroneous" readings. In some cases editors have had to go with a sole witness against the rest, probably a scribal correction rather than a correct copying of the exemplar, and there are quite a few instances where Cannizzo herself resorted to her own conjecture or noted a serious problem (e.g., III, pp. 84.14; 86.5). The pecia system would tend to produce a uniform tradition, especially when the popularity of the text was relatively short-lived. This is exactly the situation we have here. In any event, her editing sample amounts

²³ Murano, *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia*, p. 665, reports that of the 5 pecia for *Quodlibet* I, there are only markings for pecias 2, 3, and 4; of the 5 for II, only for pecia 2; of the 4 for III, for pecias 1, 2, and 3; of the 6 for IV, for pecias 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6; of the 5 for V, for pecias 2, 3, 4, and 5.

²⁴ Appendix I has no apparatus, but there are numerous occasions when the exemplar at the stationers was in error or unclear. In several cases it had the indicative rather than subjunctive, and the scribes of B and/or F made the correction. In I.12 it had "ad hoc," "pertinentes," and "determinata," where "adhuc," "pertinens," and "determinatam" were needed, and no scribe corrected the "pertinentes." The manuscripts are in complete disagreement about the "dilectionis oblivionem" in I.15, which could be any combination of cases for those words (Glorieux omits "dilectionis"). There are many other examples one could give.

to about 380 lines of text, she employed only about half of the extant witnesses, and there were no doubt once many other complete and partial witnesses, perhaps several times as many as now exist.

Let us first analyze the apparatus criticus in each of the editions employing multiple witnesses that were published before and after Cannizzo's time. Koch's edition of VI.14 (1931) employed VX, finding no omissions *per homoioteleuton*. Koch wrote that X was "older and better" than V, but his own apparatus criticus shows that he rejected an equal number of variants from V and X, and in the first two cases, at least, he erred in accepting X's mistakes over V's correct readings.²⁵ Hocedez's edition of II.5 (1934) was more ambitious, using RVXZ. His apparatus criticus revealed that R and V have several unshared omissions *per homoioteleuton* each, that X has one large one of 16 words, and that Z had none whatsoever, a hierarchy reflected in smaller variants as well, RV having the most and Z the least, supporting Cannizzo's later preference for Z. Moreover, the poorest manuscripts, RV, share several variants and appear to be linked, although they are independent.²⁶ Thomas Graf only had access to VZ for his 1935 edition of V.11, finding V better than Z, but still problematic.²⁷ Leclercq's edition of I.14 (1939) was based on X and Y, i.e., Cannizzo's favorite witness, but he provided no apparatus.²⁸ Arthur Monahan published II.4 from TV in 1955, showing that T is better, although each manuscript has two unshared omissions *per homoioteleuton*.²⁹ B.G. Guyot published I.18 in 1961 from AMXYZ, but without an exhaustive apparatus, while Weber's edition of I.20 from 1973 used DT and Segarro's earlier transcription of V, again recording almost no variants.³⁰ In contrast, Pattin's 1988 edition of II.11 made use of eight witnesses, AORVWXYZ, although he based himself on RXYZ and provided a complete apparatus only for those witnesses. Not surprisingly, the fragmentary manuscript A was found to carry a text that abbreviated on occasion, as much as 18 lines. Surprisingly, of his four primary manuscripts, Z is by far the worst, with 35 variants of one word and five omissions *per homoioteleuton* of a total

²⁵ Koch, "Sind die Pygmäen Menschen?" pp. 200 and 209, nn. 17–18.

²⁶ Hocedez, "Un Question inédit de Pierre d'Auvergne."

²⁷ Graf, *De subiecto psychico gratiae et virtutum*, p. 20*.

²⁸ Leclercq, "La théologie comme science."

²⁹ Monahan, "Quaestiones in Metaphysicam Petri de Alvernia," p. 147.

³⁰ Guyot, "Textes inédits relatifs à l'étude précédente," pp. 153–8; Segarro, "Un precursor de Durando," pp. 119–24; Weber, *Die Lehre von der Auferstehung der Toten*, pp. 372–6.

of 49 words, while X has one such omission. Of RXY, Y has slightly fewer unshared variants, but this argues against its carrying a revised redaction. Moreover, Pattin's apparatus has Y agreeing with R's, X's, and Z's otherwise unshared erroneous readings on some occasions.³¹ In 1991 Dales and Argerami printed I.7, but they chose FX as their witnesses, with F exhibiting three times as many errors as X, although each manuscript has an omission *per homoioteleuton*.³² Finally, in 2000 Frank Hentschel published Peter's last two quodlibetal questions, VI.16–17, employing BTVXZ. Hentschel chose X as his base manuscript, and his apparatus shows that in these questions the witnesses do not differ drastically in quality, with B perhaps being worse than TVZ, although Z has a very large omission *per homoioteleuton* of 22 words. B and T each have an omission of 8 words, and share one of 6 words, but otherwise show no signs of representing a family. X itself has a number of small errors, but along with V it has no large omissions.³³

Cannizzo's apparatus criticus is more difficult to break down, since she tended to include everything in the apparatus, even orthographical variations such as "nichil" as a variant for "nihil" or "attribucionem" for "attributionem." Again, one may sometimes disagree with her choice of reading, especially when Y reads against the rest but does not make better sense. For the six manuscripts she used for all three of her questions (I.21 and V.9–10), MTVXYZ, the unshared variants in her apparatus show that the best manuscripts are TXY. T has an unshared omission of 4 words and shares omissions of 10 and 6 words with Y and M respectively; the grouping of variants in general, however, does not link T to either Y or M, so one assumes that these shared omissions are by chance. X has more small variants but no omission above 3 words. Y, on the other hand, has about as many small variants as T, but also has unshared omissions of 4 and 5 words and the 10-word omission it shares with T. Since Cannizzo considers the entire tradition to be in error on a dozen occasions, and Y itself has several small errors and three sizeable omissions, there seems to be little reason to argue that Y represents an author's revision, and the singular readings Cannizzo

³¹ Pattin, *Pour l'histoire du sens agent*, pp. 9–15.

³² Dales-Argerami, *Medieval Latin Texts*, pp. 144–8.

³³ Hentschel, "Der verjagte Dämon," pp. 412–21. The incipits should read "Ad primam argutum fuit" and "Et argutum fuit." Variants 281–2 on p. 420 are problematic in that two overlapping omissions are reported for B; only 281 is correct. Likewise, in Cannizzo III, p. 80, l. 3, the incipit should be "argutum fuit," as on p. 84, l. 3.

does adopt from Y are probably scribal interventions. Of the other manuscripts, MZ are good. Z has relatively few small unshared variants, but three large singular omissions of 13, 12, and 7 words. Finally, V is a poor witness. Cannizzo also used O for I.21, finding it to be a good manuscript, with one large unshared omission of 12 words.

The question list in Appendix I and the critical edition of *Quodlibet* I, q. 1, in Appendix II are based on complete reproductions of all witnesses. I have also edited IV.2 and VI.2, on divine foreknowledge and future contingents, for a future publication. Keeping in mind that this sample is only about 500 lines of text, the results are as follows:

Complete witnesses

- B: Cannizzo did not have access to B, which is one of the best manuscripts here, with relatively few small errors and only two unshared omissions of 4 words each. B's scribe, however, sometimes intervenes (usually successfully) to improve the text, which may account for the numerous variants in Hentschel's edition. In Hentschel, moreover, B has an omission of 8 words and shares with T one of 6 words, a link that is not supported in the questions I have edited.
- D: Only Guyot has employed manuscript D but without an apparatus. D is a relatively poor manuscript, with many small variants, although only three large omissions of 9, 6, and 4 words. At the end of III.6 and the beginning of III.7, about two columns of text are missing.
- M: The edition of these three questions shows that the rather important Mazarine manuscript is one of the best here, even better than in Cannizzo's questions. It has large omissions of 6 and 3 words (and two more in the material in Appendix I) and relatively few small errors.
- S: This manuscript seems to have been unknown to previous editors of questions from Peter's *Quodlibeta*. The hand is quite clear, and in the question edited below S provides the best text of all, with only one unshared erroneous variant. For the other questions it still has among the fewest small errors, but in VI.2 there is an omission *per homoioteleuton* of 8 words and other omissions of 4 and 3 words. Perhaps, like Z below, its quality varies, but it appears to be a good witness overall.
- T: All previous editions have shown the Troyes manuscript to be good, and these questions confirm this. T has among the fewest small errors here, although it does have large omissions of 17 and 8 words.
- V: The previous editions, with the exception of Hentschel's, have shown that manuscript V is not very good. In these three questions it is by far the worst in terms of small errors and large omissions, of 25, 13, 13, 13, 10, and 6 words.
- W: Although Pattin did use witness W, he did not report its variants, and Cannizzo did not employ it. In these three questions it proves to be an

average witness in terms of small unshared errors, but it has large omissions of 25, 16, 10, and 8 words.

- X: Not only is X a complete witness, but for some reason it contains two copies of *Quodlibet* III back-to-back, indicated in the question list below by X¹ and X². I have not edited any question from *Quodlibet* III, but in some cases in the question list X² corrects an error in the exemplar whereas X¹ did not. Koch and Hentschel favored X in their editions, although Hocedez did report an omission of 16 words. Cannizzo showed it to be one of the best, and my three questions confirm this: there is only one omission of 3 words and relatively few minor errors.
- Y: Cannizzo's favorite manuscript, Y is in fact among the best manuscripts in these three questions, with the fewest small, unshared variants. It does have large singular omissions of 11 and 10 words, however.
- Z: Witness Z is a rather odd case in that its performance differs radically from question to question. For Pattin, it is very corrupt both in terms of small errors and large omissions, while for Cannizzo it has few minor variants but three large omissions, a result reflected in Hentschel's apparatus, and finally Hocedez's apparatus shows it to be the best of his witnesses. Cannizzo thinks it to be the best of her "main" redaction, although I think her apparatus demonstrates that TX are rivals. In these three questions, however, Z is one of the best, with a lower-than-average number of minor errors but no large omissions whatsoever.

Partial witnesses

- A: Cannizzo did not use A, a witness to I and II. Godfrey of Fontaines owned the manuscript, which explains why A does not contain all questions from I and II and the thirty-one (out of forty) that it does preserve are heavily abbreviated, usually containing 50% or less of the material, omitting the beginning and starting with Peter's *determinatio*. Not surprisingly, given its owner, the text is quite good, including several "correct" or corrected readings, notably in pp. 127.11, 130.1, and 130.5 in Appendix II. Pattin employed it.
- C: This is the first time that C, containing I and II, has been used. The edition of I.1 shows that it is a good manuscript, with few unshared errors and only one omission of 5 words.
- E: This is the first instance for the use of E, which contains only IV and V. E provides a very good text in IV.2, with few singular variants and no large omissions at all.
- F: Previous to this, only Dales and Argerami employed F, which contains I and II. The edition of I.1 confirms the impression from their apparatus that F is a very poor witness, with a great number of small errors and large omissions of 11 and 9 words, and one of 4 words that it shares with O, otherwise independent. Since F's scribe frequently made intelligent corrections, these shortcomings should probably be attributed to a faulty exemplar.

- G: As far as I know, G, which contains I and II, has never been used or noted before in studies of Peter's *Quodlibeta*. This is no great loss since, while the manuscript is written in a clear hand, it provides a rather corrupt text for I.1 in terms of small errors and omissions, although none of them is large.
- L: It seems that L has not been noted for the ten questions of Peter's *Quodlibeta* it contains. None of these ten corresponds to questions that I have edited or transcribed, so I collated its VI.17 against Hentschel's edition, which employed five manuscripts, BPTVX. L is independent from these, and while the others have between five and ten singular errors each, L has thirty, so it is rather poor, although it has no large errors, in contrast to B and T which have omissions of 8 words. At one point, p. 428, par. 3, L gives the reading *Politice*, which seems to be a scribal correction of the other manuscripts' *predicto*.
- O: The edition of I.1 also shows that O, preserving I–III, is a very good witness here, with very few small errors and no large omissions, although it has a large omission in Cannizzo's I.21, where it is still a good witness.
- P: This is the first time that the Prague manuscript has been employed. It contains many selected questions from all six *Quodlibeta*, fifty-one of the total of 108, including all three of the questions I have edited. Despite this selection, it contains the complete text of each question, including the therefore sometimes senseless incipits. Nevertheless, it has a relatively large number of small variants, perhaps due to the scribe's freedom, and two large omissions of 13 and 10 words. It is thus an average witness.
- R: R preserves I and II. Hocedez's edition showed it to be quite poor in terms of minor errors and large omissions and to share several small variants with V, although for Patin, who did not employ V, R was an average witness. In I.1, too, it is average, with one large omission of 6 words.

All witnesses (except E and G, hitherto used for only one question each) have large, unshared omissions *per homoioteleuton* in what has been edited so far, which suggests that no extant manuscript served as the exemplar for any other extant manuscript, but rather they are all independent. So far, no two complete manuscripts have exhibited enough striking shared variants to warrant labelling them a family, although there are a few interesting coincidences and some manuscripts are certainly not direct copies from the stationer's exemplar. Not surprisingly, some of the witnesses preserving only *Quodlibeta* I and II, CGR, show a few commonalities in I.1, with GR sharing a couple of significant small variants and CG having a common omission of 5 words. Hocedez's edition also suggests that R and V are linked. More evidence is needed, however, but from what we have there is no reason at this point to attempt a stemma. The best one can do is suggest a choice of manuscripts for future editors. Of the complete witnesses, BMSTXY are the

best, with Z being inconsistent and P being an interesting case. W is fair, but DV are to be avoided. In the early section, OC are good, R is average, A abbreviates—although it is historically important, being Godfrey of Fontaines' manuscript—and FG are poor. In IV and V, E is very good.

As was said, Y's variants and large omissions argue against its representing a new redaction. When it does read well against the others, this is probably a result of scribal intervention, which is not restricted to Y. For example, in the edition below, p. 127.4, the "probat" is awkward, although it is followed by a direct quotation from Proclus, so T's scribe puts "quod" and Y's scribe adds it above the line after the fact. There are many instances where the entire tradition is confusing, if not in error, and scribal intervention is rampant. Peter's elliptical style does not help matters. In pp. 124.8 and 129.16, the exemplar may have had the abbreviation for "qui" when "quae" was needed, or more likely it had an ambiguous abbreviation read one way by some scribes and another way by the others. In line 9 "creatum" was written in a way that looked more like "tantum." The exemplar probably did not have the "in" before "vigore" in the same line, and BDF corrected automatically to correspond to the phrasing of the question in p. 124.2. Page 127.10 was missing an "est" in the exemplar, and various scribes supplied it in different places, sometimes above the line or in the margin. The same thing happens in pp. 128.4 and 130.1. Perhaps the best example in this question is in p. 130.5. Here the exemplar seems to have had "Nec etiam in agentibus aequi voluntatis," which is bad enough as it is, but then the next sentence begins "Agens enim aequivocum..." so STWY went back and fixed what was probably "aequi vo^{is}" to the correct "aequivocis." The scribes of ABFP either had already corrected models before them, or read "aequivocis," or—more likely—were paying close enough attention to know that it should be "aequivocis." The other witnesses just wrote "aequi voluntatis."

The other questions and the question list contain numerous other examples, and frequently the scribes of B, F, and Y are found to attempt reasonable conjectures. Sometimes the exemplar is flawed, as in one case where it probably had "quo existunt" and most scribes automatically corrected to "coexistunt." For IV.8 in the question list, the exemplar had "transeuntibus," which only B and V fixed as "transmutabilibus," but a few lines later, where the exemplar seems to have had the non-sensical "a quam est sicut," for the "a quam" some went with "ad quam," others with "a qua," but "acquisita" and "quae acquiritur" were also

ventured. Only a couple saw that “sicut” should be “sint.” Occasionally no scribe could figure out what was wrong. Y often fails to make obvious corrections, and where it makes an attempt Y’s changes are not always correct. In VI.2, where Peter refers silently to God’s “scientia” in the previous sentence—a good example of his elliptical style—the next sentence (and paragraph) begins: “Per ipsam autem immutabilem et invariabilem existentem immutabiliter et invariabiliter intelligit...” Without the noun “scientiam,” however, Y changes “immutabilem” to “immutabilitatem,” with the result that the sentence reads better but is incorrect. Elsewhere, when “immutabilitas” is called for but the exemplar and several manuscripts have “mutabilitas,” Y later corrects to “immutabilitas,” against its exemplar’s reading. In another case a simple “omnes” must have looked like “dicimus” in the exemplar, the “d” being with a faint and small ascender, and several scribes, including Y’s, read it that way. Y leaves the senseless reading, but others tried to fix the context in other ways. Near the end, where “contingens” is called for, all manuscripts have “consequens,” but B goes back and adds “vel contingens” in the margin. Naturally, Y is just wrong in many cases.

In conclusion, future editors should approach Peter of Auvergne’s *Quodlibeta* as a single redaction. This considerably simplifies the task awaiting the individual or team undertaking the critical edition of the entire set of *Quodlibeta*, a project that will help illuminate theology at Paris on the eve of John Duns Scotus’ arrival.

Notes on Appendices: The question list (Appendix I) is based on the readings of all witnesses, although no apparatus is included. For full bibliographical references to previous editions, see above, note 5. The length of the questions, given just before the foliation in the manuscripts, is the number of columns in V. The edition of *Quodlibet* I, q. 1 (Appendix II), employs all witnesses and includes all variants except for most corrections and things like ergo/igitur. In both appendices, * = *lectio incerta*.

APPENDIX I

PETRI DE ALVERNIA TABULA QUAESTIONUM QUODLIBETALIUM

Quodlibet I (probably Advent 1296, 53.5 columns)

- Quaerebatur [1–8] de potentia Dei. Et primo quantum ad immensitatem ipsius, **[1]** utrum scilicet Deus sit infinitae virtutis in vigore. Et arguitur quod non... (2.9: A 339ra–b; B 48ra–b; C 128va–b; D 97ra–va; F 419ra–b; G 34va–35ra; M 59rb–vb; O 51ra–b; P 26vb–27rb; R 61ra–va; S 1ra–vb; T 136ra–b; V 102ra–va; W 1ra–vb; X 2ra–va; Y 1ra–va; Z 3ra–vb) (ed. Schabel, this chapter).
- Deinde quaerebatur [2–8] de infinitate virtutis seu potentiae eius in comparatione ad ipsa producta. Et primo [2–6] de ipsa in comparatione ad infinitum vel infinita, deinde [7–8] per comparationem ad aliqua finita. Circa primum implicite multa [2–5] quaerebantur, sub una [6] tamen quaestione. Et ut procedatur secundum ordinem procedatur, fuit quaestio prima de his quae implicabantur **[2]** utrum Deus possit facere infinita differentia specie aequaliter ab ipso distantia simpliciter. Et arguitur quod sic... (2.3: A 339rb; B 48rb–vb; C 128vb–129rb; D 97va–98rb; F 419rb–va; G 35ra–va; M 59vb–60rb; O 51rb–vb; P deest; R 61va–62ra; S 1vb–2va; T 136rb–vb; V 102va–103rb; W 2ra–va; X 2va–3ra; Y 1va–b; Z 3vb–4rb).
- Consequenter quaeritur **[3]** utrum Deus possit facere infinita secundum speciem differentia inter infimam creaturam et non-ens. Et quod sic arguitur... (1.7: A 339rb–va; B 48vb–49ra; C 129rb–va; D 98rb–vb; F 419va–b; G 35va–36ra; M 60rb–va; O 51vb–52ra; P deest; R 62ra–va; S 2va–3ra; T 136vb–137ra; V 103rb–va; W 2va–3rb; X 3ra–b; Y 1vb–2rb; Z 4rb–vb).
- Deinde quaerebatur **[4]** utrum Deus possit facere infinita specie differentia inter supremam creaturam et ipsum. Et arguitur quod sic... (2.5: A 339va–b; B 49ra–va; C 129va–130ra; D 98vb–99va; F 419vb–420rb; G 36ra–va; M 60va–61ra; O 52ra–b; P deest; R 62va–63ra; S 3ra–vb; T 137ra–va; V 103va–104rb; W 3rb–4ra; X 3rb–vb; Y 2rb–vb; Z 4vb–5va).
- Postea quaerebatur **[5]** an inter duas species in universo Deus possit facere infinitas. Et quod sic arguitur... (1.5: A 339vb–340ra; B 49va–b; C 130ra; D 99va–100ra; F 420rb; G 36va–37ra; M 61ra–b; O 52rb–va; P deest; R 63ra–b; S 3vb–4rb; T 137va–b; V 104rb–va; W 4ra–b; X 3vb–4ra; Y 2vb–3ra; Z 5va–b).
- Tunc quaerebatur, et erat quaestio principalis in qua pro argumentis ad unam partem implicabantur quattuor quaestiones praedictae, **[6]** utrum scilicet Deus possit facere plura quam infinita secundum speciem (1.0: A deest; B 49vb–50ra; C 130ra–b; D 100ra–b; F 420rb–va; G 37ra; M 61rb–va; O 52va–b; P deest; R 63rb–va; S 4rb–va; T 137vb; V 104va–b; W 4rb–va; X 4ra–b; Y 3ra; Z 5vb–6ra).
- Deinde quaerebatur [7–8] de potentia Dei in comparatione ad quaedam finita, et primo [7] in comparatione ad separationem quorundam coniunctorum in esse, secundo [8] in comparatione ad mundi productionem. Circa primum quaerebatur unum, **[7]** an scilicet Deus possit facere quod creatura videat essentiam Dei nudam et non sit beata. Et videtur quod sic... (4.6: A 340ra; B 50ra–vb; C 130rb–131ra; D 100rb–101rb; F 420va–421ra; G 37ra–38rb; M 61va–62va; O 52vb–53va; P 27rb–28ra; R 63va–64vb; S 4va–6ra; T 137vb–138vb; V 104vb–106ra; W 4va–5vb; X 4rb–5ra; Y 3ra–vb; Z 6ra–7rb) (ed. Thomas Jeschke, forthcoming; partial ed.—a. 2 and part of a. 3—Muller 1948, pp. 153–5, from V, calling it no. 7) (= G: 6).

- Consequenter quaeritur **[8]** utrum Deus potuit facere mundum esse ab aeterno. Et quod non videtur... (2.4: A 340ra-b; B 50vb-51rb; C 131ra-b; D 101va-102ra; F 421ra-va; G 38rb-vb; M 62va-b; O 53va-b; P 28ra-va; R 64vb-65rb; S 6ra-vb; T 138vb-139ra; V 106ra-va; W 6ra-vb; X 5ra-va; Y 3vb-4rb; Z 7rb-8ra) (ed. Dales-Argerami 1992, pp. 144-48, from FX) (= G: 7).
- Postea quaerebatur [9-21] de ente creato. Et primo quaerebatur unum [9] circa naturam boni quod videtur converti cum ente universaliter, deinde multa [10-21] circa diversa genera et species entium. Primum erat **[9]** utrum in ratione boni formalius sit ratio communicativi an ratio finis. Et quod ratio communicativi arguitur... (1.2: A 340rb; B 51rb-va; C 131rb-va; D 102ra-va; F 421va; G 38vb-39ra; M 62vb-63ra; O 53vb-54ra; P deest; R 65rb-va; S 6vb-7ra; T 139ra-b; V 106va-107ra; W 6vb-7ra; X 5va-b; Y 4b-va; Z 8ra-b) (= G: 8).
- Consequenter quaeritur [10-21] de ente creato in particulari magis, et primo [10-11] de substantia vel natura corporea simpliciter, deinde [12-21] de natura humana sive de homine. Circa primum proponebatur quaestio **[10]** utrum substantia corporea per essentiam suam sit quanta. Et arguebatur quod sic... (1.4: A deest; B 51va-b; C 131va-b; D 102va-b; F 421va-b; G 39ra-b; M 63ra-va; O 54ra-b; P deest; R 65va-b; S 7ra-va; T 139rb-va; V 107ra-b; W 7ra-va; X 5vb-6ra; Y 4va-b; Z 8rb-vb) (= G: 9).
- Secundo quaesitum fuit **[11]** utrum in substantia corporea dimensiones indeterminatae praecedant formam substantialem in materia. Et arguebatur quod non... (3.8: A 340rb-va; B 51vb-52rb; C 131vb-132va; D 102vb-103vb; F 421vb-422rb; G 39rb-40rb; M 63va-64ra; O 54rb-vb; P 28va-29rb; R 66ra-vb; S 7va-8va; T 139va-140ra; V 107rb-108rb; W 7va-8va; X 6ra-vb; Y 4vb-5rb; Z 8vb-9vb) (= G:10).
- Consequenter quaeritur [12-21] de his quae ad hominem pertinent, et primo [12-19] de quibusdam pertinentibus ad ipsum secundum statum praesentis vitae, secundo [20-21] de pertinentibus ad statum vitae futurae. Adhuc primo circa primum sunt aliquae quaestiones [12-15] pertinentes ad cognitionem humanam, deinde aliae [16-18] pertinentes ad praelationis officium, tertio quaedam [19] pertinens (*mss.* pertinentes) ad quoddam sacramentum. Circa primum primo proponitur quaestio [12] de his quae requiri videntur ad cognitionem universaliter, secundo quaerebatur quoddam [13] pertinens ad cognitionem intellectivam alicuius determinatam, tertio [14-15] de quibusdam quae homo per cognitionem operatur. Circa primum quaerebatur unum tantum, **[12]** utrum scilicet in omni cognitione requiratur aliquid inferi, ut puta species aliqua. Et arguebatur quod sic... (4.3: A 340va-b; B 52rb-53ra; C 132va-133ra; D 103vb-105ra; F 422rb-vb; G 40rb-41rb; M 64ra-65ra; O 54vb-55va; P deest; R 66vb-67vb; S 8va-9vb; T 140ra-vb; V 108rb-109rb; W 8va-10ra; X 6vb-7vb; Y 5rb-6ra; Z 9vb-11ra) (= G: 11).
- Consequenter quaesitum fuit de quodam pertinente ad cognitionem intellectivam et erat de cognitione reflexa, **[13]** utrum scilicet intelligens se intelligere intelligentem Deum per essentiam sit beatus. Et arguebatur primo quod sic... (1.3: A 340vb-341ra; B 53ra-b; C 133ra-b; D 105ra-b; F 422vb-423ra; G 41rb-va; M 65ra-b; O 55va-b; P deest; R 67vb-68rb; S 9vb-10rb; T 141ra; V 109rb-va; W 10ra-va; X 7vb-8ra; Y 6ra-b; Z 11ra-b) (= G: 12).
- Deinde quaerebatur [14-15] de quibusdam quae homo per cognitionem operatur. Et proponebantur duo. Primum fuit de doctrina cuius primum est scientia, [14] utrum scilicet doctores theologiae simpliciter doceant; secundum de imaginibus astrologorum ad quas ipsi per artem vel scientiam aliquo modo cooperantur, [15] utrum imagines quae fiunt per astrologos secundum illorum scientiam habeant efficaciam in naturalibus. Circa primum **[14]** arguebatur primo quod... non... (2.9: A 341ra-b; B 53rb-vb; C 133rb-vb; D 105rb-106ra; F 423ra-va; G 41va-42rb; M 65rb-vb; O 55vb-56rb; P deest; R 68rb-vb; S 10rb-11ra; T 141ra-va; V 109va-110rb; W 10va-11rb; X 8ra-va; Y 6rb-vb; Z 11rb-12ra) (ed. Leclercq 1939, pp. 354-7, from XY, calling it no. 13) (= G: 13).

Deinde quaerebatur de secundo, **[15]** utrum scilicet imagines astrologorum, ad quas secundum artem eorum cooperantur, aliquam habeant efficaciam in naturalibus, puta an anuli oblivionis quos Moyses dicitur fecisse habebant virtutem dilectionis oblivionem inducendi. Et arguo quod sic... (3.3: A deest; B 54ra–va; C 133vb–134rb; D 106ra–107ra; F 423va–b; G 42rb–43ra; L 70r–72r; M 65vb–66va; O 56rb–vb; P 29rb–vb; R 68vb–69va; S 11ra–12ra; T 141va–142ra; V 110rb–111ra; W 11rb–12rb; X 8va–9rb; Y 6vb–7va; Z 12ra–13ra) (= G: 14).

Circa statum praelatorum quaerebantur tria [16–18], primo [16] utrum summus pontifex possit cedere vel renunciare officio suo in aliquo casu; secundo [17] utrum praelati Ecclesiae male dispensantes teneantur ad restitutionem male dispensatorum; tertio [18] utrum curati sacerdotes habeant iurisdictionem ordinariam. Circa primum **[16]** arguebatur quod... nullo modo... (2.4: A deest; B 54va–55ra; C 134rb–vb; D 107ra–va; F 423vb–424ra; G 43ra–va; M 66va–b; O 56vb–57ra; P 30ra–b; R 69va–70ra; S 12ra–vb; T 142ra–va; V 111ra–vb; W 12rb–13ra; X 9rb–vb; Y 7va–b; Z 13ra–va) (ed. Eastman 1990, pp. 137–41, from Y, calling it no. 15) (= G: 15).

Postea quaesitum fuit **[17]** utrum praelati male dispensantes bona Ecclesiae, si habeant haeredes succedentes sibi in propriis, teneantur ad restitutionem. Et arguebatur quod sic... (2.3: A deest; B 55ra–b; C 134vb–135rb; D 107va–108rb; F 424ra–b; G 43va–44ra; M 66vb–67rb; O 57ra–va; P deest; R 70rb–vb; S 12vb–13vb; T 142va–143ra; V 111vb–112rb; W 13ra–vb; X 9vb–10rb; Y 7vb–8rb; Z 13va–14rb) (= G: 16).

Deinde quaesitum fuit **[18]** utrum praelati minores habeant iurisdictionem ordinariam in subditos. Et arguitur quod sic... (3.2: A 341va–b; B 55rb–56ra; C 135rb–vb; D 108rb–109ra; F 424rb–vb; G 44ra–vb; M 67rb–68ra; O 57va–58ra; P 30rb–31ra; R 70vb–71rb; S 13vb–15ra; T 143ra–va; V 112rb–113ra; W 13vb–14vb; X 10rb–vb; Y 8rb–vb; Z 14rb–15ra) (ed. Guyot 1962, pp. 153–8, from AMXYZ, calling it no. 17) (= G: 17).

Deinde quaesitum fuit circa sacramentum ordinis unum tantum, **[19]** utrum scilicet subdiaconatus sit ordo. Et arguebatur quod non... (1.6: A deest; B 56ra–b; C 135vb–136ra; D 109ra–va; F 424vb–425ra; G 44vb–45ra; M 68ra–b; O 58ra–b; P deest; R 71va–b; S 15ra–va; T 143va–b; V 113ra–va; W 14vb–15rb; X 10vb–11rb; Y 8vb–9ra; Z 15ra–va) (= G: 18).

Post hoc quaerebantur quaedam [20–21] de homine quantum ad statum vitae futurae. Et quaeruntur duo, unum [20] quod pertinet ad veritatem resurrectionis et aliud [21] quod pertinet ad intellectum beatorum. Primum fuit **[20]** utrum sit de necessitate resurrectionis quod resurgens assumat materiam eandem quam prius habuit. Et videtur quod non... (3.5: A 341vb–342rb; B 56rb–vb; C 136ra–va; D 109va–110va; F 425ra–b; G 45ra–vb; M 68rb–69ra; O 58rb–vb; P deest; R 71vb–72vb; S 15va–16vb; T 143vb–144rb; V 113va–114rb; W 15rb–16rb; X 11rb–vb; Y 9ra–va; Z 15va–16rb) (ed. Segarro 1933, pp. 119–24, from V; ed. Weber 1973, pp. 372–6, from DT and V via Segarro, calling it no. 19) (= G: 19).

Secundum quod proponebatur de his quae pertinent ad statum vitae futurae fuit **[21]** utrum beati intelligendo divinam essentiam forment verbum de ea. Et arguitur quod sic... (3.6: A 342rb–vb; B 56vb–57va; C 136va–137ra; D 110va–111rb; F 425rb–vb; G 45vb–46vb; M 69ra–vb; O 58vb–59rb; P 31ra–va; R 72vb–73va; S 16vb–18ra; T 144rb–145ra; V 114rb–115rb; W 16rb–17ra; X 11vb–12va; Y 9va–10ra; Z 16rb–17rb) (ed. Cannizzo 1965, pp. 72–80, from MOTVXYZ) (= G: 20).

ACDGMORSTVX: Explicit primum quodlibet magistri Petri (D *add.*: etc.; M *add.*: continens v pecias; V *add.*: Incipit secundum; RSWY *add.* de Alvernia; W *add.* Incipit secundum).

BFPZ: *desunt*.

Quodlibet II (probably Advent 1297, 61.2 columns)

- Circa Deum [1–3] quaerebatur primo quantum ad principium cognitionis et operationis, **[1]** an videlicet in ipso sint ideae particularium accidentium. Et arguebatur quod non... (3.9: A 342vb–343ra; B 57va–58rb; C 137rb–vb; D 111va–112rb; F 425vb–426rb; G 47ra–vb; M 70ra–va; O 59rb–60ra; P 31va–32rb; R 73va–74rb; S 18ra–19rb; T 145ra–vb; V 115rb–116rb; W 17rb–18rb; X 12va–13rb; Y 10ra–vb; Z 17rb–18rb) (unpublished transcription Schabel).
- Deinde quaerebatur de eo per comparisonem ad operationem, **[2]** utrum scilicet inter opera Dei sit annumerandus arcus foederis. Et arguebatur quod non... (6.2: A deest; B 58rb–59rb; C 137vb–138vb; D 112rb–114ra; F 426rb–427ra; G 47vb–49ra; M 70va–71vb; O 60ra–vb; P deest; R 74rb–75vb; S 19rb–21va; T 145vb–146vb; V 116rb–117vb; W 18rb–19vb; X 13rb–14va; Y 10vb–12ra; Z 18rb–19vb).
- Postea quaeritur de Christo, qui est Deus et homo, **[3]** utrum scilicet secundum animam fruatur divinitate, aliquo habitu mediante. Et arguitur quod non... (2.2: A 343ra; B 59rb–vb; C 138vb–139ra; D 114ra–va; F 427ra–b; G 49ra–va; M 71vb–72rb; O 60vb–61ra; P deest; R 75vb–76ra; S 21va–22rb; T 146vb–147rb; V 117vb–118rb; W 19vb–20va; X 14va–15ra; Y 12ra–b; Z 19vb–20rb).
- Postea quaeritur [4–19] circa creaturas puras, et primo [4–6] de his quae pertinent ad substantias materiales simpliciter, secundo [7–19] de quibusdam quae pertinent specialiter ad naturam rationalem humanam. Circa primum quaerebantur tria, primo [4] quantum ad esse actuale, secundo [5] quantum ad ipsius substantiae individuationem, tertio [6] quantum ad rationem differentiae. Primo igitur quaerebatur **[4]** utrum esse in effectu sit in essentia substantiae compositae aliquid causatum. Et arguitur quod sic... (4.5: A 343ra–va; B 59vb–60va; C 139ra–vb; D 114va–115vb; F 427rb–428ra; G 49va–50vb; M 72rb–73ra; O 61ra–vb; P 32rb–33ra; R 76ra–77ra; S 22rb–23vb; T 147rb–148ra; V 118rb–119va; W 20va–21vb; X 15ra–vb; Y 12rb–13ra; Z 20rb–21va) (ed. Monahan 1955, pp. 177–81, from TV).
- Postmodum quaerebatur de substantia composita quantum ad eius indivisionem, **[5]** utrum scilicet eadem sint principia individuationis substantiae compositae et unitatis secundum numerum ipsius. Et videtur quod non... (4.3: A 343va–344ra; B 60va–61rb; C 139vb–140va; D 115vb–117ra; F 428ra–va; G 50vb–51vb; M 73ra–74ra; O 61vb–62va; P 33rb–vb; R 77ra–78ra; S 23vb–25ra; T 148ra–vb; V 119va–120va; W 21vb–23rb; X 15vb–16va; Y 13ra–vb; Z 21va–22va) (ed. Hocedez 1934, pp. 370–9, from RVXZ).
- Postea quaeritur **[6]** utrum aliquid differat a se realiter sine additione alicuius realis. Et arguitur primo quod non... (2.4: A 344ra–b; B 61rb–vb; C 140va–b; D 117ra–va; F 428va–b; G 51vb–52rb; M 74ra–va; O 62va–b; P deest; R 78ra–va; S 25ra–vb; T 148vb–149rb; V 120va–121rb; W 23rb–24ra; X 16va–17ra; Y 13vb–14rb; Z 22va–23rb).
- Consequenter quaerebatur [7–19] de his quae pertinent ad entia magis determinata, et circa hoc primo [7–11] de his quae pertinent ad rationem potentiae, deinde [12–19] de his quae pertinent ad actum, et specialiter hominis et quantum ad defectum in eo. Circa primum quaerebatur primo unum [7] de potentia universalis, secundo multa [8–11] de potentiis animae. Primum erat de potentia respectu actus simpliciter, **[7]** utrum scilicet aliquid possit se ipsum movere primo vel agere de potentia ad actum. Et arguebatur primo quod sic... (5.3: A 344rb–vb; B 61vb–62vb; C 140vb–141va; D 117va–119ra; F 428vb–429va; G 52rb–53rb; M 74va–75va; O 62vb–63vb; P 34ra–35ra; R 78va–79vb; S 25vb–27va; T 149rb–150rb; V 121rb–122va; W 24ra–25va; X 17ra–18ra; Y 14rb–15rb; Z 23rb–24va).
- Consequenter quaerebatur [8–11] de potentiis animae, et primo [8] in generali, secundo [9–11] in speciali magis quantum ad aliquas potentias. Circa primum quaerebatur **[8]** utrum potentiae animae sint differentiae substantiales animae vel in substantia eius. Et arguitur quod sic... (4.2: A 344vb–345va; B 62vb–63va;

- C 141va-142rb; D 119ra-120rb; F 429va-430ra; G 53rb-54rb; M 75va-76rb; O 63vb-64rb; P 35ra-vb; R 79vb-80vb; S 27va-29ra; T 150rb-151ra; V 122va-123va; W 25va-26vb; X 18ra-vb; Y 15rb-vb; Z 24va-25va).
- Postea proponebantur quaestiones [9-11] de potentiis animae in speciali, et primo de potentiis pertinentibus ad partem animae intellectualem, scilicet de intellectu et voluntate quantum ad eorum comparationem ad invicem, **[9]** an scilicet voluntas sit principalior intellectu. Et arguebatur quod sic... (2.9: A 345va-b; B 63va-64ra; C 142rb-vb; D 120rb-121ra; F 430ra-va; G 54rb-55ra; M 76rb-vb; O 64rb-vb; P 35vb-36rb; R 80vb-81va; S 29ra-vb; T 151ra-va; V 123va-124rb; W 26vb-27va; X 18vb-19rb; Y 16ra-va; Z 25va-26rb).
- Consequenter quaeritur **[10]** utrum immunitas a materia sit per se principium libertatis. Et arguebatur quod non... (4.4: A 345vb-346va; B 64ra-vb; C 142vb-143va; D 121ra-122rb; F 430va-431ra; G 55ra-56ra; M 76vb-77vb; O 64vb-65rb; P 36rb-37ra; R 81va-82va; S 30ra-31rb; T 151va-152rb; V 124rb-125rb; W 27va-28vb; X 19rb-20ra; Y 16va-17rb; Z 26rb-27va).
- Ultimo circa potentias animae quaerebatur **[11]** utrum sit ponere sensum agentem. Et arguitur quod sic... (3.4: A 346va-347ra; B 64vb-65rb; C 143va-144ra; D 122rb-123ra; F 431ra-va; G 56ra-vb; M 77vb-78va; O 65rb-66ra; P 37ra-vb; R 82va-83rb; S 31rb-32rb; T 152rb-153ra; V 125rb-126rb; W 28vb-29vb; X 20ra-vb; Y 17rb-vb; Z 27va-28rb) (ed. Pattin 1988, pp. 9-15, from AORVWXYZ).
- Deinde quaerebatur [12-19] de his quae pertinent ad actus potentiarum principaliter in homine, et primo [12-14] de his quae pertinent ad bonitatem actus, secundo [15-16] de his quae pertinent ad malitiam eius, tertio [17-19] de his quae pertinent ad delectationem malitiae vel culpae. Circa primum quaerebatur primo [12] de dispositione ad actum virtutis seu gratiae, secundo [13-14] de his quae pertinent ad ipsum actum virtutis. Circa primum quaerebatur unum tantum, **[12]** utrum scilicet infidelis possit se disponere ad gratiam. Et arguebatur quod non... (2.5: A 347ra-b; B 65rb-vb; C 144ra-b; D 123ra-vb; F 431va-b; G 56vb-57rb; M 78va-79ra; O 66ra-b; P deest; R 83rb-vb; S 32rb-33ra; T 153ra-b; V 126rb-vb; W 29vb-30va; X 20vb-21rb; Y 17vb-18ra; Z 28rb-29ra).
- Deinde quaeritur [13-14] de actibus virtutum, et primo unum [13] de actu dulciae, secundo aliud [14] de actu fortitudinis. Circa primum quaerebatur **[13]** utrum in reliquiis sanctorum, facta resolutione ad materiam, sit aliquid adorandum. Et arguebatur quod non... (2.4: A 347rb-va; B 65vb-66rb; C 144rb-vb; D 123vb-124rb; F 431vb-432ra; G 57rb-vb; L 86r-87v; M 79ra-b; O 66rb-va; P 37vb-38ra; R 83vb-84rb; S 33ra-va; T 153rb-vb; V 126vb-127va; W 30va-31rb; X 21rb-va; Y 18ra-va; Z 29ra-va).
- Consequenter quaeritur de quodam quod pertinere videtur ad actum fortitudinis, **[14]** utrum scilicet religiosus, petita licentia a superiori, quamvis non obtenta, licite possit exire ad defensionem rei publicae. Et videtur quod sic... (1.9: A 347va-b; B 66rb-va; C 144vb-145ra; D 124rb-vb; F 432ra-b; G 57vb-58rb; M 79rb-vb; O 66va-67ra; P deest; R 84rb-va; S 33va-34rb; T 153vb-154ra; V 127va-b; W 31rb-vb; X 21va-22ra; Y 18va-b; Z 29va-30ra).
- Deinde quaeritur [15-16] de his quae pertinent ad actus inordinationem, scilicet de peccato. Et proponebantur duo, unum [15] de peccato absolute et aliud [16] de comparatione unius peccati ad aliud. Primum erat **[15]** utrum praelatus intendens ad munus in collatione beneficii peccet. Et arguebatur quod sic... (1.9: A 347vb; B 66va-67ra; C 145ra-b; D 124vb-125rb; F 432rb-va; G 58rb-vb; M 79vb-80ra; O 67ra-b; P deest; R 84va-85ra; S 34rb-vb; T 154ra-va; V 127vb-128rb; W 31vb-32rb; X 22ra-b; Y 18vb-19ra; Z 30ra-va).
- Postea proponebatur quaestio de comparatione unius peccati ad aliud, **[16]** utrum scilicet aliquis habens conscientiam erroneam de aliquo iusto interficiendo plus peccet interficiendo quam non interficiendo. Et arguebatur quod non... (4.4: A deest; B 67ra-vb; C 145rb-146ra; D 125rb-126rb; F 432va-433rb; G 58vb-59va; L 76v-79v;

- M 80ra–81ra; O 67rb–vb; P deest; R 85ra–86ra; S 34vb–36ra; T 154va–155rb; V 128rb–129va; W 32rb–33va; X 22rb–23rb; Y 19rb–vb; Z 30va–31va).
- Postea quaerebantur quaedam [17–19] de his quae pertinent ad delectationem cul-
pae, scilicet de confessione et paenitentia. Et circa hoc primo [17] de confessione,
secundo [18] de iniunctione paenitentiae pro peccato, tertio [19] de iniunctione in
confessione. De primo quaerebatur unum, scilicet **[17]** utrum ille qui fuit in voluntate
peccati mortalis per aliquod tempus continue, sine interruptione voluntatis, teneatur
de necessitate confiteri circumstantiam diuturnitatis. Et arguebatur quod sic... (1.4:
A deest; B 67vb–68ra; C 146ra–b; D 126rb–vb; F 433rb; G 59va–60ra; M 81ra–b;
O 67vb–68ra; P deest; R 86ra–b; S 36ra–va; T 155rb–va; V 129va–b; W 33va–34ra;
X 23rb–va; Y 19vb–20ra; Z 31va–b).
- Circa secundum proposita fuit quaestio **[18]** utrum ei qui propter ebrietatem commisit
incestum vel furtum sit iniungenda duplex paenitentia. Et arguebatur quod sic... (1.8:
A 347vb–348ra; B 68ra–b; C 146rb–va; D 126vb–127rb; F 433rb–va; G 60ra–b;
L 82r–v; M 81rb–va; O 68ra–b; P deest; R 86rb–va; S 36va–37ra; T 155va–b;
V 129vb–130rb; W 34ra–va; X 23va–b; Y 20ra–b; Z 31vb–32rb).
- Ultimo quaerebatur de paena iniuncta in confessione, **[19]** utrum scilicet, si sacerdos
confitenti et supponenti se arbitrio ipsius iniungat minorem paenitentiam quam
meruit secundum veritatem, illa peracta in via, sit confitens immunis a paena
purgatorii. Et arguebatur quod sic... (1.4: A 348ra–b; B 68rb–va; C 146va–b;
D 127rb–va; F 433va–b; G 60rb–vb; L 82v–83v; M 81va–b; O 68rb–va; P deest;
R 86va–b; S 37ra–va; T 155vb–156ra; V 130rb–va; W 34va–b; X 23vb–24ra;
Y 20rb–va; Z 32rb–vb).
- ADMOSTWXYZ: Explicit secundum (secundus Z) quodlibet magistri Petri (*om.* M) de
(*om.* Z) Alvernia (*om.* Z) (M *add.*: continens V pecias; T *add.*: Incipit tertium quodlibet
Petri de Alvernia; W *add.*: Incipit tertium eiusdem magistri).
- BCGP: *desunt* (C²: magistri Petri de Alvernia Ordinis Minorum [?]).
- G²: Quodlibeta Jabobi Viterbiensis.
- F: Expliciunt duo quodlibet<a> magistri Petri de Alvernia.
- L: Et tantum de questione quodlibetali magistri de Alvernia.
- R: Explicit quodlibet Magistri Petri de Alvernia. Deo gratias.
- V: Explicit secundum quodlibet determinatum Parisius a magistro Petro de Alvernia.

Quodlibet III (Advent 1298, 40.2 columns)

- Quaesita fuerunt quaedam [1–3] de Deo, quaedam [4–17] de creaturis. De Deo primo
quaesitum fuit de potentia eius, **[1]** utrum scilicet possit facere naturam intellectua-
lem sine corporali. Et quod non arguebatur... (2.4: B 68va–69ra; D 127vb–128rb;
M 82ra–va; O 68va–69ra; P 38ra–va; S 38ra–vb; T 156ra–vb; V 131ra–va; W 35ra–
vb; X¹ 26ra–va; X² 35va–36ra; Y 20vb–21ra; Z 32vb–33rb).
- Secundo quaerebatur [2–3] de Deo in comparatione ad naturam assumptam, et primo
[2] utrum Filius Dei assumpsit naturam humanam propter exaltationem eius an
propter redemptionem generis humani principaliter. Et arguebatur quod propter
redemptionem... (2.2: B 69ra–va; D 128rb–129ra; M 82va–83ra; O 69ra–b; P 38va–
39ra; S 38vb–39va; T 156vb–157rb; V 131va–132ra; W 35vb–36rb; X¹ 26va–27ra;
X² 36ra–vb; Y 21ra–va; Z 33rb–34ra).
- Deinde quaesitum fuit **[3]** utrum Christus sit Deus et homo divisim. Et arguebatur
quod non... (1.5: B 69va–b; D 129ra–va; M 83ra–b; O 69rb–vb; P 39ra–va; S 39va–
40rb; T 157rb–va; V 132ra–va; W 36va–37ra; X¹ 27ra–b; X² 36vb–37ra; Y 21va–b;
Z 34ra–b).
- Circa creaturas [4–17] primo quaerebatur quiddam pertinens quodammodo ad omnia
creata, **[4]** utrum scilicet essentia rei creatae sit essentia ab aeterno. Et arguebatur
quod non... (2.8: B 69vb–70rb; D 129va–130va; M 83rb–vb; O 69vb–70rb; P 39va–

- 40ra; S 40rb–41rb; T 157va–158rb; V 132va–133ra; W 37ra–vb; X¹ 27rb–28ra; X² 37ra–vb; Y 21vb–22rb; Z 34rb–35rb) (unpublished transcription Schabel).
- Postea quaeritur [5–17] de his quae pertinent ad naturam creatam magis determinate, et circa hoc primo [5] de substantia separata et intelligibili, quae est angelus, secundo [6–17] de ea quae est transmutabilis. De primo quaerebatur unum tantum, scilicet [5] utrum angelus possit similiter intelligere actus intelligendi alterius angeli et actus voluntatis ipsius. Et arguitur quod sic... (3.0: B 70rb–71ra; D 130va–131va; M 83vb–84va; O 70rb–vb; P deest; S 41rb–42rb; T 158rb–159ra; V 133ra–vb; W 37vb–38vb; X¹ 28ra–vb; X² 38ra–vb; Y 22rb–vb; Z 35rb–36ra).
- Deinde quaerebatur [6–17] de ente transmutabili, et primo communiter de substantia et accidente quiddam [6–7], postea plura [8–17] circa quasdam substantias determinate. Primum erat utrum forma secundum se intendatur et remittatur. Sed propter facilitatem, distinguitur in duas quaestiones, quarum prima est [6] utrum forma accidentalis intendatur et remittatur, secunda [7] utrum forma substantialis. Primo igitur quaeritur [6] utrum forma accidentalis intendatur et remittatur vel suscipiat magis et minus, quia solutio huius valet ad solutionem alterius. Et arguitur quod non... (4.2: B 71ra–vb; D 131va–132va, missing end; M 84va–85va; O 70vb–71rb; P 40ra–41ra; S 42rb–43vb; T 159ra–160ra; V 133vb–134vb; W 38vb–40rb; X¹ 28vb–29va; X² 38vb–39vb; Y 22vb–23va; Z 36ra–37rb).
- Consequens quaestio est [7] utrum forma substantialis possit intendi et remitti vel suscipere magis et minus. Et arguitur quod non... (3.4: B 71vb–72va; D 132va–133va, missing start; M 85va–86rb; O 71rb–72ra; P 41ra–vb; S 43vb–45ra; T 160ra–vb; V 135ra–vb; W 40rb–41rb; X¹ 29vb–30va; X² 39vb–40vb; Y 23va–24ra; Z 37rb–38rb).
- Postea quaerebatur [8–17] de quibusdam ad substantias magis in speciali pertinentibus, ubi primo ponuntur quaestiones [8–16] pertinentes ad substantiam rationalem humanam principaliter, secundo ponitur quaedam quaestio [17] ad materiam, quae est substantia in potentia. Circa primum, primo ponuntur quaestiones [8–13] pertinentes ad hominem simpliciter, secundo [14–15] pertinentes ad diversos status ipsius. Adhuc prius tanguntur quaestiones [8–10] circa hominem quantum ad partem eius intellectualem, deinde [11–13] pertinentes ad partem eius volitivam. Circa primum quaerebantur tria, quorum primum est [8] utrum scientia speculativa et practica sint una scientia; secundum, [9] utrum existens in caritate possit scire se esse in ea; tertium vero [10] utrum aliquis possit scire per certitudinem superiora corpora et elementa inferiora esse diversa secundum substantiam. De primo [8] arguitur quod... non... (2.6: B 72va–73ra; D 133va–134rb; M 86rb–vb; O 72ra–b; P 41vb–42va; S 45ra–46ra; T 160vb–161rb; V 135vb–136rb; W 41rb–42rb; X¹ 30va–31ra; X² 40vb–41va; Y 24ra–va; Z 38rb–39ra).
- Secundo circa ea quae pertinent ad intellectum quaerebatur [9] utrum existens in caritate possit scire per certitudinem se esse in ea. Et arguitur quod sic... (1.5: B 73ra–b; D 134rb–va; M 86vb–87ra; O 72rb–va; P 42va–b; S 46ra–va; T 161rb–va; V 136rb–vb; W 42rb–va; X¹ 31ra–b; X² 41va–b; Y 24va–b; Z 39ra–b).
- Tertio quaesitum fuit [10] utrum aliquis possit scire simpliciter corpora caelestia esse diversa in natura a corporibus inferioribus simplicibus. Et arguebatur quod non... (2.4: B 73rb–vb; D 134va–135va; M 87ra–va; O 72va–73ra; P deest; S 46va–47va; T 161va–162ra; V 136vb–137rb; W 42va–43rb; X¹ 31rb–32ra; X² 42ra–va; Y 24vb–25ra; Z 39rb–40ra).
- Deinde ponuntur quaestiones [11–13] pertinentes ad naturam rationalem humanam quantum ad voluntatem vel ea quae in voluntate sunt. Et erant tres, prima quidem [11] utrum habitus caritatis respectu finis et eorum quae sunt ad finem sit unus secundum speciem. Et arguebatur quod non... (1.5: B 73vb–74ra; D 135va–b; M 87va–88ra; O 73ra–b; P deest; S 47va–48ra; T 162ra–b; V 137rb–vb; W 43rb–vb; X¹ 32ra–b; X² 42va–43ra; Y 25ra–b; Z 40ra–va).
- Secunda quaestio erat [12] utrum caritas in habente ipsam possit remitti cum effectu.

- Et arguitur quod sic... (2.6: B 74ra-va; D 135vb-136vb; M 88ra-va; O 73rb-va; P 42vb-43rb; S 48ra-49ra; T 162rb-vb; V 137vb-138rb; W 43vb-44rb; X¹ 32rb-vb; X² 43ra-vb; Y 25rb-vb; Z 40va-41ra).
- Tertia quaestio circa ea quae ad voluntatem pertinent fuit **[13]** utrum, cum de minori caritate fit maior, eadem numero maneat in maiori. Et arguebatur quod sic... (2.0: B 74va-75ra; D 136vb-137rb; M 88va-b; O 73va-74ra; P 43rb-vb; S 49ra-vb; T 162vb-163rb; V 138rb-vb; W 44rb-45ra; X¹ 32vb-33rb; X² 43vb-44va; Y 25vb-26rb; Z 41ra-vb).
- Consequenter ponuntur quaestiones [14-16] pertinentes ad diversos status hominum. Et erant tres, prima pertinens ad statum principantium, **[14]** utrum scilicet princeps qui necessitate rei publicae imminente instituit vectigal aliquod in subditis, necessitate recedente teneatur ipse vel successor eius remove illud, stipendiis communibus sufficientibus ad dispensationem ipsius. Et arguebatur quod sic... (1.8: B 75ra-b; D 137rb-vb; L 87v-88v; M 89ra-b; O 74ra-b; P deest; S 49vb-50rb; T 163rb-va; V 138vb-139rb; W 45ra-va; X¹ 33rb-vb; X² 44va-45ra; Y 26rb-va; Z 41vb-42rb) (ed. Brown 1972, pp. 585-7, from X).
- Secunda quaestio erat pertinens ad statum beneficiatorum in Ecclesia, **[15]** utrum scilicet adeptus beneficium ecclesiasticum, sciens simpliciter se esse indignum ad ipsum, teneatur dimittere ipsum. Et arguebatur quod non... (2.9: B 75rb-76ra; D 137vb-138vb; M 89rb-90ra; O 74rb-va; P deest; S 50rb-51va; T 163va-164ra; V 139rb-140ra; W 45va-46rb; X¹ 33vb-34va; X² 45ra-vb; Y 26va-27ra; Z 42rb-43ra).
- Tertia quaestio fuit circa statum paenitentium, scilicet **[16]** utrum sit de necessitate salutis in rite confesso paenitentiam factam in peccato mortali reiterare. Et arguebatur quod sic... (1.4: B 76ra-b; D 138vb-139rb; L 93v-94r; M 90ra-b; O 74va-b; P deest; S 51va-52ra; T 164ra-b; V 140ra-va; W 46rb-vb; X¹ 34va-b; X² 45vb-46rb; Y 27ra-b; Z 43ra-va).
- De corporibus inferioribus in comparatione ad superiora quaesitum fuit unum tantum, scilicet **[17]** utrum materia existente unius rationis in superioribus et inferioribus corporibus sit contradictio ex istis generari illa vel e contrario. Et arguebatur quod non... (2.2: B 76rb-vb; D 139rb-vb; M 90ra-vb; O 74vb-75rb; P 43vb-44rb; S 52ra-vb; T 164rb-vb; V 140va-141ra; W 46vb-47va; X¹ 34vb-35rb; X² 46rb-vb; Y 27rb-va; Z 43va-44ra).
- BPVZ: *desunt*.
- D: Expliciunt quaestiones disputatae a magistro Petro de Alvernia.
- M: Expliciunt quaestiones de tertio quolibet magistri Petri de Alvernia continens quatuor pecias.
- OSTX¹X²: Expliciunt quaestiones de quolibet (T *add.*²: tertio) disputatae a magistro Petro de Alvernia anno Domini (OTX¹X² *add.*: M^o) 1298 ante Nativitatem.
- W: Explicit tertium quodlibet magistri Petri de Alvernia. Incipit quartum quodlibet eiusdem magistri.
- Y: Explicit tertium quodlibet disputatum a magistro Petro de Alvernia.

Quodlibet IV (probably Advent 1299, 47.7 columns)

- In ultima disputatione communi quaesita fuerunt quaedam [1-5] de Deo in comparatione ad creaturas, quaedam [6-17] de ipsis creaturis in se. Circa primum quaesitum fuit **[1]** an ideae in Deo sint rationes intelligendi creaturas extra. Et arguebatur quod non... (1.7: B 76vb-77rb; D 140ra-vb; E 200ra-vb; M 91ra-va; P 44rb-45ra; S 52vb-53vb; T 164vb-165rb; V 141ra-va; W 47va-48rb; X 47ra-vb; Y 27va-28ra; Z 44ra-vb) (unpublished transcription Schabel).
- Postea quaesitum fuit de coexistentia creaturarum ad Deum, **[2]** an scilicet futura contingentia coexistentia sint ipsi. Et arguebatur quod sic... (2.2: B 77rb-vb; D 140vb-141va; E 200vb-201va; M 91va-92ra; P 45ra-va; S 53vb-54va; T 165rb-vb; V 141va-142rb; W 48rb-49ra; X 47vb-48rb; Y 28ra-va; Z 44vb-45va) (ed. Schabel, forthcoming).

Tertio quaesitum fuit [3–5] de potentia Dei, et primo **[3]** an, materia disposita ad receptionem animae intellectualis, Deus possit eam non infundere. Et quod non... arguebatur... (2.0: C 77vb–78ra; D 141va–142rb; E 201va–202ra; M 92ra–va; P 45va–46ra; S 54va–55rb; T 165vb–166rb; V 142rb–vb; W 49ra–va; X 48rb–49ra; Y 28va–b; Z 45va–46ra).

Deinde quaesitum fuit [4–5] de potentia Dei in ordine ad materiam primam, [5] an scilicet Deus possit assumere eam sine forma. Sed quia ad solutionem huius oportet intelligere [4] an Deus possit ipsam facere esse in actu sine forma, praemittitur quaestio de hoc, deinde de principali. Prima igitur quaestio est **[4]** utrum Deus possit facere materiam esse in actu praeter formam. Et quod sic arguitur... (2.1: B 78ra–va; D 142rb–143ra; E 202ra–vb; M 92va–93ra; P 46ra–b; S 55rb–56ra; T 166rb–va; V 142vb–143rb; W 49vb–50rb; X 49ra–va; Y 28vb–29rb; Z 46ra–vb).

Deinde sequitur quaestio quae principaliter proposita fuit, **[5]** utrum Deus possit assumere materiam primam sine forma in unitate suppositi. Et arguitur quod sic... (1.8: B 78va–79ra; D 143ra–vb; E 203ra–va; M 93ra–b; P 46va–b; S 56ra–vb; T 166va–167ra; V 143rb–va; W 50rb–51ra; X 49va–50ra; Y 29rb–va; Z 46vb–47rb).

Postea quaesita fuerunt [6–17] aliqua de his quae procedunt a Deo in esse, inter quae anima Christi perfectior est, non quidem natura, sed gratia, secundum quod dicitur in Psalmo <8.6>: “Minuisti eum paulo minus ab angelis,” etc. Et ideo primo ponitur quaestio de ipsa, **[6]** utrum scilicet, circumscriptis proprietatibus naturalibus et donis gratuitis et gratum facientibus, ipsa sit nobilior anima Iudae. Et arguebatur quod non... (2.6: B 79rb–va; D 143vb–144vb; E 203va–204rb; M 93rb–vb; P 46vb–47va; S 56vb–57vb; T 167ra–va; V 143vb–144rb; W 51ra–52ra; X 50rb–vb; Y 29va–30ra; Z 47rb–48ra).

Sequuntur quaestiones [7–17] pertinentes ad alia ab anima Christi quae procedunt in esse a Deo. Et primo ponitur quaestio [7] pertinens ad substantiam creatam intransmutabilem tantum, secundo ponuntur illae [8–17] quae pertinent ad substantiam transmutabilem. Circa primum quaerebatur unum tantum, scilicet **[7]** utrum angelus movens caelum referatur ad ipsum relatione reali. Et argutum fuit quod sic... (2.1: B 79va–80ra; D 144vb–145rb; E 204va–205rb; M 93vb–94rb; P deest; S 57vb–58va; T 167va–168ra; V 144rb–vb; W 52ra–va; X 50vb–51va; Y 30ra–va; Z 48ra–va).

Postmodum sequuntur quaestiones [8–17] de entibus transmutabilibus secundum substantiam. Et primo ponitur quaedam [8] pertinens ad principia huius substantiae, quae sunt materia et forma, deinde quaedam [9–16] pertinentes ad naturam rationalem specialiter, tertio quaedam [17] pertinens determinate ad elementa quaedam, scilicet aquam et terram. Est autem prima quaestio **[8]** utrum potentia in materia et forma ad quam est sint idem secundum rem. Et argutum fuit quod sic... (10.4: B 80ra–82va; D 145rb–149rb; E 205rb–209rb; M 94rb–96vb; P deest; S 58va–62va; T 168ra–170va; V 144vb–147va; W 52va–56va; X 51va–54vb; Y 30va–32va; Z 48va–52ra).

Consequenter sequuntur quaestiones [9–16] pertinentes ad ipsum hominem principaliter. Et primo ponuntur quaedam [9–14] pertinentes ad quasdam potentias ipsius, secundo quaedam [15–16] pertinentes ad ipsum secundum se. Circa primum primo ponuntur quaedam [9–12] pertinentes ad ipsum intellectum, secundo quaedam aliae [13–14] pertinentes immediate ad voluntatem. Circa primum quaerebantur quattuor, primo [9] quiddam pertinens ad obiectum intellectus, secundo [10] quiddam aliud pertinens ad actum ipsius in ordine ad obiectum, tertio [11] aliud pertinens ad actum intelligendi effectum in ordine ad causam, quarto [12] aliud pertinens ad potentiam. Circa primum fuit quaestio **[9]** utrum ens simpliciter dictum sit primum obiectum intellectus. Et arguitur quod sic... (1.9: B 82va–b; D 149rb–150ra; E 209rb–vb; M 96vb–97rb; P deest; S 62va–63rb; T 170va–171ra; V 147va–148ra; W 56va–57ra; X 54vb–55rb; Y 32va–b; Z 52ra–va).

Secundo circa intellectum proposita fuit quaestio **[10]** utrum actus intellectus sortiatur speciem ex obiecto eius primo. Et arguebatur quod non... (1.9: B 82vb–83rb;

D 150ra-vb; E 209vb-210va; M 97rb-va; P deest; S 63rb-64ra; T 171ra-b; V 148ra-va; W 57ra-vb; X 55rb-56ra; Y 32vb-33rb; Z 52va-53rb).

Tertia quaestio proposita fuit de actu intelligendi effectum in ordine ad causam, [11] utrum videlicet ad perfectam cognitionem effectus exigatur cognitio causae secundum quod causa. Et argutum fuit quod sic... (2.2: B 83rb-vb; D 150vb-151va; E 210va-211rb; M 97va-98ra; P 47va-48ra; S 64ra-vb; T 171rb-vb; V 148va-149ra; W 57vb-58va; X 56ra-va; Y 33rb-va; Z 53rb-vb).

Quarta quaestio de his quae pertinent ad intellectum fuit de intellectu agente, [12] utrum scilicet intellectus agens sit perfectio vel forma intellectus possibilis. Et argutum fuit quod non... (5.0: B 83vb-84vb; D 151va-153ra; E 211rb-212vb; M 98ra-99rb; P deest; S 64vb-66va; T 171vb-172vb; V 149ra-150rb; W 58va-60ra; X 56va-58ra; Y 33va-34va; Z 53rb-55rb).

Sequuntur quaestiones [13-14] pertinentes ad voluntatem. Et erant duae, quarum prima fuit [13] utrum actus intellectus secundum ordinem naturae praecedat omnem actum voluntatis. Et argutum fuit quod non... (1.6: B 84vb-85ra; D 153ra-vb; E 212vb-213va; M 99rb-va; P 48ra-va; S 66va-67rb; T 172vb-173rb; V 150rb-vb; W 60ra-vb; X 58ra-va; Y 34va-b; Z 55rb-vb).

Secunda quaestio pertinet ad voluntatem fuit [14] utrum, posito quod voluntas ab obiecto eius primo moveatur, sit potentia passiva pura sicut potentia materiae. Et arguitur quod sit... (2.6: B 85ra-va; D 153vb-154rb; E 213va-214ra; M 99va-100ra; P 48va-49ra; S 67rb-68ra; T 173rb-va; V 150vb-151rb; W 60vb-61rb; X 58va-59rb; Y 34vb-35ra; Z 55vb-56rb).

Sequuntur quaestiones [15-16] pertinentes ad ipsum hominem secundum status eius. Et erant duae, prima [15] pertinet ad statum paenitentium, secunda [16] ad statum confessorum. Prima fuit [15] utrum contritio sit actus caritatis vel iustitiae. Et quod sit actus iustitiae argutum fuit... (1.3: B 85va-b; D 154rb-vb; E 214ra-va; M 100ra-b; P deest; S 68ra-b; T 173va-b; V 151rb-va; W 61rb-vb; X 59rb-va; Y 35ra-b; Z 56rb-va).

Secunda quaestio, pertinet ad statum confessorum, fuit [16] utrum confessor confitenti debeat iniungere ea facienda ad quae ex alia causa tenetur. Et argutum fuit quod non... (1.6: B 85vb-86ra; D 154vb-155va; E 214va-215ra; L 83v-84v; M 100rb-vb; P deest; S 68rb-69ra; T 173vb-174rb; V 151va-152ra; W 61vb-62rb; X 59va-60ra; Y 35rb-va; Z 56va-57ra).

Ultima quaestio de his quae pertinent ad entia transmutabilia secundum substantiam, pertinet ad quaedam elementa prima, fuit [17] utrum diluvium universale possit fieri a causa agente secundum naturam. Et argutum fuit quod sic... (3.6: B 86rb-vb; D 155va-156vb; E 215ra-216rb; M 100vb-101va; P deest; S 69ra-70rb; T 174rb-174bis ra (small piece of folio); V 152ra-vb; W 62rb-63va; X 60ra-61ra; Y 35va-36rb; Z 57ra-58ra).

BDPSZ: *desunt*.

EMTWXY: Explicit quartum quodlibet magistri Petri de (E. *cessat*) Alvernia (M *add.*: continens VI pecias; Y *add.*: Deo gratias, amen; W *add.*: Incipit quintum eiusdem magistri).

V: Expliciunt quaestiones de quarto quolibet.

Quodlibet V (Advent 1300, 34.5 columns)

In nostra disputatione communi quaesita fuerunt aliqua [1-17] de his quae a Deo procedunt in esse, et primo [1-3] de quibusdam universaliter ad creata omnia pertinentibus, secundo [4-17] de quibusdam in particulari magis. Circa primum quaerebantur tria, quorum primum [1] pertinet ad essentiam, secundum [2] ad esse, tertium [3] ad suppositum. Primo igitur quaesitum fuit [1] utrum ens simpliciter sit bonum per essentiam suam aut per aliquod additum realiter ab ipso

differens. Et arguebatur quod sic... (2.1: B 87ra-b; D 156vb-157va; E 216va-217rb; M 101vb-102ra; P deest; S 70va-71rb; T 175ra-va; V 152vb-153va; W 63va-64rb; X 62ra-va; Y 36rb-vb; Z 58ra-vb).

Secundo circa ens creatum communiter dictum quaesitum fuit [2] utrum aliquid esse ab alio effective et ex se formaliter includat contradictoria. Et argutum fuit quod sic... (2.1: B 87rb-vb; D 157va-158rb; E 217rb-218ra; M 102ra-va; P deest; S 71rb-72ra; T 175va-176ra; V 153va-154ra; W 64rb-65ra; X 62va-63rb; Y 36vb-37ra; Z 58vb-59rb).

Tertio circa ens creatum quaesitum fuit [3] utrum in omni supposito creato necesse sit ponere materiam primam simpliciter. Et argutum fuit quod sic... (3.3: B 87vb-88va; D 158rb-159va; E 218ra-219rb; M 102va-103rb; P 49ra-vb; S 72ra-73rb; T 176ra-vb; V 154ra-vb; W 65ra-66ra; X 63rb-64rb; Y 37ra-vb; Z 59rb-60rb).

Deinde ponuntur quaestiones [4-17] pertinentes ad entia creata in particulari. Et primo ponitur quaestio [4] pertinens ad substantias intransmutabiles et substantias immateriales, secundo ponuntur quaestiones [5-17] pertinentes ad transmutabiles. Circa primum quaerebatur unum tantum, [4] utrum scilicet angelo bono revelanti aliquid bonum de adventu Christi vel Antichristi futuris credendum sit. Et argutum fuit quod sic... (1.6: B 88va-89ra; D 159va-160rb; E 219rb-220ra; M 103rb-vb; P deest; S 73rb-vb; T 176vb-177rb; V 154vb-155ra; W 66ra-vb; X 64rb-65ra; Y 37vb-38ra; Z 60rb-vb) (unpublished transcription Schabel).

Postmodum ponuntur quaestiones [5-17] ad transmutabilia pertinentes. Et primo ponuntur illae [5-6] quae pertinent ad transmutabilia universaliter quoquomodo, secundo [7-17] quae pertinent ad transmutabilia secundum substantiam. Circa primum sunt quaestiones duae, quarum prima pertinet aliquo modo ad motum universaliter, et est [5] utrum prius et posterius in motibus posterioribus numerata sint tempus an solum in motu primo. Secunda pertinet ad intensionem formae in superioribus et inferioribus, quae est [6] utrum duae formae intentionales in eadem parte medii sint una numero. Ad primam [5] argutum fuit quod...sint... (2.1: B 89ra-va; D 160rb-161ra; E 220ra-221ra; M 103vb-104rb; P deest; S 74ra-vb; T 177rb-178ra; V 155rb-vb; W 66vb-67va; X 65ra-vb; Y 38ra-va; Z 60vb-61rb).

Tertio (*sic*) proponebatur quaestio de formis quibusdam quae communiter reperiuntur in superioribus et inferioribus, scilicet [6] utrum plures formae intentionales numero differentes possint (*mss*: possunt) esse in eodem subiecto secundum eandem partem simul. Et argutum fuit quod sic... (2.0: B 89va-90ra; D 161ra-162ra; E 221ra-vb; M 104rb-vb; P 49vb-50rb; S 74vb-75vb; T 178ra-va; V 155vb-156rb; W 67va-68rb; X 65vb-66va; Y 38va-39ra; Z 61va-62ra).

Deinde ponuntur quaestiones [7-17] pertinentes ad transmutabilia secundum substantiam. Et primo ponitur una [7] quae pertinet ad prima transmutabilia secundum substantiam, quae sunt elementa, secundo multae [8-17] pertinentes ad hominem. Illa una circa generabilia et corruptibilia est [7] utrum ordine naturae aliqua forma praecedat in materia formas elementorum. Et argutum fuit quod sic... (2.2: B 90ra-va; D 162ra-163ra; E 221vb-222vb; M 104vb-105va; P 50rb-51ra; S 75vb-76vb; T 178va-179rb; V 156rb-vb; W 68rb-69rb; X 66va-67rb; Y 39ra-va; Z 62ra-63ra).

Consequenter ponuntur quaestiones [8-17] pertinentes ad transmutabilia secundum substantiam in particulari, et specialiter ad hominem. Et primo ponuntur [8-12] pertinentes ad potentias eius, secundo [13-17] pertinentes ad ipsum. Adhuc circa primum ponuntur primo quaestiones [8-10] pertinentes ad intellectum, secundo [11-12] pertinentes ad voluntatem vel appetitum. Circa primum quaesita fuerunt tria, quorum primum fuit [8] utrum intellectus agens agat aliquid circa obiectum intellectus possibilis; secundum, [9] utrum primum intellectum ab intellectu possibili sit verbum; tertium, [10] utrum intellectus possibilis agat aliquid in formatione verbi vel in inquisitione quod quid erat esse. Ad primum [8] arguebatur quod...nihil agat... (1.5: B 90va-91ra; D 163ra-va; E 222vb-223va; M 105va-b; P deest;

- S 76vb–77va; T 179rb–vb; V 156vb–157ra; W 69rb–70ra; X 67rb–68ra; Y 39va–b; Z 63ra–va).
- Sequens quaestio fuit **[9]** utrum primum intellectum intellectu possibili in nobis sit verbum. Et argutum fuit quod sic... (1.4: B 91ra–b; D 163va–164rb; E 223va–224rb; M 105vb–106rb; P 51ra–va; S 77va–78ra; T 179vb–180rb; V 157ra–va; W 70ra–va; X 68ra–va; Y 39vb–40rb; Z 63va–64ra) (ed. Cannizzo 1965, pp. 80–4, from MOTVXYZ).
- Tertio quaesitum fuit **[10]** utrum intellectus possibilis in nobis aliquid faciat in formatione verbi. Et argutum fuit quod non... (1.7: B 91rb–vb; D 164rb–165ra; E 224rb–225ra; M 106rb–vb; P 51va–b; S 78ra–vb; T 180rb–vb; V 157va–b; W 70va–71rb; X 68va–69ra; Y 40rb–va; Z 64ra–va) (ed. Cannizzo 1965, pp. 84–9, from MOTVXYZ).
- Postmodum ponuntur quaestiones [11–12] pertinentes ad hominem ratione voluntatis vel appetitus, quae fuerunt duae, quarum prima fuit **[11]** utrum virtutes morales sint in appetitu sensitivo an in voluntate, sive in appetitu intellectivo sicut in subiecto. Et argutum fuit quod non... (3.0: B 91vb–92rb; D 165ra–166rb; E 225ra–226rb; M 106vb–107va; P deest; S 78vb–80ra; T 180vb–181vb; V 157vb–158va; W 71rb–72va; X 69ra–70rb; Y 40va–41rb; Z 64va–65va) (ed. Graf 1935, pp. 21*–5*, from VZ).
- Secunda quaestio circa voluntatem fuit **[12]** utrum peccatum veniale per circumstantiam aliquam possit fieri mortale. Et argutum fuit quod sic... (1.4: B 92va–b; D 166rb–vb; E 226rb–227ra; M 107va–108ra; P deest; S 80ra–va; T 181vb–182rb; V 158va–159ra; W 72va–73ra; X 70rb–vb; Y 41rb–va; Z 65va–66ra).
- Post praedicta ponuntur quaestiones [13–17] pertinentes ad ipsum hominem, et primo illae [13–14] quae pertinent ad diversos status eius, secundo [15–17] pertinentes ad unum particularem hominem, scilicet Antichristum. Circa primum fuerunt duae, prima [13] circa statum sacerdotum, secunda [14] circa statum nihil habentium in proprio vel communi. Prima fuit **[13]** utrum sacerdos qui non potest celebrare possit audire confessiones. Et argutum fuit quod non... (1.3: B 92vb–93ra; D 167ra–va; E 227ra–vb; M 108ra–b; P deest; S 80va–81rb; T 182rb–va; V 159ra–b; W 73ra–va; X 70vb–71rb; Y 41va–b; Z 66ra–b).
- Circa statum nihil habentium in proprio vel communi quaesitum fuit **[14]** utrum nihil habentes in proprio vel communi possint facere eleemosynam. Et argutum fuit quod non... (2.4: B 93ra–vb; D 167va–168va; E 227vb–228vb; M 108rb–vb; P deest; S 81rb–82rb; T 182va–183rb; V 159rb–vb; W 73va–74vb; X 71rb–72ra; Y 41vb–42rb; Z 66va–67ra).
- Ultimo ponuntur quaestiones [15–17] de homine quodam particulari, scilicet Antichristo. Et fuerunt tres, quarum prima fuit [15] utrum Antichristus sit venturus in brevi; secunda, [16] utrum expediat scire determinatum tempus adventus eius; tertia, [17] utrum Antichristum venturum esse determinato et signato tempore sit error in Scriptura Sacra. Ad primam **[15]** argutum fuit primo quod sic... (2.8: B 93vb–94va; D 168va–170ra; E 228vb–230rb; M 108vb–109vb; P 51vb–53ra; S 82rb–83va, 85ra (one column had been omitted); T 183rb–184va; V 159vb–160vb; W 74vb–75rb (including 74bis); X 72ra–73va; Y 42rb–43ra; Z 67ra–68rb) (fragment ed. Perarnau i Espelt 1988–89, pp. 213–14, from V).
- Ad secundam **[16]** autem fuit argutum quod expediens sit homini scire determinatum tempus adventus Antichristi... (1.4: B 94va–b; D 170ra–vb; E 230rb–231ra; M 109vb–110rb; P deest; S 83va–84rb; T 184va–185ra; V 160vb–161rb; W 75rb–76ra; X 73va–74ra; Y 43ra–b; Z 68rb–vb) (ed. Perarnau i Espelt 1988–89, pp. 214–16, from V).
- Tertia quaestio de Antichristo fuit **[17]** utrum asserere ipsum esse venturum futuro tempore determinato sit error in Sacra Scriptura. Et argutum fuit quod non... (1.3: B 95ra–b; D 170vb–171rb; E 231ra–va; M 110rb–va; P deest; S 84rb–vb; T 185ra–b; V 161rb–vb; W 76ra–va; X 74ra–va; Y 43rb–vb; Z 68vb–69ra) (ed. Perarnau i Espelt 1988–89, pp. 216–18, from V).

BPVZ: *desunt*.

DESTXY: Expliciunt quaestiones de quolibet (T *add.*: quinto) disputatae (X: disputato) a magistro Petro de Alvernia, canonico Parisiensi (X: ecclesiae Parisiensis). (D *add.*: Incipit sextum et ultimum quodlibet).

MW: Explicit quantum quodlibet magistri Petri de Alvernia (M *add.*: continens V pecias; W *add.*: Incipit sextum et ultimum eiusdem magistri).

Quodlibet VI (probably Advent 1301, 34.5 columns)

In nostra communi disputatione quaesita fuerunt quaedam [1–2] de Deo, quaedam [4–17] vero de his quae procedunt ab eo, aliquid [3] vero commune utriusque. De Deo quaesita fuerunt duo [1–2], quorum primum fuit **[1]** utrum Deus possit producere in esse quicquid extra se intelligit. Et argutum fuit quod sic... (3.1: B 95rb–96ra; D 171rb–172vb; M 110vb–111va; P deest; S 85rb–86va; T 185va–186rb; V 161va–162rb; W 76va–77vb; X 75ra–vb; Y 43vb–44rb; Z 69rb–70ra) (unpublished transcription Schabel).

Secundo quaesitum fuit de Deo **[2]** utrum certitudo scientiae eius stet cum rerum contingentia. Et argutum fuit quod non... (1.7: B 96ra–b; D 172vb–173va; M 111va–112ra; P 53ra–54ra; S 86va–87rb; T 186rb–187ra; V 162rb–vb; W 77vb–78va; X 75vb–76va; Y 44va–b; Z 70ra–vb) (ed. Schabel, forthcoming).

Postmodum quaesitum fuit unum quod est commune quodammodo Deo et creaturis, scilicet **[3]** utrum ab eadem natura simplici possint procedere extra se immediate diversa secundum rem, secundum diversos eius respectus primo. Et fuit argutum quod non... (1.5: B 96rb–vb; D 173va–174rb; M 112ra–b; P deest; S 87rb–88ra; T 187ra–va; V 162vb–163ra; W 78va–79rb; X 76va–77ra; Y 44vb–45rb; Z 70vb–71rb) (= G: 2a).

Consequenter ponuntur quaestiones [4–17] pertinentes ad creaturas tantum. Et primo ponuntur illae [4–6] quae pertinent ad creaturas immateriales. Et fuerunt tres. Prima fuit **[4]** utrum angelus supremus mensuretur aliqua mensura. Et quod non fuit argutum... (3.1: B 96vb–97va; D 174rb–175vb; M 112rb–113rb; P deest; S 88ra–89rb; T 187va–188va; V 163ra–vb; W 79rb–80vb; X 77ra–78ra; Y 45rb–46ra; Z 71rb–72rb) (= G: 3).

Secunda quaestio circa substantias immateriales creatas fuit **[5]** utrum actus intelligendi angeli quo intelligit se sit eius substantia vel essentia. Et argutum fuit quod sic... (2.5: B 97va–98ra; D 175vb–176vb; M 113rb–114ra; P deest; S 89va–90va; T 188va–189rb; V 163vb–164va; W 80vb–81vb; X 78ra–vb; Y 46ra–va; Z 72rb–73ra) (= G: 4).

Tertia quaestio de his quae pertinent ad angelos fuit **[6]** utrum angelus moveat caelum per virtutem aliam ab intellectu et voluntate. Et argutum fuit quod sic... (2.8: B 98ra–vb; D 176vb–178ra; M 114ra–vb; P 54ra–vb; S 90va–91vb; T 189rb–190ra; V 164va–165rb; W 82ra–83ra; X 78vb–79vb; Y 46va–47rb; Z 73ra–74ra) (G = 5).

Postmodum ponuntur quaestiones [7–17] pertinentes ad transmutabilia et secundum substantiam. Et primo ponuntur illae [7–14] quae ad substantiam pertinent, secundo illae [15–17] quae pertinent ad accidentia. Circa eas quae pertinent ad substantiam, primo ponitur illa [7] quae pertinet ad primum principium transmutabilium, scilicet materiam, deinde aliae [8–14] quae pertinent ad ipsam secundum alia. Illa quae pertinet ad materiam fuit **[7]** utrum materia prima sit qua aliquid potest esse et non esse. Et arguitur quod non... (1.8: B 98vb–99rb; D 178ra–179ra; M 114vb–115ra; P 54vb–55rb; S 91vb–92va; T 190ra–va; V 165rb–va; W 83ra–vb; X 79vb–80rb; Y 47rb–vb; Z 74ra–va) (= G: 6).

Consequenter ponuntur quaestiones [8–14] pertinentes ad transmutabilia secundum substantiam, et specialiter ad ea quae sunt animata. Et primo ponuntur illae [8–13] quae pertinent ad actus vel obiecta potentialium earum, secundo una [14] pertinens ad quaedam alia. Adhuc primo ponitur una [8] pertinens ad actum partis animae

sensitivae, secundo plures [9–13] pertinentes ad partem animae intellectualem. Prima, quae pertinet ad actum partis animae sensitivae, fuit **[8]** utrum actus videndi hominis et equi respectu eiusdem obiecti sit unius rationis secundum speciem. Et argutum fuit quod sic... (1.5: B 99rb–va; D 179ra–va; M 115rb–va; P 55rb–vb; S 92va–93ra; T 190vb–191ra; V 165va–166ra; W 83vb–84va; X 80rb–vb; Y 47vb–48ra; Z 74va–75rb) (= G: 7).

Quaestionum illarum quae [9–13] pertinent ad partem animae intellectualem, quaedam [9] pertinet ad intellectum, multae [10–13] autem ad voluntatem. Illa autem quae pertinet ad intellectum fuit in comparatione ad eius obiectum, **[9]** utrum scilicet illud quod est perfectius et verius in esse secundum naturam sit magis intelligibile. Argutum fuit quod non... (1.9: B 99va–100ra; D 179va–180rb; M 115va–116ra; P 55vb–56rb; S 93ra–94ra; T 191ra–vb; V 166ra–va; W 84va–85va; X 80vb–81va; Y 48ra–va; Z 75rb–vb) (= G: 8).

Deinde ponuntur quaestiones [10–13] ad voluntatem pertinentes, quarum prima, quae est communis voluntati intellectuali et appetitui sensitivo, fuit **[10]** utrum delectatio sit non-existentis. Et argutum fuit quod non... (1.7: B 100ra–va; D 180rb–181ra; M 116ra–va; P deest; S 94ra–vb; T 191vb–192rb; V 166va–b; W 85va–86rb; X 81va–b; Y 48va–49ra; Z 75vb–76rb) (= G: 9).

Secunda quaestio ad voluntatem pertinens est **[11]** utrum libertas sit potestas agendi tantum vel patiendi. Et argutum fuit quod agendi tantum... (1.7: B 100va–b; D 181ra–vb; M 116va–117ra; P deest; S 94vb–95va; T 192rb–vb; V 166vb–167rb; W 86rb–87ra; X 81vb–82va; Y 49ra–b; Z 76va–77ra) (= G: 10).

Consequenter ponitur quaestio pertinens ad actum voluntatis tantum, qui est electio, **[12]** an scilicet magis eligendum sit non esse quam peccare mortaliter. Et argutum fuit quod non... (1.7: B 100vb–101rb; D 181vb–182rb; M 117ra–b; P 56rb–vb; S 95va–96rb; T 192vb–193rb; V 167rb–vb; W 87ra–va; X 82va–83ra; Y 49rb–vb; Z 77ra–va) (= G: 11).

Postea circa voluntatem quaesitum fuit ultimo **[13]** utrum per peccatum, quod ad eam pertinet, possit tolli totaabilitas ad bonum. Et argutum fuit quod sic... (1.9: B 101rb–va; D 182rb–183rb; M 117rb–vb; P deest; S 96rb–97ra; T 193rb–vb; V 167vb–168rb; W 87va–88rb; X 83ra–va; Y 49vb–50rb; Z 77va–78rb) (= G: 12).

Postea ponitur quaedam quaestio pertinens ad substantiam animatam et corporalem, **[14]** utrum scilicet pygmaei sint homines. Et argutum fuit quod sic... (2.0: B 101vb–102ra; D 183rb–184ra; M 118ra–b; P 56vb–57rb; S 97ra–98ra; T 193vb–194va; V 168rb–vb; W 88rb–89rb; X 83va–84rb; Y 50rb–va; Z 78rb–vb) (ed. Koch 1931, pp. 209–13, from VX; reprinted in Gusinde 1962, pp. 18–20) (= G: 13).

Deinde ponuntur quaestiones [15–17] pertinentes ad accidentia. Et primo ponitur una [15] pertinens ad accidentia in communi, secundo quaedam aliae duae [16–17] pertinentes ad quaedam accidentia in speciali. Prima, quae pertinet ad accidentia simpliciter, fuit **[15]** utrum accidens sit ens formaliter. Et argutum fuit quod non... (1.6: B 102ra–va; D 184ra–vb; M 118va–b; P 57rb–vb; S 98ra–va; T 194va–195ra; V 168vb–169ra; W 89rb–vb; X 84rb–vb; Y 50va–51ra; Z 78vb–79rb) (= G: 14).

Consequenter ponuntur quaestiones [16–17] pertinentes ad accidentia in particulari. Et fuerunt duae circa idem. Prima fuit [16] utrum harmoniae musicales sint excitativae passionum, puta raptus vel aliarum huiusmodi; secunda fuit [17] utrum faciant ad mores. Ad primam **[16]** fuit argutum primo quod non... (2.7: B 102va–103ra; D 184vb–185vb; L 109v–111r; M 118vb–119va; P deest; S 98va–99vb; T 195ra–vb; V 169ra–vb; W 89vb–90vb; X 84vb–85va; Y 51ra–va; Z 79rb–80rb) (ed. Hentschel 2000, pp. 412–18, from BTVXZ) (= G: 15).

Ultima quaestio fuit **[17]** utrum harmoniae musicae ad mores valeant seu virtutes. Et argutum fuit quod non... (1.5: B 103ra–b; D 185vb–186rb; L 111r–112r; M 119va–b; P deest; S 99vb–100rb; T 195vb–196ra; V 169vb–170ra; W 90vb–91rb; X 85va–b; Y 51va–b; Z 80rb–vb) (ed. Hentschel 2000, pp. 418–21, from BTVXZ) (= G: 16).

B: *deest*.

DSTVWZ: Expliciunt quaestiones de (*om.* Z) quolibet (*om.* Z) disputatae a magistro Petro de Alvernia, canonico Parisiensi (TZ *cessant*) anno Domini Millesimo (D *cessat*) tricentesimo primo (quarto V).

M: Explicit quodlibet magistri Petri de Alvernia continens quinque pecias.

P: *non potest legi.*

X: Explicit ultimum quodlibet a magistro Petro de Alvernia disputatum anno Domini millesimo tricentesimo primo.

Y: Explicit VI quodlibet Magistri P<etri> de Alvernia.

APPENDIX II
PETRI DE ALVERNIA *QUODLIBET* I, QUAESTIO 1

Quaerebatur de potentia Dei, et primo quantum ad immensitatem ipsius, utrum scilicet Deus sit infinitae virtutis in vigore.

- Et arguitur quod non, quoniam si esset, probari posset vel ex motu, vel ex creatione, vel ex primitate substantiae eius, a posteriori scilicet
5 vel a priori. Non autem potest probari ex motu, per ipsum enim non probatur nisi infinitas in agendo successive, non in agendo intensive. Nec etiam ex creatione, quoniam quantitas virtutis agentis mensuratur ex quantitate facti, sicut apparet in eis quae fiunt secundum artem, in
10 quibus tantam dicimus esse virtutem artis in agendo quantam credimus esse quantitatem artificiatum secundum perfectionem; nunc autem nullum creatum infinitum est secundum perfectionem; ergo nec virtus est infinita in vigore sive in agendo. Nec etiam quia substantia prima, quia secundum quod huiusmodi est aliquod ens distinctum a quolibet alio et determinatum in se; tale autem non videtur infinitum esse in
15 substantia; quare nec in virtute.

Contra: Deum esse infinitae virtutis tenemus. Et non tantum fide, quia non est articulus fidei. Nec etiam per se notum, quoniam diversi circa hoc diversa sentiunt. Ergo tenetur sicut aliquid quod potest ratione probari.

- 20 Intelligendum quod infinitum dicitur aliquid secundum quantitatem, quod scilicet secundum quantitatem non habet ultimum sive finem, de quo Philosophus tractat III *Physicorum*; aliquid autem se-

22-22 Cf. Aristoteles, *Physica* III, c. 6: 207a2-15 (AL VII.1.2, p. 128, ll. 4-18).

1 quaerebatur] quaerabatur primo D 1-20 quaerebatur... quod¹ om. A 3 arguitur] arguebatur B 4 primitate] primitive G || substantiae] essentiae F; om. V || eius] substantiae add. F || scilicet] secundum G 5-6 non¹... probatur om. W 6 in² om. D 7 agentis om. D 8 quantitate] veritate F; potestate M || quae BFPTV, Y p.c.] qui CDGMORSWXZ, Y a.c. || secundum artem] secundum tem D a.c.; praecedentem FW; per + lac. M a.c.; per et naturam M p.c.² 9 quantam] quantum F 10 artificiatum] artificii D; artificii<->ti G 10-11 nunc... perfectionem om. per hom. T 11 nullum] unum D; verum M (om. T) || creatum BPVY, W p.c.] tantum CDGMORSX*Z, W a.c. (om. T); in add. G 12 in¹ BDF; om. cett. || sive in agendo om. F 13 quia] quae P || huiusmodi] huius V || ens distinctum inv. B; ens distinctunctum G 14 videtur] videmus M || infinitum esse inv. F 15 quare om. D; ergo F 16 deum] de non D; non exp. O; non add. T || virtutis] virtutes Z; in vigore add. F || et om. F 18 diversa] divisa G || sentiunt] sentiunt G; sentiunt P || aliquid] aliquod B || potest om. G 20 intelligendum] ad hoc est intelligendum V || infinitum dicitur aliquid inv. F 21 scilicet om. Z

cundum substantiam, quod finem secundum substantiam non habet ad quem ordinetur, nec per consequens agens. Quod enim non habet finem alium, nec principium activum aliud, quia finis et agens sunt sibi invicem causae et sibi correspondent. Nec etiam determinatur per
 5 aliquam formam supervenientem, quoniam tale compositum existens causas alias, finalem et activam, habet. Nec etiam recipitur in materia vel subiecto quo aliquo aliter determinetur, per eandem rationem. Quia igitur Deus nec finem alium a se habet, nec causam activam, nec determinatur per aliquam formam supervenientem, nec etiam per ma-
 10 teriam vel subiectum secundum substantiam, infinitus est – non quidem privative, ut natus sit finiri, sed magis negative, quia nullo modo finem aut terminum habet.

Virtus autem Dei non est aliquid additum substantiae eius – quia tunc compositus esset et non esset primum ens – sed est id idem quod
 15 ipsa substantia eius, differens ratione, ita ut virtus eius per se sit substantia ipsius ut principium est operationis. Vigor autem virtutis intensionem eius importat, in ordinem scilicet ad operationem. Infinitas autem vigoris virtutis est infinitas in agendo intensive. Quod ergo quaeritur, utrum Deus sit infinitae virtutis in vigore, dicendum quod
 20 Deus est virtutis infinitae simpliciter.

Primo quoniam virtus Dei secundum quam agit primo est id idem quod substantia eius, ut iam acceptum est et probatum aliquo aliter. Sed substantia Dei simpliciter secundum se infinita est, ut ex dictis apparet. Igitur virtus Dei in agendo infinita est.

25 Secundo quia omnis virtus finita, secundum quod huiusmodi, deficiens est, quoniam omne finitum secundum quod finitum finem

10-12 Cf. Thomas Aquinas, *De potentia*, q. 1, a. 1.

1 secundum¹] secundam R || secundum² om. G || habet] nec add. F 2 ordinetur] ordinem MRZ || agens om. C 3 aliud om. F || finis] finif G 4 sibi invicem causae] sibi invicem esse ACDGORVX*Z; sibi simul (del.) intentione F || sibi²] invicem add. P 5 aliquam] aliquem G || compositum] componitur A 5-6 existens causas alias] causas alias existens B; existens causat alias Z 6 recipitur] recipitur D 8 igitur] ita F || alium ABFPVWY, M p.c.] aliam CDGORSTXZ || habet om. V || nec²] ubi (nisi?) RV 9 supervenientem] supervenientem G || etiam] et Z || per²] aliquam add. Z 10 vel] etiam add. G || subiectum secundum om. F 11 sit] fit CGPRTXZ || sed om. G || negative] nec gative R || nullo] ultimo R || modo] aut add. B; nec add. F 12 aut] sive D; nec F 14 est om. F || id] illud DV; om. R 15 ipsa om. B || sit] sicut O 16 vigor] vigo R 17 ordinem] ordine ABFMPW 17-18 infinitas... est iter. G 18 est om. W || intensive] intensione R || quod] quando F 19 deus] infinitas dei F 20 est om. D || virtutis infinitae inv. FY 21 primo¹ om. O || quam] quod V 22 eius om. A || probatum aliquo aliter inv. D 23 ut] et W 24 infinita est inv. F 25 secundo quia omnis] solutio quaestionis D 26 est om. F || finitum²] finitus G

- vel terminum habet secundum aliquem modum. Tale autem deficiens est respectu eius quod non habet finem vel terminum illum. Virtus autem divina in nullo deficiens est, quia a nullo dependet, et omnes aliae virtutes dependent ex ipsa et ex se. Manifestum est igitur quod
- 5 virtus divina infinita est simpliciter, quia prima. Unde dicitur Sapientiae 11: "Virtutem ostendis tu qui non crederis esse consummatus." Unde dicit Proclus, 91 conclusione libri sui: "Omnis potentia aut finita aut infinita. Et finita quidem omnis ex infinita potentia subsistit, infinita autem ex prima infinitate." Est etiam infinitae virtutis in agendo
- 10 intensive, quoniam quod ex remotiori educit aliquid in actum perfectum maioris est virtutis, sicut maioris virtutis est calidum quod ex frigido facit calidum quam quod ex tepido, et quod ex magis frigido facit calidum perfectum adhuc maioris virtutis est in calefaciendo. Et sic semper quanto aliquid educit aliquid in actum ex remotiori maioris
- 15 virtutis est, ita ut secundum additionem ad rationem fiat additio ad quantitatem virtutis. Igitur agens aliquid ex infinita distantia est virtutis infinitae in agendo intensive. Deus autem producit aliquid ex infinita distantia, quia ex simpliciter non-ente facit aliquid, siquidem omnia entia procedunt ab ipso, non solum materialia, sed etiam immaterialia:
- 20 "A primo enim aeterno derivatum est esse et vivere singulis,"

5-6 Sapientia 12.17. 7-9 Proclus, *Elementa theologica*, propositio 91, *Proclus: Elementa theologica, translata a Guillelmo de Morbecca*, ed. H. Boese (Leuven 1987), p. 47, ll. 1-3. 17-18 Cf. Petrus de Alvernia, *Quaestiones in De caelo*, in *Petrus de Alvernia, Questions on Aristotle's De caelo. A Critical Edition with an Interpretative Essay*, ed. G. Galle (Leuven 2003), p. 101. 20-p.127.1 Cf. *Auctoritates Aristotelis*, ed. J. Hamesse (Louvain-Paris 1974), p. 161; Aristoteles, *De caelo et mundo* I, c. 1: 279a28-30; Petrus de Alvernia, *Quaestiones in De caelo*, prologus, ed. G. Galle, pp. 7 and 383.

p.125.25-9 secundo... infinitate om. A p.125.26-1 quoniam... deficiens om. per hom. T 1 terminum] iustum G 1-2 habet... terminum om. per hom. W 2 est om. G(W) 3 omnes] omnis R a.c.; omne W 5 divina infinita inv. W 6 ostendis] ostenderis F || crederis] credis DORTVW || consummatus] consumatus BDFGV 7 dicit] dici D || aut] est W || finita] est add. s.l. D 7-8 finita aut om. R 8 infinita¹] finita a.c. R || et] aut V || potentia] substantia W 9 etiam] enim A || infinitae] finitae G 10 quoniam] quo autem V || quod om. F 11 est virtutis inv. F || calidum] calide R 11-12 quod... calidum mg. T 11-15 sicut... est om. A 12 frigido¹] fervido CGR || calidum] capitulum G || quam] quod R || frigido²] finitum* B 12-13 quam... calidum om. per hom. F 13 calidum] capitulum G || adhuc] ad hunc R 14 semper] sinper G || quanto] quando F || aliquid¹] ad W || educit] reducitur F || aliquid² om. F; aliquem O || actum] actu B || maioris om. V 15 virtutis] et add. G || ita om. F || additionem] condicionem F || rationem] actionem A || additio] additio D 16 virtutis¹] virgutus G || agens aliquid inv. F || aliquid] quod P; ad W || ex om. G || infinita] infinitata P 16-18 est... distinctia om. (per hom.?) A 17 agendo] et add. G || aliquid] ad W 18 quia om. F 19 ab... materialia iter. M || sed etiam immaterialia om. per hom. R 20 derivatum] dominatum R || est] enim D

I *Caeli et mundi*. Et II *Metaphysicae* dicitur quod, sicut calidissimum est causa caliditatis in omnibus aliis, ita quod verissimum est est causa posterioribus ut sint vera. Proclus etiam, 11 conclusione libri sui, probat: "Omnia qualitercumque ab una prima causa procedunt." Igitur

5 Deus est infinitae virtutis in agendo.

Praeterea, agens quod est per se principium actionis infinitae est virtutis infinitae in agendo, quoniam actio infinita non procedit nisi a virtute infinita in agendo. Sed Deus est per se principium actionis infinitae. Est enim per se principium creationis. Nihil enim per se
10 potest creare nisi Deus. Creatio autem est actio infinita, non quidem infinitate termini ad quem – terminus enim eius creatura est, quae de necessitate finita est – sed infinitate termini a quo, terminus enim eius est non-ens simpliciter. Non-ens autem simpliciter infinitum est. Unde ea in entibus quae magis accedunt ad ipsum aliquam infinitatem
15 secundum quid habent, sicut materia prima et existentia in potentia. Igitur Deus est infinitae virtutis in agendo.

Et etiam virtutis infinitae in movendo per tempus infinitum. Motus enim infinitus non procedit nisi a motore virtutis infinitae in movendo. Nunc autem, et si motus non sit infinitus secundum durationem, potest
20 tamen quantum est de natura mobilis et motoris esse infinitus, saltem a parte finis. Igitur est infinitae virtutis in movendo per tempus infinitum.

1-3 Cf. Aristoteles, *Metaphysica* II, c. 1: 993b25-28 (AL XXV.3.2, p. 44, ll. 28-30).
3-5 Proclus, *Elementa theologica*, propositio 11, ed. H. Boese, p. 8, l. 1.

p.126.18-5 siquidem... agendo *om.* A 1 caeli et mundi *om.* F || et¹ *om.* M; s.l. T (*om.* F) || metaphysicae] ubi *add.* F 2 aliis *om.* F || est³ *om.* BW 2-3 est²... posterioribus] in posterioribus est causa posterioribus F 3 libri sui *inv.* B 4 probat] quod *add.* T, PY s.l. || una prima causa] una causa prima C; una prima DZ; imagine F || procedunt] producit G 5 in] vigore *add.* F 6 praeterea] prima DZ || per se *om.* P 7 actio infinita *inv.* A || a] ad A 8 infinita] infinite G || agendo] deus *add.* C || per se *om.* P 8-9 actionis... principium *iter.* G 9 enim¹] etiam D 10 creatio] actio *add.* G || est BF; s.l. M; *mg.* T; post actio DP; post infinita W; *om.* ACGORSVXYZ || actio infinita *inv.* F; infinita R 11 infinitate AP, Y p.c. s.l.; infiniti *cett.* || eius *om.* Y || creatura ABDF*PSWY, O p.c.] creatum CDGMRTVXZ; creatam O a.c. || quae] quod F 12 finita] finitum F || infinitate] a.c. G; infinite G p.c. || enim] a quo *add.* P 13 est non-ens] non est ens F || non-ens¹ autem simpliciter *om.* per *hom.* FO || infinitum ABPZ, Y p.c.] infirmiter CDFGMORSTWX, Y a.c.; ita firmiter V 14 ea *om.* TWY; post entibus B || ipsum] ipsam R 15 quid] quam V || et] in B; *om.* F || existentia] existens F || potentia] prima G 17 infinitae] infinitate DGMR, OT a.c. 17-p.129.2 et etiam... infinitum *om.* A 18 enim *om.* D; autem FMW; etiam Z 19 nunc] licet B; non F || et si] terminus B; et termini Z || potest] praeter G 20 tamen *om.* T || saltem *lac.* M; *om.* Z

Non autem est infinitae virtutis in agendo motum velocitatis infinitae, quia hoc est impossibile fieri. Omnis enim motus naturalis velocitatem habet determinatam ex hoc quod motus et ex hoc quod naturalis. Ex hoc quidem quod motus, quia motus per se est in
 5 tempore, velocitas autem infinita in non-tempore. Ex hoc autem quod naturalis, omnia enim naturalia ad maius et minus naturaliter terminata sunt, sicut minima terra naturaliter terminata est. Similiter autem et minimus ignis. Et similiter se habet in unoquoque naturalium, sicut dicit Philosophus I *Physicorum*. Et iterum, libro *De sensu*, dicit quod
 10 divisio passionum et formarum naturalium in partes quae natae sunt manere separatae non procedit in infinitum, sed necessario terminatur. Quare et motus naturales secundum velocitatem terminati sunt naturaliter et ad minus et maius. Deus autem non habet virtutem agendi quod omnino secundum se impossibile est fieri. Non habet igitur virtutem
 15 agendi motum in instanti. Et hoc videtur intendere Commentator, VII *Physicorum*, non quidem negans ipsum esse infinitae virtutis in vigore, sed in agendo motum in instanti.

Apparet etiam quod non est virtutis infinitae in agendo creaturam infinitam, quia hanc esse secundum se est impossibile et ponit contradictoria, ipsam scilicet esse per hypothesim et ipsam non esse, quia
 20 infinita creatura. Si enim creatura est, finita est, causam habens aliam.

1-17 Cf. Petrus de Alvernia, *Quaestiones in De caelo*, ed. Galle, p. 205 (cf. introduction, pp. 287* and 308*). 8-9 Cf. Aristoteles, *Physica* I, c. 4: 187b13-22 (AL VII.1.2, p. 20, ll. 7-16). 9-11 Cf. Aristoteles, *De sensu et sensato*, c. 6: 445b7-29. 15-17 Cf. Averroes, *In libros Physicorum* VII, e.g. comm. 8 et 35 (*Aristotelis Opera cum Averrois Commentariis* IV, ed. Venice 1562, ff. 311ra-b and 334va-335rb).

1 in om. G || velocitatis infinitae inv. D; velocitatis F 2 est] hoc add. G || enim om. Z 3 quod¹] est add. BSW 3-4 quod¹... hoc om. per hom. F 4 quidem om. Z || quia] et Z || motus² om. F 5 velocitas] velocitatis R, G a.c. || infinita] et add. R || non-tempore] tempore G 6 maius] magis DP 7 minima] in W p.c. || terra naturaliter terminata] terrata G || naturaliter om. D || est] sunt est F || et om. F 8 minimus] minus WZ || et om. BW || similiter] etiam add. B 9 iterum] in add. M 10 formarum] forma GMS || partes] parte G 11 separatae] separata R || terminatur] terminare V 12 naturales] naturalis V 13 ad] non D a.c.; in D p.c. s.l. || et²] ad add. FMSTWZ || autem om. V || agendi] in (s.l.) agendo illud (s.l.) P 13-15 quod... agendi om. per hom. Y 14 est BP, W s.l.; om. cett. || igitur om. C (Y) 14-15 habet post agendi D 15 in om. D || instanti] infiniti M; viii exp. G; vii exp. R || intendere om. V 15-16 vii physicorum] et philosophus D; unde et philosophus W 16 quidem] quidam V 17 sed iter. T 18 virtutis infinitae inv. F; virtus infinitae Z 19-20 contradictoria] contradictionem D 20 scilicet] si V || hypothesim B, PST p.c.; hypotasm R; hypotasm cett., PT a.c. || et] per add. O || ipsam²] ipsa V 21 creatura¹... finita om. per hom. V || causam habens aliam] habens aliam causam D

Sic igitur Deus est infinitae virtutis: et infinitae in vigore et infinitae ad movendum per tempus infinitum. Non autem est infinitae virtutis ad agendum motum velocitatis infinitae, nec creaturam infinitam, non propter aliquam deminutionem potentiae ipsius, sed quia hoc
 5 posse non est aliquid posse. Nec tenetur fide, sicut quidam opinantur, nec omnino sicut notum ex se omnibus, sed probatum rationibus tum a priori, tum etiam a posteriori.

Ad rationem in oppositum dicendum concedendo maiorem. Sed ad minorem dicendum, cum assumitur quod non potest ex motu probari,
 10 verum est quod ex ipso non potest probari infinitas virtutis eius in agendo velocitatem infinitam, quia hoc non potest fieri. Potest tamen ex ipso probari esse infinita in movendo per tempus infinitum, sicut apparet ex dictis.

Quod autem assumitur, quod ex creatione non potest probari eo
 15 quod “quantitas virtutis agentis mensuratur ex quantitate facti, sicut apparet in eis quae fiunt secundum artem et naturam,” etc., dicendum quod in agentibus virtutis finitae mensuratur virtus agentis ex utraque, scilicet ex quantitate ipsius facti et ex ipso modo fiendi, quia omnia finita sunt – et virtus agens, et modus agendi, et ipsum factum – et
 20 sunt omnia aliququaliter proportionalia. In agente autem virtutis infinitae non potest virtus agentis ut sic mensurari ex quantitate perfectionis ipsius facti, quoniam omne factum finitum est, et finitum non mensurat infinitum. Mensurari autem potest ex modo fiendi, qui quidem

8 Hic supra, p.124.3-15.

1 sic] si F || deus *om.* R || et¹ infinitae] et *add.* G; virtutis *add.* s.l. W; *om.* Y || in s.l. X || et² *om.* G 2 movendum] modum MVZ, G *a.c.* 3 motum] notum M || velocitatis] volecitatis G 4 non] nec V || sed *om.* D || quia *om.* T 5-13 nec tenetur... dictis *om.* A 6 notum] motum GYZ || rationibus tum] tam rationibus F; rationibus tamen P 7 tum] quam F; *om.* P || etiam *om.* BF || a *om.* G; et Z 8 dicendum *om.* FY; quod *add.* W || concedendo] concedendum D || ad] a P 9 dicendum cum] quod est O || quod non potest *om.* F 10 quod *om.* FY || non] et F || infinitas] infinitatio D || virtutis eius *om.* B; virtutis G 11 infinitam] in infinitum D || quia] ex *add.* R || hoc *om.* B 12 ipso] ipsa B || movendo] modo V, G *a.c.* || sicut] sic C 14 quod autem assumitur] cum dicitur A; quia aut assumitur V || eo *om.* F 15 virtutis] ignis *add.* P || sicut *om.* G 16 quae BFPVXY] qui ACDGMORSTWZ || naturam] materiam ACGM; ti *add.* A || etc. *om.* F 17 agentibus] gentibus Z || finitae] infinitae F || virtus] virtutis V 17-18 utraque scilicet ex *om.* A 18 omnia] ipsa X 18-19 quia... agendi *om. per hom.* Y 19 finita] fienda R || modus] movetur G || et³ *om.* F 20 aliququaliter P *p.c.* s.l.; aliqua *cett.*, P *a.c.* || autem] aut R 21 sic] si C 21-22 perfectionis ipsius *inv.* A 22 factum finitum *inv.* G || finitum est *inv.* F; finitum Z 23 potest] ut W

finitus est ex parte termini ad quem, infinitus tamen potest esse ex parte termini a quo, quia est ex non-ente, quod quidem infinitum est quia nullo finitum. Tale autem agens est Deus. Et ideo ratio non concludit.

- 5 Nec etiam in agentibus aequivocis. Agens enim aequivocum et per se semper est maioris virtutis quam factum, secundum illam conclusionem Procli: "Omne productivum alterius melius est quam natura producti."

- Quod autem assumitur, quod non potest probari infinitas virtutis
 10 eius eo quod primus, dicendum quod immo. Et quod assumitur, quod ipse distinctus est ab omnibus entibus, dico quod verum est, sed distinctus est non sicut finitum a finito, sed sicut infinitum a finito, et eodem modo, determinatum quidem est, non quidem finitum existens in se, sed quia infinitum existens, et hoc in se indivisum distinctum est
 15 a quolibet finito, et sicut non-ens ab ente.

6-8 Proclus, *Elementa theologica*, propositio 7, ed. Boese, p. 6, l. 1.

1 est ABF; *om. cett.* || infinitus] iinfinitus G || tamen] cum RX; est S || potest esse *om.* B(D) 1-2 ad quem... termini *om. per hom.* D; *iter.* R 2 quo quia] quoque R || est¹ *om.* A || non-ente] natura ente O || quod] non *add.* G 3 nullo BFP; nullum W; nulla *cett.* || finitum] finitur V; sicut W 3 agens *om.* V || et *om.* G || ideo *om.* DRZ || ratio *om.* BT 3-4 quia... concludit *om.* A 4 concludit] includit Z 5 etiam] hoc tenet *add.* A || agentibus] gentibus Z || aequivocis ABFP, STY *p.c.*; aequi voluntatis CDGMORWXZ, TY *a.c.*; aequae voluntatis V 7 procli] proclim G || productivum] adiectivum M; perdicivum CZ; perdictivum GRW || alterius] et in terminis D || melius est *inv.* O || est *om.* A 7-10 quam... eo quod *om.* (*per hom.?*) V 9 quod autem] et quod A || quod²] quia BMY; quoniam P (*om.* V) 9-10 non... quod³ *om.* (*per hom.?*) A 10 et *om.* M 11 dico] dicendum F (*om.* V) 11-12 ab... est *om. per hom.* V 12 finitum] infinitum A; sed non D; est non M || sed... finito² *om. per hom.* CG || sed] sied D 13 quidem¹ *om.* B || quidem²] quidam W 14 in... existens *om. per hom.* R; *iter.* W || et hoc *om.* B || indivisum] divesum T 15 sicut *om.* A

JOHN DUNS SCOTUS' *QUODLIBET*
A BRIEF STUDY OF THE MANUSCRIPTS
AND AN EDITION OF QUESTION 16

Timothy B. Noone and H. Francie Roberts

The Franciscan John Duns Scotus has left us a single *Quodlibet*, consisting of twenty-one questions stemming from a disputation held at Paris in the first decade of the fourteenth century. The first six questions bear upon the Trinitarian persons and their relations, though the first question tries to locate the discussion of the Trinity in the broader context of divine properties. Generally speaking, questions 7–11 concern divine omnipotence in some way, though the series is interrupted by question 8, which asks about the causality proper to the Word or second person of the Trinity in regard to creatures and hence reintroduces some elements of the earlier Trinitarian theme. Question 12 focuses on the metaphysics of creation in general, asking whether the relation of the creature to God as creative principle is the same as the relation of the creature to God as conserving cause. Questions 13–18 have the overarching theme of intellectual creatures, that is humans and angels, though more attention is given to the former than the latter. Here the questions are concerned with the activities of cognition and desire, the ability of the soul to know the Trinity within the limits of natural reason, the extent to which the possible intellect is active in its knowledge, the compatibility of natural necessity and freedom in the same act, the identity or non-identity of natural and meritorious acts of love, and the extent to which the external deed adds evil or goodness to the internal act of the will. The next two questions treat quite different matters; question 19 raises a precise Christological issue, namely, whether the unity of the human nature of Christ to the Word is simply the dependency of the nature assumed by the Word upon the person of the Word, while question 20 handles a matter of canonical concern, namely, whether a priest, already bound to say Mass for one person and then also bound to say Mass for someone else, discharges his duty by saying one Mass for both persons. The final question, which will be the subject of some detailed analysis in terms of textual transmission below, explores an issue in metaphysics and the philosophy

of history regarding the compatibility of the thesis of the eternity of the world and providence.

According to early manuscript witnesses, Scotus determined his *Quodlibet* at Paris, which entails that it derives from a session presided over by a master. Thus Scotus' *Quodlibet* must date from his period as master at Paris, a fact that also has manuscript support. Glorieux first settled on Advent 1307 as the precise date of the session, but new research later persuaded him that Advent 1306 or Lent 1307 were the best possibilities.¹ Scotus scholarship over the last several decades requires that we extend the possible dates of the *Quodlibet* even earlier: it took place between Lent of 1305 and Lent of 1307. Naturally, the *Quodlibet* of a giant in the history of medieval thought would have circulated rapidly, widely, and persistently, as the more than five dozen extant codices and over a dozen printings—several before 1500—demonstrate. In fact, although Scotus seems not to have found time to work on his unfinished text after his departure for Cologne in the fall of 1307, the demand was high enough that just after Scotus left the city the manuscript tradition for his *Quodlibet* became quite complicated. The present contribution will focus on this complex manuscript tradition, an important step for the eventual critical edition.

Manuscripts for many of the works of Duns Scotus have received extensive treatment, from Charles Balić's wide-ranging study of the manuscripts for Scotus' commentaries on the *Sentences*, to the examinations of Pelster and Balić of the *Collationes* and the extensive studies of the philosophical manuscripts in the production of the critical editions of the *Opera philosophica*.² To date, however, no research has focused directly and exclusively on the manuscripts of Scotus' *Quodlibet*, despite the importance of that work for interpreting his mature philosophical and theological doctrines. The only efforts towards such a treatment are the brief indications given by Fr. Felix Alluntis, O.F.M., in his bilingual edition in the Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos series,³ the

¹ Glorieux I, pp. 218–19; II, p. 152.

² [C. Balić: auctor anonymus], *Les commentaires de Jean Duns Scot sur les quatre livres des Sentences: Étude historique et critique* (Louvain 1927); F. Pelster, "Handschriftliches zur Überlieferung der Quaestiones super libros Metaphysicorum und der Collationes des Duns Scotus," *Philosophisches Jahrbuch* 44 (1931), pp. 79–92; C. Balić, "De collationibus Ioannis Duns Scoti, Doctoris Subtilis ac Mariani," *Bogoslovni Vestnik* 9 (1929), pp. 185–219; and the various introductions of the *Opera philosophica*, eds. G. Etzkorn et al. (St. Bonaventure, NY-Washington, DC 1997–2006).

³ Introduction to *Juan Duns Escoto, Cuestiones cuodlibetales. Edición bilingüe*, ed.

equally brief remarks of Fr. Alluntis and Fr. Allan B. Wolter, O.F.M., in their English translation of the *Quodlibet*,⁴ and the limited analysis by Dr. William A. Frank in his edition, based on a reading of three manuscripts, of questions 16–18 of the *Quodlibet*.⁵ From the evidence found in the notes of his edition, Fr. Alluntis seems to have consulted a Munich witness (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 8717) and a Vienna manuscript (Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 1447), but only to have done so in the event that the readings of the Wadding-Vivès edition proved defective. Dr. Frank used the first of these two manuscripts and another Munich manuscript (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 26309) for his main sources for the text, but added another at the suggestion of the Scotus Commission in Rome, namely, Worcester Cathedral F.60, to serve as a check on the reliability of the text coming from the Wadding-Vivès edition. Though Dr. Frank's edition was based on independent collation of the manuscripts and not simply upon occasional checking of the text of the editions against manuscripts, neither he nor Fr. Alluntis attempted to construct any stemma as a result of their textual investigations.

What we offer here is, first, a general study of the manuscripts, demarcating the extent to which they have distinctive features that might prove valuable in determining their overall filiations; second, a detailed discussion of the textual tradition of question 16, "Utrum libertas voluntatis et necessitas naturalis possint se compati in eodem respectu eiusdem actus et obiecti"; third, a tentative stemma for the relations between the manuscripts observed in question 16 along with some further observations regarding the manuscripts and the layers of text contained in the question; and, finally, an edition of question 16 based on the complete collation of ten manuscripts and the preliminary checking of some thirty more.

F. Alluntis (Madrid 1968), p. xix, for a general characterization, and p. 755 n. 18 for an appeal to manuscript evidence to understand the nature of question 21. In his general characterization, Fr. Alluntis states (p. xix): "La confrontación de los manuscritos con las ediciones pone de manifiesto que, a pesar de las inevitables divergencias literarias debidas a la libertad en uso en las copias y transcripciones, no existen, sin embargo, divergencias doctrinales dignas de consideración que puedan ser un obstáculo serio para el conocimiento auténtico de la doctrina escotista." The present examination of manuscripts would tend to call this characterization into question.

⁴ F. Alluntis and A.B. Wolter, *God and Creatures. The Quodlibetal Questions* (Princeton 1975), pp. xxxi–xxxiii.

⁵ W.A. Frank, "John Duns Scotus' Quodlibetal Teaching on the Will" (Ph.D. diss., The Catholic University of America, 1982), pp. 204–7.

The Manuscripts

In the opening volume of the Vatican edition of Scotus' Oxford theological works, the *Commissio Scotistica* originally listed sixty-seven manuscripts. Many of the manuscripts that may appear to have Scotus' *Quodlibet*, however, in fact contain the abbreviation of that work by John Sharpe, an early fifteenth-century Oxford philosopher.⁶ Since the amount of abbreviation is not extensive and the two works are easily confused, the following manuscripts have been incorrectly listed by the *Commissio Scotistica* as containing Scotus' *Quodlibet*: Cambridge, University Library 1235 FF.III.27; London, British Library, Royal 11.B.i, ff. 106r–158r; Oxford, Balliol College Library 192, ff. 3ra–69rb; Oxford, Lincoln College Library 36, ff. 147ra–214va; and Oxford, Magdalen College Library 99, ff. 108ra–167rb. One was lost through fire: Münster, Universitätsbibliothek 199. Moreover, at least two other manuscripts should be added to those preserving Scotus' *Quodlibet*: the witness used for the cover illustration of this volume, namely, St Andrews, University Library B.763.D.7 (1815), identified thanks to the attentiveness of Dr. Michèle M. Mulchahey of the University of St Andrews; and Oxford, Merton College Library 87, ff. 141va–143vb, which contains question 21 of the *Quodlibet* independent of the balance of the text. To date, we have examined forty-two of the sixty-three manuscripts that actually contain the work,⁷ listing the incipits and explicits of each of

⁶ R. Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland Before 1540* (Turnhout 1997), p. 315, lists eight manuscripts for this work and two additional ones attested. See John Sharpe, *Quaestio super universalibus*, ed. A. Conti (Florence 1990), p. 214, n. 3, and L. Kennedy, "The *De anima* of John Sharpe," *Franciscan Studies* 29 (1969) (pp. 249–70), p. 251.

⁷ The following 21 manuscripts we have not yet studied: Basel, Universitätsbibliothek H.III, ff. 12–103; Burgos, Biblioteca Municipal 62, ff. 1ra–118; Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale 573, ff. 140r–201r; Dubrovnik, Library of the Dominican Monastery 12, ff. 137ra–198va; Erfurt, Universitätsbibliothek, Dep. Erf., CA F.368, ff. 1ra–59va; Falconara, Archivio dei Frati Minori delle Marche 17, ff. 1ra–30vb; Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 31 dextr., cod. 7, ff. 1ra–110; Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 31 dextr., cod. 8, ff. 1ra–48vb; Firenze, BNC, Conv. Soppr. A.2.993 (no foliation); Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek 451, ff. 177ra–247vb (in our possession, but not studied here); Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional 228, ff. 137ra–198vb; Madrid, Biblioteca de Palacio Real 411, ff. 13ra–80ra; Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria K.4.8, ff. 1ra–94vb; Napoli, BN VII.A.36, ff. 1ra–44ra; Oxford, Magdalen College Library 163, ff. 4r–238v; Oxford, University Library 110, ff. 1r–126r; Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 3511, ff. 1r–147; Toulouse, Bibliothèque Municipale 739, ff. 148r–187r; Todi, Biblioteca Comunale 70, ff. 155ra–209rb; Venezia, BN Marciana, Marc. lat. 285, ff. 1ra–45va; Zwickau, Stadtbibliothek I.13.25, ff. 148ra–265va.

the questions they preserve and collating many of them, at least for a partial sounding, for the edition of question 16. Here are the forty-two manuscripts we have studied, along with references to any known printed descriptions of those manuscripts:

Assisi, Biblioteca del Sacro Convento di S. Francesco (*olim in Biblioteca Comunale*) 136,⁸ ff. 1ra–57v
 Barcelona, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral 54,⁹ ff. 1ra–35ra
 Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College Library 285,¹⁰ ff. 115ra–156vb
 Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College Library 371,¹¹ ff. 1r–144v
 Cambridge, St. John's College Library 149,¹² ff. 1r–146v
 Cambridge, St. John's College Library 160,¹³ ff. 6v–185v
 Cambridge, University Library 1231 (FF.III.23),¹⁴ ff. 13ra–111vb
 Cesena, Biblioteca Malestiana D.XVII.4,¹⁵ ff. 175ra–232vb
 Città del Vaticano, BAV, Borgh. 36,¹⁶ ff. 1ra–46ra
 Città del Vaticano, BAV, Urb. lat. 119,¹⁷ ff. 1ra–95ra

⁸ C. Cenci, O.F.M., *Bibliotheca manuscripti ad Sacrum Conventum Assisensem* (Assisi 1981), pp. 128–9, n. 96.

⁹ F.E. Cranz, *A Microfilm Corpus of the Indexes to Printed Catalogues of Latin Manuscripts before 1600 A.D.*, 38 Microfilm reels, New London, CT, obtained from the Connecticut College Bookstore, 1982, item no. 1050, p. 391, and item no. 1052, p. 392; P.O. Kristeller, *Latin Manuscript Books before 1600: a List of the Printed Catalogues and Unpublished Inventories* (3rd ed. New York 1965), pp. 74b–76a. This manuscript is listed in the on-line catalogue of the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library (www.hmmml.org) as a folio manuscript: 58 ff. Two catalogues exist: A.F. Grau and J.B. Reig, *Catálogo del Archivo Capitular de la S.I. Catedral Basílica de Barcelona* (Barcelona 1969) (this catalogue is available at the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library), and I. Caresmar, *Catalogus codicum seu librorum manuscriptorum qui in segregatis sanctae Ecclesiae Cathedralis Barcinomensis asservantur* (transcriptum ann. 1972).

¹⁰ M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Gonville and Caius College I* (Cambridge 1907), pp. 332–3.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 419–20.

¹² M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of St. John's College Cambridge* (Cambridge 1913), p. 183.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 191.

¹⁴ C. Hardwick, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge II* (Cambridge 1857), p. 420; corresponding entries in Cambridge University Library, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge 1980), and *Cambridge University Library: The Great Collections* (Cambridge-New York 1998).

¹⁵ G. Avarucci, D. Frioli, G.C. Garfagnini, G. Pomaro, P. Rossi, and A. Velli, *Catalogo di manoscritti filosofici nelle biblioteche italiane IV* (Florence 1982), pp. 35–6; G.M. Muciolus, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Malatestianae Caesenatis Bibliothecae I* (Cesena 1780), p. 68; R. Zazzari, *Sui codici e libri a stampa della Biblioteca Malatestiana di Cesena* (Cesena 1887), p. 152.

¹⁶ A. Maier, *Codices Burghesiani Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Studi e Testi, 120) (Vatican City 1982), pp. 36–9.

¹⁷ C. Stornajolo, *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Codices Urbinae Latini I* (Rome 1902), pp. 145–6.

Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. lat. 879,¹⁸ ff. 122ra–209vb
 Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 31 dextr., cod. 9,¹⁹ ff. 1ra–63vb
 Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek 731,²⁰ ff. 1ra–116va.
 Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek El.f.36,²¹ ff. 73ra–192vb
 Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, CCl 307,²² ff. 51ra–96vb
 Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska 1408,²³ ff. 49rb–92vb
 London, British Library, Royal 8.G.viii,²⁴ ff. 97ra–132vb
 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 8717,²⁵ ff. 61ra–100ra
 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 15829,²⁶ ff. 1ra–5rb

¹⁸ P. Barnaba Hechich et al., eds., B. Ioannis Scoti, *Ordinatio: Liber Secundus*, in *Opera omnia* VIII, “Prolegomena” (Vatican City 2001), pp. 27*–8*; A. Pelzer, *Codices Vaticani Latini* II (Rome 1931), pp. 264–5.

¹⁹ A.M. Bandinius, *Catalogus codicum latinorum bibliothecae mediceae laurentianae* IV (Florence 1777), pp. 703–8.

²⁰ W.G. Bayerer, *Die Handschriften des ehem. Fraterherrenstifts St. Markus zu Butzbach: Teil 1. Handschriften aus der Nummernfolge Hs 42–Hs 760* (Handschriftenkataloge der Universitätsbibliothek Gießen, 4.1) (Wiesbaden 1980), pp. 136–7. An incomplete description of this manuscript may be found at the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library’s electronic catalogue at the following electronic address: <http://www.hmml.org/scholars/catalogue/catalogue> by searching under the rubrics “Giessen,” “Universitaetsbibliothek,” and “731.”

²¹ B. Tönnies, *Die Handschriften der Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Jena, Band I: Die mittelalterlichen lateinischen Handschriften der Electoralis-Gruppe* (Wiesbaden 2002), pp. 102–7.

²² M. Dreyer, H. Möhle, and G. Krieger, eds., B. Ioannis Duns Scoti, *Theoremata*, in *Opera philosophica* II, “Prolegomena” (Washington, DC 2004), p. 571; H. Pfeiffer, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum, qui in Bibliotheca canonorum regularium S. Augustini Claustro neoburgi asservantur* II (Vienna 1931), pp. 66–7.

²³ P. Barnaba Hechich et al., eds., B. Ioannis Scoti, *Lectura in librum tertium sententiarum*, in *Opera omnia* XXI, “Prolegomena” (Vatican City 2004), 4*–7*.

²⁴ J.P. Gilson and G.F. Warner, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King’s Collection in the British Museum* I (Oxford 1921), p. 277. C. Balić et al., eds., Ioannis Duns Scoti, *Ordinatio: Prologus*, in *Opera Omnia* I, “De Ordinatio I. Duns Scoti Disquisitio historico-critica” (Vatican City 1950), pp. 86*–7*. Balić refers to G.F. Warner, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and Kings Collections* I (London 1927), p. 277.

²⁵ C. Halm and G. Meyer, *Catalogus codicum latinorum bibliothecae regiae monacensis* II.1 (Munich 1968), p. 48; F. Pelster, “Handschriftliches zu Skotus mit neuen Angaben über sein Leben,” *Franziskanische Studien* 10 (1923), pp. 16–17; F. Pelster, “Eine Münchener Handschrift des beginnenden vierzehnten Jahrhundert mit einen Verzeichnis von Quaestionen des Duns Scotus und Hervaeus Natalis (cod. lat. Movac. 8717),” *Franziskanische Studien* 17 (1930), pp. 253–72; V. Doucet, “A propos de cod. lat. Monacensis 8717,” *AFH* 26 (1933), pp. 246–7; C. Halm, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum bibliothecae regiae monacensis* IV.1 (Munich 1874); T.B. Noone et al., eds., B. Ioannis Duns Scoti, *Quaestiones super secundum et tertium De Anima*, in *Opera Philosophica* V, “Descriptions of the Manuscripts” (Washington, DC–St. Bonaventure, NY 2006), pp. 51*–3*.

²⁶ C. Halm, F. Keinz, G. Meyer, and G. Thomas, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum bibliothecae regiae monacensis* II.2 (Munich 1969), p. 39.

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 23572,²⁷ ff. 1ra–83ra
 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 26309,²⁸ ff. 1ra–81va
 Oxford, Balliol College Library 209,²⁹ ff. 1r–98v.
 Oxford, Merton College Library 65,³⁰ ff. 1v–65v (lacks q. 16)
 Oxford, Merton College Library 87,³¹ ff. 141va–143vb (only has q. 21)
 Oxford, Merton College Library 90,³² ff. 2r–130v
 Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria 1125,³³ ff. 146ra–199ra
 Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria 2006,³⁴ ff. 167ra–221vb
 Padova, Biblioteca Antoniana 173 Scaff. IX,³⁵ ff. 1ra–25ra
 Padova, Biblioteca Capitolare C.37,³⁶ ff. 1ra–118vb
 Paris, BnF, lat. 15855,³⁷ ff. 101ra–138rb
 Paris, BnF, lat. 3062,³⁸ ff. 193ra–211ra
 Paris, BnF, lat. 3147,³⁹ ff. 15r–307r
 Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Université de Paris (*olim* Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne) 38,⁴⁰ ff. 268ra–312va
 Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Université de Paris (*olim* Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne), 575,⁴¹ ff. 1ra–139ra
 Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní Kapituli C.21.3 (438),⁴² ff. 109r–180v
 Schlägl, Prämonstratenser-Stiftsbibliothek Cpl. 140,⁴³ ff. 196ra–274vb

²⁷ C. Halm and G. Meyer, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum bibliothecae regiae monacensis* II.4 (Wiesbaden 1969), p. 77.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

²⁹ R.A.B. Mynors, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College, Oxford* (Oxford 1963), pp. 204–5.

³⁰ H.O. Coxe, *Catalogus codicum mss. qui in collegiis aulisque oxoniensibus hodie adservantur* I.3 (Oxford 1852), pp. 39–40.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 48.

³³ *Biblioteca regia patavina manuscripta catalogus metodicus* (F.E. Cranz, reel 172), 51r no. 1820.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 23r no. 740 and 51r no. 1829.

³⁵ G. Abate and G. Luisetto, *Codici e manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana* 1 (Vicenza 1975), pp. 202–3. Balić et al., eds., Ioannis Duns Scoti, *Ordinatio: Prologus* cit., pp. 98*–104*.

³⁶ F. Maldura, *Index codicum manuscriptorum qui in bibliothecae reverendissimi capituli cathedralis ecclesiae patavinae asservantur* (Padua 1830), p. 125.

³⁷ L. Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits* (Paris 1870), p. 26 (extract from *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartres* 31 [1870]); Balić et al., eds., Ioannis Duns Scoti, *Ordinatio: Prologus* cit., pp. 94*–6*.

³⁸ *Catalogue générale des manuscrits latins*, tome iv (nos. 3014 à 3277) (Paris 1958), pp. 69–72.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 237–8.

⁴⁰ *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France: Université de Paris et Universités des Départements* I (Paris 1918), pp. 10–11.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

⁴² Balić et al., eds., Ioannis Duns Scoti, *Ordinatio: Prologus* cit., pp. 105*–6*; Barnaba Hechich et al., B. Ioannis Scoti, *Ordinatio: Liber Secundus*, in *Opera omnia* VIII, pp. 49*–50*.

⁴³ An incomplete description of this manuscript may be found at the Hill Monastic

St. Andrews, University Library B.763.D.7 (1815),⁴⁴ ff. 1ra–61rb
 Tortosa, Biblioteca de la Catedral y del Cabildo de la Santísima Iglesia
 Catedral (Archivo Capítular de Tortosa) 139,⁴⁵ ff. 248ra–307vb
 Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale 994,⁴⁶ ff. 1ra–82
 Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 1447,⁴⁷ ff. 33va–95vb
 Worcester, Cathedral and Chapter Library F.3,⁴⁸ ff. 1r–62r
 Worcester, Cathedral and Chapter Library F.60,⁴⁹ ff. 1ra–42va

The general characteristics of the manuscripts so far examined may be described as follows. The vast majority of the manuscripts contain the entirety of the work, though they do not necessarily reproduce the same version of the final question. Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska 1408, and London, British Library, Royal 8.G.viii, do not copy question 21 at all, though they contain the remainder of the work. Worcester, Cathedral and Chapter Library F.3, and Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Université de Paris (*olim* Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne) 38, though otherwise preserving the entirety of the work, begin *ex abrupto* in the midst of the first questions: the Worcester manuscript has a torn folio that exhibits text from the first question⁵⁰ and its continuous text begins

Manuscript Library's electronic catalogue at the following electronic address: <http://www.hmmml.org/scholars/catalogue/catalogue> by searching under the rubrics "Schlaegel" and "140." We concur that the manuscript belongs to the fifteenth century.

⁴⁴ N.R. Ker and A.J. Piper, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries* (Oxford 1992) (Vol. 4—Paisley to York), pp. 252–3.

⁴⁵ E. Bayerri y Bertomeu, *Los códices medievales de la Catedral de Tortosa: novísimo inventario descriptivo* (Barcelona 1962), pp. 296–302. Partial description available through the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library's electronic catalogue at: <http://www.hmmml.org/scholars/catalogue/catalogue> under the entries "Tortosa" and "codex 139." There is, as noted in the electronically available description, a Patristic anthology in the codex that begins on the first folio, but it ends long before f. 308; it ends just prior to the beginning of Alexander of Alexandria's *Quodlibet*. The latter, in turn, ends on f. 247va and is enumerated with bifolia that are continuous throughout its text and that of Scotus. Furthermore, the copies of both Alexander's work and Scotus's own belong to the fourteenth century and not to the thirteenth as the electronic catalogue suggests.

⁴⁶ J.G. Bougerol, *Les manuscrits franciscains de la Bibliothèque de Troyes* (Grottaferrata [Rome] 1982), pp. 100–8.

⁴⁷ B. Ioannis Duns Scoti, *Quaestiones super secundum et tertium De anima*, gen. ed. T. Noone, in *Opera Philosophica* V, pp. 25*–7*; Academica Caesarea Vindobonensis, ed., *Tabulae codicum manu scriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindoboniensi asservatorum* (Vienna 1864), bd. 1: cod. 1–2000, p. 239.

⁴⁸ R.M. Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library* (Rochester, NY-Suffolk 2001), pp. 3–4.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁵⁰ The first identifiable portion of the text is the phrase "Verbum sed ista est falsa propter duo: primo quia nullus actus..." This corresponds to q. 1, a. 3 (ed. Alluntis, p. 37, n. 65; ed. Vivès, vol. XXV, p. 48, [21]).

with question 3, while the Paris manuscript begins with question 1.⁵¹ München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 8717, has the questions in an irregular order throughout: questions 1–10 are followed by questions 16–21, then questions 11, 12, 15, 13, and 14, in that order. No other witness examined has preserved the *Quodlibet* in this fashion, and it is likely that the confused order arose from some kind of misordering of gatherings in the exemplar from which München 8717 is copied. This manuscript's handling of question 21 indicates that its copyist knew of material continuing that question, even though he did not reproduce it. Truly partial survivals are found in München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 15829, which preserves only the first few questions of the text, and the already mentioned Oxford, Merton College Library 87, which contains only the final question in the version of the reporter's text. The latter manuscript is especially noteworthy, since it raises the prospect of isolated survivals of the reporter's text of question 21 in manuscripts that otherwise do not contain the *Quodlibet*. A number of the manuscripts containing Scotus' *Quodlibet* also contain works by other Franciscan theologians, particularly James of Ascoli and Alexander of Alexandria.⁵²

That the vast majority of the manuscripts do have all the questions and that they exhibit those questions in the same order means that prospective editors do not face difficulties at quite the same level as those found in, say, the *Quaestiones super libros Metaphysicorum* wherein many of the manuscripts contain texts with the paragraphs in quite different orders. Nor do they face the problems and opportunities for inference afforded by the *Quaestiones super secundum et tertium De anima* wherein the different sequences of the questions align with major manuscript

⁵¹ The text begins: "...aliquam comparationem... probatio minoris comparatio cuiuscumque intrinseci in Deo ad quodcumque extrinsecum cum sit..." This corresponds to q. 1, a. 1 (ed. Alluntis, p. 21 n. 31; ed. Vivès vol. XXV, p. 20 [12]).

⁵² In Cambridge, University Library FFIII.23, and Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, CCI 307, Ascoli's *Quodlibet* immediately succeeds Scotus's own, while in Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 1447, Ascoli's *Quodlibet* immediately precedes Scotus's *Quodlibet*. Alexander of Alexandria's *Quodlibet* is found in Tortosa, Biblioteca de la Catedral y del Cabildo de la Santísima Iglesia Catedral (Archivo Capitular de Tortosa) 139, where it immediately precedes Scotus's *Quodlibet*, and Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 1447, where it immediately succeeds it. The association of Scotus's *Quodlibet* in the manuscripts with the masters who were so closely linked to him chronologically and geographically at Paris suggests, especially when combined with the Parisian method of marking bifolia in the Tortosa manuscript, that the exemplar behind these codices was Parisian in origin.

groupings.⁵³ Instead, the text appears to be fairly well organized and not to have suffered much corruption or major accidents in its transmission. This general claim is subject, however, to considerable qualification, something that becomes quite obvious in even a preliminary study of question 21.

Question 21

The last question of the *Quodlibet*, q. 21 (Scotus' *quaterni*: "Ultimo quaeritur utrum ponens mundi aeternitatem possit sustinere aliquem esse universaliter bene fortunatum"; alternative text: "Quaeritur utrum ponentes mundum aeternum possint ponere hominem bene fortunatum"), has been the subject of some considerable investigation on the part of scholars. The reason for this interest mainly arises from the curious way in which the manuscripts preserve the question, though the question has considerable philosophical interest as well, inasmuch as it deals with the issue of whether positing the eternity of the world is consistent with claiming that someone is generally fortunate or unfortunate. The question survives in two basic forms: the text that Scotus edited and the reporter's text of the oral discussion of the question during the actual disputation. Significantly, the ending of the question differs in these two forms. The edited text breaks off sharply in all of the manuscripts that preserve that text in its entirety, as follows:

Tertium in hac particula, scilicet de bene fortunato, stat in quadam divisione trimembri. Primum membrum: Nullus dicitur bene fortunatus eo quod semel sibi bene accidit fortuite. Secundum membrum: Nullus dicitur bene fortunatus ex hoc praecise quod sibi semper fortuite bene accidit: quia sive intelligatur sic quod cum omni proposito annexum est aliquod bonum fortuitum, sive sic quod cuicumque proposito suo annexum est aliquod fortuitum, ipsum est bonum. Neutrum enim istorum semper accidit sine miraculo speciali; et hoc non solum intelligendo universaliter absolute, verum etiam in tali actu puta militari vel negotiativo, et hoc sive de bono eventu simili puta victoria vel lucro, sive dissimili, puta hoc vel illo annexo casualiter; nullo quidem istorum modorum diceret Philoso-

⁵³ See B. Ioannis Duns Scoti, *Quaestiones super libros Metaphysicorum Aristotelis: I–V*, gen. ed. G. Etzkorn, in *Opera Philosophica* III (St. Bonaventure, NY 1997), Introduction, pp. xxviii–xxxvii and appendix III, pp. 701–5; B. Ioannis Duns Scoti, *Quaestiones super secundum et tertium De anima*, gen. ed. Noone cit., pp. 55*–119*.

phus aliquem esse bene fortunatum, sicut nec ratio probabilis persuadet. Tertium membrum.⁵⁴

In light of the broken state of the question in its edited form, question 21 is handled in a variety of ways by different copyists. First, there is a group of manuscripts that copy the question as it was edited by Scotus and break off the text where, apparently, Scotus' editorial work stopped with the words: "...nullo quidem istorum modorum diceret Philosophus aliquem esse bene fortunatum, sicut nec ratio probabilis persuadet. Tertium membrum" (Worcester, Cathedral and Chapter Library F.3, f. 62r). We know that this version of the text comes from Scotus' own efforts at editing his quodlibetal questions because of a note in München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 8717, f. 85vb: "Finis. Quodlibet repertum in suis quaternis; quod sequitur est de reportatione." Oddly enough, though the Munich copyist indicates clearly in this note that he knows of other material coming from the reporter's version of Scotus' *Quodlibet* and intends to reproduce it, the material is not in fact reproduced in his copy.

The manuscripts that handle question 21 by ending abruptly at the point where Scotus' *quaterni* ceased are: Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College Library 285; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 8717; Oxford, Merton College Library 65; (after a fashion) Padova, Biblioteca Capitolare C.37; Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria 1125; Paris, BnF, lat. 3062; Paris, BnF, lat. 15855; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Université de Paris (*olim* Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne) 38; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Université de Paris (*olim* Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne) 575; BAV, Vat. lat. 879; and Worcester, Cathedral and Chapter Library F.3. The only notable difference amongst these witnesses is the precise wording with which they end the text; some (namely, Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria 1125, and Paris, BnF, lat. 3062) end the text without copying "Tertium membrum," while Padova, Biblioteca Capitolare C.37, breaks off much earlier than the rest, ending the text in the middle of the solution to the question with these words: "...de primo habetur succincte..."⁵⁵

A second group of manuscripts reproduces solely the other form of the text, namely, the reporter's text, without any indication of

⁵⁴ Scotus, *Quodlibet*, q. 21 (ed. Alluntis, nn. 13–15, pp. 754–5; Wadding-Vivès [6]).

⁵⁵ Scotus, *Quodlibet*, q. 21 (ed. Alluntis, n. 6, p. 750; Wadding-Vivès [3]).

knowing the *quaterni* text for the final question. This group of manuscripts includes Barcelona, Archivo Capítular de la Catedral 54, a fourteenth-century witness, and the partial witness Oxford, Merton College Library 87.

A third group of manuscripts copies the *quaterni* text up to the point that it ceases and then begins question 21 all over, copying in its entirety the reporter's text as well as the broken edited text. The manuscripts that thus restart question 21 are Assisi, Biblioteca del Sacro Convento di S. Francesco 136; Cambridge, University Library FF.III.23; Cesena, Bibliotheca Maletestiana D.XVII.4; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 26309; Oxford, Merton College Library 90; Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria 2006; and Worcester, Cathedral and Chapter Library F.60.

A fourth group of manuscripts actually does what München 8717 indicates would occur: these manuscripts supplement the *quaterni* text by copying the balance of the question from the reporter's text. This group of manuscripts includes Paris, BnF, lat. 3147 (Quia aliquis dicitur bene fortunatus); Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek 731 (Quia nullus potest); Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek El.f.36, ff. 73ra–192vb (Quia nullus fidelis potest esse quin in actione sua); Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College Library 371 (Quod aliquis dicitur bene fortunatus); BAV, Borgh. 36 (Quia nullus potest); BAV, Urb. lat. 119 (Quod aliquis dicitur bene fortunatus); Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek CCl. 307 (Quia nullus potest esse); Tortosa, Biblioteca de la Catedral y del Cabildo de la Santísima Iglesia Catedral (Archivo Capítular de Tortosa) 139 (Quia nullus potest); München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 23572 (In ista quaestione non potest); Oxford, Balliol College Library 209 (Quod aliquis dicitur bene fortunatus); Schlägl, Prämonstratenser-Stiftsbibliothek Cpl. 140 (in ista quaestione non potest); Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní Kapituli C.21.3 (438) (Quia nullus potest), Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 1447 (Quia nullus potest esse). The manuscripts in this group, however, split into three different subgroups inasmuch as some of them begin to copy the reporter's text at the words "quod aliquis dicitur bene fortunatus," others begin slightly further on at the words "quia nullus potest esse quin," and still others seem to supply their own text by writing "in ista quaestione." Furthermore, this pattern of continuation strongly suggests that there were several distinct efforts at combining the *quaterni* text with that taken down by the reporter; these distinctive medieval attempts at editing the text need to be investigated further to see whether or

not they are correlated with internal patterns of readings, but we offer our own preliminary efforts at establishing a correlation in the section below devoted to a search for Beta text.⁵⁶

Question 16

We decided to edit question 16 of the *Quodlibet* for the present volume for two reasons: first, its great doctrinal interest. The question, "Can freedom of the will and natural necessity be compatible in the same [agent] with respect to the same act and object?" touches on central issues in Scotus' thought and in the secondary literature on the *Doctor Subtilis*. A more trustworthy text of this question will be useful to scholars interested in Scotus and in the problems of contingency, necessity, and freedom more generally. The second reason for the edition is that the text of question 16 was reputed to have some interesting additions and alterations, which often prove useful for establishing textual affiliations within a manuscript tradition. Altogether we have collated ten manuscripts in their entirety for question 16:

- A = Padova, Bibliotheca Antoniana 173 Scaff. IX
- B = Padova, Bibliotheca Universitaria 1125
- C = Padova, Bibliotheca Universitaria 2006
- D = Assisi, Biblioteca del Sacro Convento di S. Francesco 136
- E = Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Université de Paris 38
- F = Worcester, Cathedral and Chapter Library F.3
- G = Worcester, Cathedral and Chapter Library F.60
- H = München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 8717
- I = Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 1447
- J = München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 26309

The overall textual situation may be described by saying that the manuscripts divide into two fundamental groups: EFG and CDIJ. The remaining witnesses, namely A, B, and H, seem to vacillate in their affiliation from one of these groups to the other. We may readily see that this is the case by examining the qualitative and quantitative patterns of association among the manuscripts:

⁵⁶ It should be noted that Vives prints the *reportatio* without the remark in Munich 8717 and Alluntis reports the remark and gives the *reportatio* text, while Wolter repeats in his translation the whole question (with explanation, *God and Creatures*, p. xxxiii).

*Quantitative Patterns of Association***A**

unique variants—142

when no more than four manuscripts, including A, agree, A is most frequently found in combinations that include the following manuscripts: B—47 times, C—40 times, F—35 times

when no more than four manuscripts, including A, agree, A is found least often in combinations that include the following manuscripts: D—19 times, I—16 times, J—6 times

B

unique variants—174

when no more than four manuscripts, including B, agree, B is most frequently found in combinations that include the following manuscripts: H—59 times, A—47 times, C—36 times

when no more than four manuscripts, including B, agree, B is found least often in combinations that include the following manuscripts: E—11 times, F—15 times, G—16 times

H

unique variants—180

when no more than four manuscripts, including H, agree, H is most frequently found in combinations that include the following manuscripts: B—59 times, D—34 times, I—28 times

when no more than four manuscripts, including H, agree, H is found least often in combinations that include the following manuscripts: E—8 times, C—10 times, G—11 times

C

unique variants—144

when no more than four manuscripts, including C, agree, C is most frequently found in combinations that include the following manuscripts: D—81 times, J—80 times, I—68 times

when no more than four manuscripts, including C, agree, C is found least often in combinations that include the following manuscripts: E—10 times, H—10 times, F—11 times

D

unique variants—87

when no more than four manuscripts, including D, agree, D is most frequently found in combinations that include the following manuscripts: I—111 times, C—81 times, J—60 times

when no more than four manuscripts, including D, agree, D is found least often in combinations that include the following manuscripts: G—8 times, E—10 times, F—16 times

I

unique variants—138

when no more than four manuscripts, including I, agree, I is most frequently found in combinations that include the following manuscripts: D—111 times, J—70 times, C—68 times

when no more than four manuscripts, including I, agree, I is found least often in combinations that include the following manuscripts: F—11 times, G—12 times, E—15 times

J

unique variants—104

when no more than four manuscripts, including J, agree, J is most frequently found in combinations that include the following manuscripts: C—80 times, I—70 times, D—60 times

when no more than four manuscripts, including J, agree, J is found least often in combinations that include the following manuscripts: A—6 times, G—7 times, E—9 times, B—9 times

E

unique variants—68

when no more than four manuscripts, including E, agree, E is most frequently found in combinations that include the following manuscripts: F—34 times, G—28 times, A—20 times

when no more than four manuscripts, including E, agree, E is found least often in combinations that include the following manuscripts: H—8 times, J—times 9, C—10 times, D—10 times

F

unique variants—112

when no more than four manuscripts, including F, agree, F is most frequently found in combinations that include the following manuscripts: G—51 times, A—35 times, E—34 times

when no more than four manuscripts, including F, agree, F is found least often in combinations that include the following manuscripts: J—10 times, C—11 times, I—11 times

G

unique variants—180

when no more than four manuscripts, including G, agree, G is most frequently found in combinations that include the following manuscripts: F—51 times, A—32 times, E—28 times

when no more than four manuscripts, including G, agree, G is found least often in combinations that include the following manuscripts: J—7 times, D—8 times, H—11 times

ABH appears as a unique variant 5 times
CDIJ appears as a unique variant 38 times

Qualitative Patterns

To assess the qualitative features of these witnesses, we focused upon the two groups and explored their characteristics in the examples that follow. By examining these and several other examples, we arrived at a tentative stemma of the text’s transmission as found in these witnesses, thereby establishing a likely order for collation and some priorities for readings.

First, we list the significant variations, additions, and omissions of the two groups in the first twenty-five paragraphs of our edition; second, we consider illustrative examples abstracted from such variations that serve to indicate the character of the witnesses. The numbers, indicated by the expression “n.” refer to the paragraphs of the Latin text found below.

Significant variations, additions, and omissions in the first 25 paragraphs:

n. 1 et om. ABDHJ n. 2 obiecti] add. et DGI n. 3 Arguitur] Et videtur BC n. 3 servam] suam CDEG n. 3 quidem] quod BDHI n. 3 motui illi] i. m. CDIJ n. 3 quod] et D quia EHJ n. 3 eo] add. est CDIJ n. 3 quod] quia BDH n. 3 lapidi] lapidis FG n. 3 ille] iste DEHI n. 3 Haec verba Augustini] dub. H Haec Augustinus ABCDIJ n. 3 quidem] quaedam CGJ om. BDI n. 3 quisquis] quisque EF n. 3 satis patet] = AEF p. s. CDIJ satis apparet BH patet G n. 4 inquit] add. illa BCJ add. ista DI n. 4 quae] quod FG n. 4 voluntates] mentes AH virtutes BCDIJ	n. 4 vel perperam om. BDHI n. 4 necesse esse] = AEI necesse est BCDFGJ necessaria H n. 4 omnia] entia CDH etiam IJ n. 4 libero] libera C add. et DI n. 6 diligendi] add. se BCDIJ n. 6 per consequens] ideo CIJ n. 7 obiectum] add. infinitum CDIJ n. 7 Quia—perfectione] Quia posse non habere (add. circa I) tale obiectum posset carere summa perfectione CDIJ nn. 8–9 De primo—finis ultimus] = EFG dub. H n. 10 ex] add. illo CDHIJ n. 10 Nunc—necessario] Intellectus autem necessario assentit CDIJ n. 11 ad aliquod invariabile] = BCE ad aliquid invariabile DFHIJ ad aliquid variabile G n. 11 actum] add. eius ACDIJ n. 11 illud] add. Augustini ABCDIJ
--	---

n. 11 hoc bonum] b. h. ACDIJ n. 12 Ista—necessariae] Sed istae probationes non videntur conclusionem probare necessariam de quacumque (quaecumque I) scilicet voluntate in communi nec etiam videntur esse in se necessariae CDIJ n. 13 quod] =ABE cum DI om. CFGHJ n. 13 istorum] add. trium BDHI n. 13 quod om. BCDHIJ n. 14 dependent om. CDIJ n. 14 obiecto] add. dependent CDI add. dependens J n. 15 Deus—causare] = AE Deus potest immediate C Deus potest creare immediate DJ potest Deus immediate causare F Deus posset immediate causare G Deus potest causare immediate BHI n. 15 mediae] add. absolutum BCDHIJ add. absolutarum I n. 15 absolute] om. CDIJ add. sed G n. 16 voluntas] autem CD add. autem I n. 17 intrinseca ratio] ratio intrinseca CDJ n. 17 ipsi ipsius AG om. CDJ n. 17 semper om. ABCDGH n. 18 quandoque continuare] continuare quandoque CJ n. 18 quando] add. etiam I quae? AE quem CFJ quem corr. in G n. 18 actus] obiecti B om. CDHIJ n. 19 est] pos. voluntatis B om. CJ n. 20 intelligo] intelligendo G intelligitur ABCDIJ intelligeretur H n. 20 quod] add. ipsa ABCDHIJ n. 20 illud obiectum] = EFG istud obiectum BCDHIJ obiectum illud A	n. 20 nunc] voluntarie (dub.) C add. voluntarie ABDHIJ n. 21 ponis] ponitur BCIJ potentia DH n. 22 primam] primum CDFGI n. 22 obiecto aliquo] a. o. ADHI n. 22 tota] om. AEF n. 22 in opposito] illo posito CH isto posito DI n. 22 Tamen ista] Tamen illa AG Tamen C Ista tamen DIJ n. 22 posset] potest DI n. 22 velle] nolle DEI n. 22 nolle] velle CDEI n. 22 sicut] ut AEFG n. 22 tactum est supra] e. t. EG est tractatum F n. 23 sic om. CIJ n. 23 Maior—inest] om. AEFH n. 24 dici potest] potest dici DI n. 24 volendi] volendi finem A voluntas B voluntatis finem C voluntatis DHI n. 24 nolle] velle C add. nisi ABC n. 24 velle... nolle] nolle... velle BCI n. 24 fieri om. ABCDHIJ n. 24 nunc—nolibilis] = BE nunc autem finis non habet aliquam rationem nolibilis H finis autem non habet aliquam rationem nolibilis ACIJ finis autem non habet aliam rationem nolibilis DG si autem non habet rationem nolibilis F n. 24 ipsi om. CDIJ n. 25 videlicet] scilicet ABFG n. 25 inter se] om. FG n. 25 ipsa] ipsam H add. obiecta A(mg.)J#2 add. primum (pos. sic BC) ABC
---	---

Illustrative Examples

No. 1: *Example Showing the General Preferability of EFG*. This example is taken from a text in which Scotus is quoting Augustine on the freedom of the will: Scotus, *Quodlibet*, q. 16, n. 4:

Si necessitas, inquit, dicenda est quae non est in nostra potestate, sed etiam si nolumus efficit quod potest, ut est necessitas mortis, manifestum est voluntates nostras, quibus recte vel perperam vivitur, sub tali necessitate non esse.

The crucial variants in this segment are as follows:

Manifestum est voluntates nostras quibus recte vel perperam vivitur
 <utitur F> sub tali necessitate non esse = EFG
 Manifestum est mentes nostras quibus recte vel perperam vivitur sub tali
 necessitate non esse = A
 Manifestum est mentes nostras quibus recte vivitur sub tali necessitate
 non est <corr. in H#2> = H
 Manifestum est virtutes nostras quibus recte vel perperam innititur sub
 tali necessitate non est = C
 Manifestum est vel quod virtutes nostras quibus recte vel perperam vivitur
 sub tali necessitate non est = J
 Manifestum est virtutes nostras quibus recte vivitur sub tali necessitate
 non esse = BDI

The pattern of copying found in the CDIJ model (at times shared by B) is clear. The copyist of the CDIJ model misread the abbreviation of “voluntates” for “virtutes,” but, once that error was introduced, scribes were then forced to change the sense from “whereby we live either rightly or wrongly” to “whereby we live rightly” because we cannot live wrongly through virtues. The model behind AH probably misread the “voluntates” as “mentes.”

No. 2: *The Remarkable Contribution of EFG*. There is what appears to be, but in fact is not, additional material in manuscripts EFG when these are compared to the other seven manuscripts that were collated for the edition. Here is the order in which the materials appear in EFG and in the remaining manuscripts:

Manuscripts E, F, and G	Remaining manuscripts
n. 5 (Alluntis, n. 4, p. 582; Wadding-Vivès [2]): Hic sunt tria videnda... naturalitas	n. 5 (Alluntis, n. 4, p. 582; Wadding-Vivès [2]): Hic sunt tria videnda... naturalitas
nn. 8–9 : De primo dicitur...finis ultimus (not in Alluntis or Wadding Vivès)	Not present.
nn. 6–7: De quo primo dico... Utraque conclusio...competet voluntati infinitae esse principiandi spirandi illum. (Alluntis, nn. 5–7, pp. 583–84; Wadding-Vivès [2])	nn. 6–7: De quo primo dico... Utraque conclusio...competet voluntati infinitae esse principiandi spirandi illum. (Alluntis, nn. 5–7, pp. 583–84; Wadding-Vivès [2])
In our edition the following text is a <i>textus cancellatus</i> , but is the same as Alluntis, nn. 8–9, p. 584; Wadding-Vivès [2]: Ad hanc conclusionem ponuntur quaedam probationes quae etiam concludunt...Prima probatio talis est...nec aliquid defectus boni; finis autem ultimus est huiusmodi	In our edition the following text is a <i>textus cancellatus</i> , but is the same as Alluntis, nn. 8–9, p. 584; Wadding-Vivès [2]: Ad hanc conclusionem ponuntur quaedam probationes quae etiam concludunt...Prima probatio talis est...nec aliquid defectus boni; finis autem ultimus est huiusmodi

The problem initially posed is what to make of the material that is unique to EFG and how it relates to the material found later both in those manuscripts and in all the other witnesses collated. If we examine the reply that Scotus makes later in the question (at n. 22) to the first of the arguments on behalf of the claim that the will necessarily wills the ultimate end, the true character of the material uniquely found in EFG begins to emerge, namely, that the material in EFG is integral to the text that Scotus intended to have stand in his final version:

Material uniquely in EFG, nn. 8–9	Material universally found in all Mss. (Alluntis, nn. 8–9, p. 584; Wadding- Vivès [2])	Reply of Scotus at n. 22 (Alluntis, n. 19, p. 589; Wadding-Vivès [2])
De primo dicitur quod omnis voluntas necessario vult finem ultimum, et hoc vel clare visum vel etiam a nobis in universali apprehensum. Ad hoc sunt tres rationes. Prima est ista: voluntas non potest resilire a proprio obiecto quod est bonum vel ab illo in quo est tota perfectio sui obiecti; ergo necessario tendit in illud obiectum in quo nec est aliqua malitia nec aliquis defectus boni; huiusmodi est finis ultimus.	Ad hanc conclusionem ponuntur quaedam probationes quae etiam concludunt de omni voluntate respectu istius obiecti, sive clare visi, sive in universali apprehensi sicut modo ipsum apprehendimus. Prima probatio talis: Voluntas necessario vult illud in quo est ratio omnis boni, quia non potest aliquod obiectum non velle in quo non est malitia aliqua nec aliquis defectus boni; finis autem ultimus est huiusmodi.	Ad primam, negaretur maior: Quantumcumque enim in obiecto aliquo sit perfectio obiecti, tamen ad necessitatem actus requiritur quod potentia necessario tendat in illud obiectum; et quidquid sit de voluntate creata beata et de perfectione eius supernaturali qua tendit in illud obiectum, tamen diceretur quod voluntas creata viatoris simpliciter contingenter tendit in illud, et etiam quando est in universali apprehensum, quia illa apprehensio non est ratio determinandi voluntatem ad necessario volendum illud; nec ipsa voluntas necessario se determinat in opposito, sicut nec necessario continuat illud positum, ut tactum est in secunda ratione. Tamen ista posset concedi quod voluntas non potest resilire

Material uniquely in EFG, nn. 8–9	Material universally found in all Mss. (Alluntis, nn. 8–9, p. 584; Wadding- Vivès [2])	Reply of Scotus at n. 22 (Alluntis, n. 19, p. 589; Wadding-Vivès [2])
		ab obiecto sive nolle obiectum in quo non ostenditur aliqua ratio mali nec aliquis defectus boni, quia sicut bonum est obiectum huius actus qui est velle, ita malum vel defectus boni, quod pro malo reputatur, est obiectum huius actus qui est nolle. Et tunc non sequitur ultra, non potest nolle hoc, igitur necessario “vult hoc,” quia potest hoc obiec- tum neque velle neque nolle, sicut tactum est supra, pertractando il- lam auctoritatem de I <i>Retractionum</i> .

The use of “perfectio,” the employment of the verb “tendere,” and most of all the repetition of the phrase “voluntas non potest resilire ab obiecto” within his response indicate that Scotus is replying to the former version of the first argument. The most likely explanation for the present state of the text is that, in redacting the text, Scotus decided to restate the first of the arguments along with the preface to the three arguments. When he did so, however, he probably wrote the argument on a *schedula*, or scrap, of parchment that subsequently became displaced and ended up being associated with the beginning of the first article. Thereafter a model was produced that kept exactly the order we find in EFG and another was produced that either committed a homeoteleutic error by skipping from the text in the model of “De primo dicitur...” to “De quo primo dico...,” or was ordered according to a conscious decision on the part of its editor/copyist to eliminate seemingly misplaced material. Hence the model for the remainder of the manuscripts did not reproduce the replacement paragraphs and we

do not find it in other witnesses, save those derived directly or indirectly from the model behind EFG.

No. 3: *Clear Evidence that EFG's Text Can Be Problematic*. In paragraph three of the question, Scotus is once again quoting words of St Augustine:

Motus quo voluntas convertitur, nisi esset voluntarius et in nostra positus potestate, neque laudandus neque culpandus homo esset neque monendus; monendum autem non esse hominem quisquis existimat, de hominum numero exterminandus est.

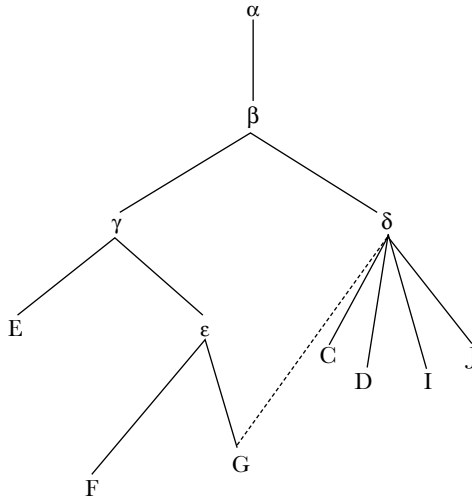
What is significant is the final part of the quotation in which we find the following accidents:

de hominum numero exterminandus est = omnes ceteri codices
 de hominum numero existimandus est = Mss EF
 de hominum numero existimandus non est = Ms G
 de homine movetur excludendus est = Ms C

The text should clearly read: “de hominum numero exterminandus est.” The copyist of the model behind manuscripts E and F clearly has the same word in front of him, but mistranscribes it as “existimandus”; such a reading would entail that the sentence as a whole read: “The motion whereby the will is turned, if it were not voluntary and placed within our power, would be such that a person could neither be praised nor blamed nor even admonished; whoever thinks, however, that a person should not be admonished *should be accounted to be among the number of human beings*.” This meaning is, of course, contrary to the original sense of the passage. Hence, either the scribe of G or, more likely, the redactor of the model he is copying revised the reading to: “existimandus non est.” Such a reading restores a sense close to the original one, though slightly different: “The motion whereby the will is turned, if it were not voluntary and placed within our power, would be such that a person could neither be praised nor blamed nor even admonished; whoever thinks, however, that a person should not be admonished *should not be accounted to be among the number of human beings*.” This revision means that the copying error found in the model of manuscripts E and F is what lay before either the redactor of the G model or the G copyist himself. Hence, this pattern of copying clearly indicates the order of copying: the common reading for the exemplar behind E, F, and G is being directly (or at least more directly) copied by the scribes of E and F; manuscript G's model (or the copyist himself) is indebted to the

readings of the model behind the text of E and F, but must be copying later in the line of transmission.

These qualitative features of the manuscripts used for our edition when combined with the quantitative patterns listed earlier yield the following tentative stemma:



The prominent Greek elements in this tentative stemma should be understood to represent the following likely historical and textual circumstances. Manuscript Alpha represents Scotus's own *quaterni* text, though the latter is doubtless based upon a reporter's version of the oral disputation that was reworked to produce the *quaterni* text. In this regard, the present stemma only reflects the textual transmission discovered in editing question 16; if question 21 were the subject of analysis, the independent survival of the reporter's text for that question would require either two stemmata or two points of origination within one stemma. (For a related complication even within question 16, see the section below on nn. 41–51.) Next in the order of transmission is manuscript Beta, a manuscript that was an apograph of Alpha and likely incorporated the replacement paragraphs for nn. 8–9, probably themselves written on a *schedula* in Alpha, into the frame of its text. This manuscript, moreover, must have had the correct readings of “exterminandus” in n. 3 and “voluntas” at n. 4. Manuscript Gamma, the model underlying the textual community shared by E, F, and G, copied

the replacement material already in the frame of its model, manuscript Beta, but misread the abbreviation for “exterminandus” in n. 3, while preserving the correct reading of “voluntas” in n. 4. Manuscript Delta, either through homeoteleutic error or—more likely—by conscious editorial decision, dropped the replacement material and misread “voluntas” in n. 4, writing instead “virtutes,” though it did preserve the correct reading of “exterminandus” at n. 3.

A Failed Search for Beta Text

Having determined roughly some of the affiliations between the ten manuscripts used for our edition and taken into account the manner in which question 21 is recorded in each of these manuscripts, we originally theorized that if a β manuscript were found it would likely begin question 21 by reproducing *quaterni* text up to the point where the *quaterni* text breaks off, followed immediately by the reporter’s text for the remainder of the question, without restarting the question from the beginning inasmuch as the majority of the manuscripts used for our edition do not restart question 21 in this manner. Moreover, we located exactly this pattern in seven manuscripts:

- N = Cesena, Bibliotheca Maletestiana D.XVII.4
- P = Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek El.f.36
- S = Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College Library 371
- U = Città del Vaticano, BAV, Borgh. 36
- W = Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. lat. 879
- CC = Oxford, Balliol College Library 209
- HH = Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní Kapituli C.21.3 (438)

In an attempt to discover if any of the above contains text more primitive than that witnessed to by the EFG family, we transcribed the first eleven paragraphs of each of these seven manuscripts. Unfortunately, none of these manuscripts contains β text, and the similar ways in which the above-listed manuscripts record question 21 appears to be the result of medieval text editing that took place further down the line of transmission, rather than the result of access to more primitive text on the part of individual scribes. These seven manuscripts are not members of one cohesive family. N, P, U, W, and HH fall closer to the CDIJ side of the stemma and exhibit varying degrees of textual contamination. Manuscripts S and CC, on the other hand, each fall

under the EFG side of the stemma; S seems to be more directly related to EF, while CC appears to be a descendant of manuscript G or its close relative. This is, of course, unsurprising, given the Cambridge and Oxford provenance of these two witnesses.

Of the NPUWHH witnesses, the manuscript from Cesena (N) shares the fewest commonalities with the other four, all of which have proven to be highly derivative and exhibit signs of textual contamination. The text of BAV, Vat. lat. 879 (W), displays the most evidence of contamination and shows signs of being based on multiple exemplars. For example, in paragraph four, W reads "virtutes" and omits "vel perperam," as do manuscripts D and I. "Virtutes," however, is written over an erasure, suggesting either that the scribe originally misrecorded what was in front of him or that the manuscript was later corrected against a different exemplar.

We now think that β in all likelihood only had *quaterni* text and that physically associated with it but distinct from it was the reporter's text for the last question of Scotus' *Quodlibet*.

Table of All Examined Manuscripts for Seminal Accidents

The following table gives an overview of how the seminal accidents discussed above for manuscripts A–J are reproduced in all the manuscripts we have had the opportunity to examine.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ K = Paris, BnF, lat. 15855; L = Paris, BnF, lat. 3062; M = Paris, BnF, lat. 3147; O = Padova Biblioteca Capitolare C.37; Q = Barcelona, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral 54, ff. 1ra–35ra; R = Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College Library 285, ff. 115ra–156vb; T = Cambridge, University Library 1231 (FE.III.23), ff. 13ra–111vb; V = BAV, Urb. lat. 119; X = Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek CCl 307, ff. 51ra–96vb; Y = Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska 1408, ff. 49rb–92vb; Z = Tortosa, Biblioteca de la Catedral y del Cabildo de la Santísima Iglesia Catedral (Archivo Capitular de Tortosa) 139, ff. 243ra–307vb; AA = London, British Library, Royal 8.G.viii, ff. 97ra–132vb; BB = München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 23572, ff. 1ra–83ra; DD = Oxford, Merton College Library 65, ff. 1v–65v (lacks question 16); EE = Oxford, Merton College Library 90, ff. 2r–130v; FF = Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Université de Paris 575, ff. 1ra–139ra; GG = Schlägl, Prämonstratenser-Stiftsbibliothek 140, ff. 196ra–274vb; II = Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek 731, ff. 1ra–116va.

n. 3	EFG	ABH	CDIJ	K-HH
de hominum numero exterminandus est		ABH	DIJ	KLMNOPSUVWXYCCF FGGHH
de hominum numero existimandus est	EF			QRAABB
de hominum numero existimandus non est	G			
de homine movetur excludendus est			C	
de homine numero aestimandus non est				TEEII
de homine numero existirpandus est				Z
n. 4	EFG	ABH	CDIJ	K-HH
voluntates...vel perperam vivitur	EG			MNPRSUVAABBCCEEII
voluntates...vel perperam utimur	F			
mentes...vel perperam vivitur		AH		
virtutes...vivitur		B	CDIJ	KL
vires...vel perperam vivitur				O
virtutes...vel perperam vivitur				QWXYZFFGGHH
n. 6	EFG	ABH	CDIJ	K-HH
has insert	EFG			NPRSTUVWCCEEHHII
has insert but cancelled with “va-cat”				Z
lacks insert		ABH	CDIJ	KLMOQXYAABBFFGG

A Textual Comment on nn. 41–51

In the framework of article 3 of question 16, paragraphs nn. 41–51 pose a significant problem. Here Henry of Ghent's opinion regarding the procession of the Holy Spirit is presented twice in extremely similar terms: the first subsection lasts from nn. 41–48; the second from nn. 49–51. To see how similar these two subsections are, let us consider for a moment their wording, sources, and the key parallel paragraphs, n. 44 and n. 51.

In terms of their wording, both the opening paragraphs of the subsections begin similarly and make the same point regarding the opinion they are treating:

n. 41: De tertio articulo principali dicitur quod voluntas potest esse principium spirandi Spiritum Sanctum ita quod ibi est necessitas naturae concomitans.

n. 49: De tertio principali dicitur quod in aliquo actu voluntatis divinae, actu scilicet spirandi Spiritum Sanctum, est aliquo modo necessitas naturalis sic intelligendo: voluntas, ut est simpliciter voluntas, non est principium elicivum actus notionalis quo producit simile in forma naturali ipsi producenti (quia tunc in quocumque esset, esset principium elicivum actus quo producit simile in forma—quod falsum est in creaturis), sed voluntas, ut est in natura divina et ut sic per illam habet quamdam naturalitatem ad productionem notionalem, sic est principium elicivum actus naturalis.

When juxtaposed in this fashion, these two paragraphs differ in that the first is a briefer and less complex presentation of points similar to those made in the second. A similar pattern can be discerned by comparing, for example, n. 43 to nn. 49–50. A parallel similarity emerges, too, in the sources for the subsections: both subsections draw upon questions 47 and 60 of Henry of Ghent's *Summa* (see the apparatus criticus of the respective paragraphs). Yet a final and telling point may be seen in a careful comparison of two paragraphs, n. 44 and n. 51:

n. 44: Est igitur ordo quadruplicis necessitatis: prima qua Deus necessario vivit; secunda qua necessario intelligit; tertia qua necessario spirat; quarta qua necessario diligit se.

n. 51: Sunt ergo aliter et aliter istae propositiones necessariae in divinis: 'Deus necessario vivit', quia necessitate naturae; 'Deus necessario intelligit', quia necessitate intelligibilis determinantis intellectum ad hoc, ubi est aliqua diversitas rationis; 'Deus necessario spirat Spiritum Sanctum', quia necessitate naturali non praeveniente, sed concomitante; 'Deus necessario amat se', necessitate consequente infinitatem libertatis absque aliqua necessitate naturae.

The second of these paragraphs is elaborating the senses of necessity involved in each of the sample propositions, whereas the first simply indicates that there is an order of a fourfold necessity and lists the sample propositions.

Considering all of these parallel elements, we would like to propose the hypothesis that paragraphs nn. 41–48 are a lingering *passus* from the original reporter's version of the *Quodlibet*, a version that has independent existence in the case of question 21 but pokes through the edited text occasionally, as we saw in the earlier case of paragraphs nn. 8–9.⁵⁸ In other words, our proposal is that Henry's opinion is treated twice in the text as we have it, but, in all likelihood, Scotus meant to replace nn. 41–48 with nn. 49–51. Unfortunately, if that was the case, his effort to displace the earlier text failed, just as it did in the case of the rewritten versions of nn. 8–9. Accordingly, we have entitled the respective sections of the text "Opinio Henrici prima vice tractata" and "Opinio Henrici secunda vice tractata." We have not, however, taken the additional step, as we did in the earlier case with nn. 8–9, of making the first treatment a *textus cancellatus*. The reason for this hesitation is that we do not have in the present case the confirmatory evidence of a later section of the text quoting or paraphrasing the section intended to stand and hence lack the complete certitude we have in the case of nn. 8–9 regarding which version was the revision.

Editorial Method

As is apparent from our tentative stemma and the analysis supporting it, our considered judgement is that manuscripts EF and G represent a more primitive strand of text than that found in the family of CDIJ. Hence, we have in the main followed that family whenever possible.

⁵⁸ The text of nn. 42–48 is marked as an *additio* in Wadding-Vivès [9], Vivès, 22, 195a–b; Alluntis, n. 34, note 36, pp. 597–8 (text reproduced in Spanish translation only); and Frank, p. 216. Whether this means that Wadding had some manuscript authority for designating this section is unclear. In any case, the section that Wadding marks as an *additio* is precisely the portion that we believe is part of the reporter's text; if anything should be registered as an "*additio*," it would be the subsequent section that we believe to be Scotus's revision. Perhaps, however, all Wadding meant to register with his indication was his belief that there was textual repetition, and this is exactly what seems to us quite apparent.

Occasionally, however, we have not done so. The justification is usually that, in a given instance, the model behind EF and G contains a copying error, such as an eye-skip error or a reading error. Only on the rarest of occasions have we preferred the text of CDIJ to that of EFG on the grounds that its text represents a superior sense.

[BEATI IOANNIS DUNS SCOTI]

[QUODLIBETUM]

[QUAESTIO 16]

[UTRUM LIBERTAS VOLUNTATIS ET NECESSITAS
NATURALIS POSSINT SE COMPATI IN EODEM
RESPECTU EIUSDEM ACTUS ET OBIECTI]

5

- 1 Consequenter quaeritur de voluntate. Et primo, de actione eius in
communi; secundo, in speciali de distinctione unius actus eius intrinseci
ab alio actu; et tertio, de distinctione actus intrinseci ab extrinseco.
- 2 Prima quaestio est haec: Utrum libertas voluntatis et necessitas natu- 10
ralis possint se compati in eodem respectu eiusdem actus et obiecti.
- 3 Arguitur quod non: Quia necessitas et libertas videntur repugnare,
iuxta illud AUGUSTINI II *De libero arbitrio*: “Satis,” inquit, “compertum
est nulla re fieri mentem servam libidinis, nisi propria voluntate.” Et
statim post: “Qui motus, si culpa deputatur, non est naturalis sed 15

9 Cf. **Scotus**, *Quodl.* q. 17 (ed. Vives XXVI 202a–224b; ed. Alluntis, 611–628).

9 Cf. **Scotus**, *Quodl.* q. 18 (ed. Vives XXVI 228a–258b; ed. Alluntis, 630–660).

11 Cf. **Scotus**, *Ordinatio* I d. 1 pars 2 q. 2 nn. 77–158 (II 59–108); **Scotus**, *Ordinatio* IV d. 49 q. 9–10 (ed. Vives XXI 316–383).

13 **August.**, *De libero arbitrio* III c. 1 nn. 2–3 (CCL 29, 275; PL 32, 1271–2): “Credo ergo meminisse te in prima disputatione satis esse compertum nulla re fieri mentem servam libidinis nisi propria voluntate; nam neque a superiore neque ab aequali eam posse ad hoc dedecus cogi, quia iniustum est, neque ab inferiore, quia non potest. Restat igitur ut eius sit proprius iste motus quo fruendi voluntatem ad creaturam a creatura convertit. Qui motus si culpa deputatur—unde qui dubitat inrisione dignus tibi visus est—, non est utique naturalis, sed voluntarius, in eoque similis est illi motui quo deorsum versus lapis fertur, quod sicut iste proprius est lapidis sic ille animi; verum tamen in eo dissimilis, quod in potestate non habet lapis cohibere motum quo fertur inferius, animus vero dum non vult non ita movetur ut superioribus desertis inferiora dilatat. Et ideo lapidi naturalis est ille motus, animo vero iste voluntarius.”

7 actione eius] e. a. E 9 et om. ABDHJ || actus] alicuius P 10 quaestio] ratio J || haec] ista BCDJ illa A om. HI 11 possint] possit B possunt FG || in] lin. I || eiusdem] eius I || actus] actiones D 11–12 obiecti Arguitur] ostenditur H 11 obiecti] add. et DGI 12 Arguitur] Et videtur BC || Quia] add. et AD 13 Augustini] add. libero C || II] Primo J || arbitrio] add. cap. ACE (seq. spat. vac. A) add. cap. 1 F || inquit om. CJ || compertum] comparatum J 14 est] add. enim C || re] ratione A || re fieri] autem re ferre C || servam] suam CDEG 15 si] lin. F || deputatur] deputetur G

voluntarius; in eo quidem similis motui illi quo deorsum lapis fertur, quod sicut iste est proprius lapidis sic ille animi, sed in eo dissimilis quod in potestate non habet lapis cohibere motum quo fertur deorsum; animus vero non ita, etc.” Et sequitur: “Ideo naturalis lapidi est ille
5 motus, animo vero iste voluntarius.” Haec verba AUGUSTINI. Et, paulo post, verba discipuli ab AUGUSTINO quidem approbata sequuntur ista: “Motus, quo voluntas convertitur, nisi esset voluntarius et in nostra positus potestate, neque laudandus neque culpandus homo esset neque monendus; monendum autem non esse hominem quisquis existimat,
10 de hominum numero exterminandus est.” Ex istis satis patet quod repugnent naturalis motio et libera respectu eiusdem.

Contra: V *De civitate Dei* 10: “Si necessitas,” inquit, “dicenda est quae
4 non est in nostra potestate, sed etiam si nolumus efficit quod potest, ut

6 **August.**, *De libero arbitrio* III c. 1 nn. 2–3 (CCL 29, 276; PL 32, 1272): “Motus autem quo huc aut illuc voluntas convertitur, nisi esset voluntarius atque in nostra positus potestate, neque laudandus cum ad superiora neque culpandus homo esset cum ad inferiora detorquet quasi quendam cardinem voluntatis; neque omnino monendus esset ut istis neglectis aeterna vellet adipisci atque ut male nollet vivere, vellet autem bene. Hoc autem monendum non esse hominem quisquis existimat, de hominum numero exterminandus est.”

12 **August.**, *De civ. Dei* V c. 10 n. 1 (CCL 47, 140; PL 41, 152): “Si enim necessitas nostra illa dicenda est, quae non est in nostra potestate, sed etiamsi nolumus efficit quod potest, sicut est necessitas mortis: manifestum est voluntates nostras, quibus recte vel perperam vivitur, sub tali necessitate non esse.”

1 quidem] quod BDHI || motui illi] i. m. CDIJ || deorsum] desorsum F 2 quod] et D quia EHJ || iste] ille B || est] *lin.* G *om.* F || est proprius] p. e. E || lapidis] lapidi B || ille] iste H eo J || eo] *add.* est CDIJ 3 quod] quia BDH || fertur] movetur G 4 vero] reus J || non] sup. erasuram A || ita] sic F || ita et cet.] sic G || etc.] *om.* A || Ideo] non D || Ideo naturalis] n. i. I || naturalis lapidi] lapidi naturalis est C || lapidi] lapidis FG || lapidi est] est lapidi A || ille] iste DEHI 5 animo ... iste] *mg.* H || animo] animae GI || iste] ille est B *om.* I || iste] *add.* cum nota H' sed *exp.* H || Haec verba Augustini] *dub.* H Haec Augustinus ABCDIJ || Et *om.* F 6 ab Augustino] ad Augustinum C || quidem] quaedam CGJ *om.* BDI || sequuntur ista] sequitur ista E' sequitur iste E || ista] iste J 7 quo ... esset] *mg.* I || esset] esse A' *corr. in* A² 8 potestate] voluntate F || neque ... neque²] nec ... nec G || neque] nec H 9 monendum] monendus B || non esse hominem] h. non esse G || esse] est E || quisquis] quisque EF || existimat] *mg.* H existimet J 10 hominum ... exterminandus] homine movetur excludendus C || exterminandus] existimandus EF existimandus non G || satis patet] = AEF p. s. CDIJ satis apparet BH patet G 11 repugnent] repugnat A repugnant FG || naturalis ... libera] necessitas et libertas G || naturalis motio] motio naturalis B || libera] libertas F 12 V] 9 DI 15 E Contra J' *corr. in* J² || Dei] X CDHI 16 Capitulo J || inquit] *add.* illa BCJ *add.* ista DI || est *om.* E || quae] quod FG 13 nostra potestate] p. n. A || etiam] et B quae H || si] *lin.* C *add.* volumus vel C || nolumus] volumus G || efficit] efficere H efficitur (*dub.*) G

est necessitas mortis, manifestum est voluntates nostras, quibus recte vel perperam vivitur, sub tali necessitate non esse.” Et sequitur: “Si autem definitur illa necessitas esse secundum quam dicimus necesse esse ut ita sit aliquid vel ita fiat, nescio cur eam timeamus ne nobis libertatem auferat voluntatis; neque enim et vitam Dei et praescientiam Dei sub 5 necessitate ponimus, si dicamus necesse est Deum semper vivere et omnia praescire.” Et post: “Cum dicimus: necesse est ut, cum volumus, libero velimus arbitrio, et verum dicimus, et non ideo liberum arbitrium necessitati subicimus quae adimit libertatem.”

[I.—Ad quaestionem: de distinctione articulorum]

10

- 5 Hic sunt tria videnda. Primo, si in aliquo actu voluntatis sit necessitas. Secundo, si cum hoc stet ibi libertas. Tertio, si quandoque cum libertate possit stare naturalitas.

[II.—Articulus primus]

A.—utrum in aliquo actu voluntatis sit necessitas]

15

- 6 De quo primo dico quod in actu voluntatis divinae est necessitas simpliciter, et hoc tam in actu diligendi quam in actu spirandi amorem

16 Duo paragraphi subsequentes nempe nn. 6–7 post paragraphos nn. 8–9 in codicibus EFG exhibentur.

1 est²] *add.* vel quod J || voluntates] mentes AH virtutes BCDIJ 1–2 vel perperam] *om.* BDHI 2 perperam] *add.* inititur C || vivitur] utimur F || esse] sed H² *corr.* in est H² est J 3 definitur] definiatur E differt F *om.* G distinguitur I || esse] est G || necesse esse] = AEI necesse est BCDFGJ necessaria H 4 aliquid] illud G ad H² sed *corr.* in aliquid H² || ita² *om.* B || fiat] *add.* aliquid A || timeamus] teneamus C 4–5 libertatem auferat] a. l. AF 5 et *om.* BI *lin.* C || Dei *om.* A || praescientiam] praesentiam AH || Dei²] eius I 6 ponimus] ponuntur C || necesse ... vivere] semper necesse Deum vivere H || Deum semper] s. D AD 7 omnia] entia CDH etiam IJ || cum] quod I 8 libero] libera C *add.* et DI || et *om.* E || verum] vero G || non ideo] i. n. DI 9 subicimus] submittimus A || quae] quod A || adimit] aufert G 11 si] an G || in] *lin.* I 12 si cum] sicut G² *corr.* in (*signo divisionis introducto*) G² || hoc stet] hac sit DI || stet] scilicet sic C scit J 12–13 quandoque ... possit] cum libertate possit quandoque A 13 possit] posset H || possit stare] s. p. G || stare *om.* D || naturalitas] necessitas A || naturalitas] *add.* primus articulus si in aliquo actu alicuius voluntatis sit necessitas et quod sic in Deo probatur *mg.* C 16 quo *om.* D || primo *om.* FS tamen (*mg.*) G || dico] dicitur A || divinae] Dei H 17 in actu] secundum actum D || diligendi] *add.* se BCDIJ

procedentem scilicet Spiritum Sanctum. Quod ita sit, patet: quia Deus necessario est beatus et per consequens necessario videt et diligit obiectum beatificum. Similiter, Spiritus Sanctus est Deus, et per consequens summe necessarius in essendo; ergo, cum accipiat esse procedendo, 5 actus ille quo procedit est simpliciter necessarius.

Utraque autem conclusio probatur propter quid sic: Voluntas infinita 7 ad obiectum perfectissimum se habet modo perfectissimo se habendi; voluntas divina est huiusmodi; ergo ad summum diligibile se habet perfectissimo modo quo possibile est voluntatem aliquam se habere ad 10 ipsum; sed hoc non esset nisi ipsum necessario et actu adaequato diligeret, et etiam eius amorem adaequatum spiraret. Quia si aliquod istorum deficeret, posset sine contradictione intelligi aliquam voluntatem perfectiori modo se habere ad obiectum, quia ille modus posset intelligi esse perfectior. Et iste non includit contradictionem, quia non est con- 15 tradictio quod voluntas infinita habeat actum infinitum circa infinitum obiectum, et per consequens actum necessarium et necessario. Quia posse non habere talem circa tale obiectum est posse carere summa perfectione. Similiter, si amor adaequatus obiecti est spirabilis, ut credimus, maxime competet voluntati infinitae esse principium spirandi 20 illum.

1 procedentem] praecedentem C percedentem I *om.* A praecedentem || scilicet] id est B || Quod] *add.* autem B 2 et ... consequens] ergo G || necessario² *om.* H 3 per consequens] ideo CIJ 4 necessarius] *add.* est AE || essendo] *add.* et C || ergo] igitur BDFH || esse] *add.* in G 5 ille] iste D || procedit] procedat D 6 autem *om.* AI *add.* propositio sive B || propter quid] prima sic A || quid] quam (*dub.*) B 7 obiectum] *add.* infinitum CDIJ || perfectissimum] *dub.* E perfectum I || habendi] *add.* et I 8 voluntas] *add.* autem B || divina] Dei H || ergo] igitur BFH *add.* et IJ || summum] *add.* obiectum I || diligibile] diligere G diligibile G² 9 perfectissimo *om.* FU || perfectissimo modo] m. p. B (perfectissimo *add.* G²) G || modo ... est] modo est quo possibile habendi D modo quo possibile est habendi I' modo habendi quo possibile est I² || est *om.* AC || voluntatem *om.* F || aliquam *om.* F 10 sed] si I || esset] erit? F || ipsum²] *add.* actu C || necessario ... adaequato] ipsum actu adaequato necessario A 11 etiam *om.* H || aliquod] aliquid E 12 aliquam] aliam J 12–13 aliquam ... modo] aliquomodo F || aliquam ... intelligi] *om.* H 13 modo] non C || ille] iste J 14 esse *om.* FIJ || iste] ille ABE || includit] concludit H 15 infinita] in simplici *corr. in (mg.)* F 15–16 infinitum obiectum] o. i. BG 16 consequens *om.* F || et² *om.* G 16–18 Quia ... perfectione] = E Quia si (*lin.* F) posset non habere talem circa tale obiectum posset carere summa perfectione F Quia posse non habere (*add.* circa I) tale obiectum posset carere summa perfectione = CDIJ Quia posse non habere talem (tale H) circa tale obiectum posset carere summa perfectione = BH Quia si posset non habere talem (*add.* actum A) circa tale obiectum posset carere summa perfectione = AG 18 adaequatus] adaequati A || obiecti *om.* CDI 18–19 credimus] medius B 19 competet] competit AGI competeret CE 20 illum] istum B

[B.—Rationes sive probationes quae omnem
voluntatem necessario velle finem ultimum probant]

- 8 De primo dicitur quod omnis voluntas necessario vult finem ultimum,
et hoc vel clare visum vel etiam a nobis in universali apprehensum.
- 9 Ad hoc sunt tres rationes. Prima est ista: voluntas non potest resilire a 5
proprio obiecto quod est bonum vel ab illo in quo est tota perfectio sui
obiecti; ergo necessario tendit in illud obiectum in quo nec est aliqua
malitia nec aliquis defectus boni; huiusmodi est finis ultimus.

^aAd hanc conclusionem ponuntur quaedam probationes quae etiam conclu-
dunt de omni voluntate respectu istius obiecti, sive clare visi, sive in universali 10
apprehensi, sicut modo ipsum apprehendimus.

Prima probatio talis: voluntas necessario vult illud in quo est ratio omnis
boni, quia non potest aliquod obiectum non velle in quo non est aliqua malitia
nec aliquis defectus boni; finis autem ultimus est huiusmodi.

8 **Thomas**, *Summa theol.* I–II q. 10 a. 2 (Ed. Ottaviensis, 775b: 12–19): “Sicut autem
coloratum in actu est obiectum visus, ita bonum est obiectum voluntatis. Unde si
proponatur aliquod obiectum voluntati quod sit universaliter bonum et secundum
omnem considerationem, ex necessitate voluntas in illud tendit, si aliquid velit; non
enim poterit velle oppositum.” **Henricus Gand.**, *Quodl.* XII q. 26 (AmPh s. 2 XVI,
153): “Si enim est ratio boni in aliquo omnimode perfecta, ut es perfecta in bono quod
in se habet omnem rationem boni et nullam rationem mali sibi coniunctam, qualis est
in eo quod est finis simpliciter, in illo movetur ex se libertate et immutabili necessitate
licet non libero arbitrio. Si vero sit ratio boni in aliquo diminuta, cuiusmodi est ratio
boni in omni eo quod est ad finem vel coniuncta cum ratione mali, ... in illo movetur
ex se libertate arbitrii, et potest ab illo resilire ...;” **Aegidius Romanus** *Quodl.* III q. 15
(ed. Venice 1502, 38ra): “Sic ergo imaginabimur voluntatem seipsam determinare ut
quando intellectus offert ei aliquid sub omni ratione boni voluntas necessitatur ab illo
et de necessitate vult illud sicut de necessitate vult finem. Nihil enim potest voluntas
respuere nisi sub ratione mali.”

3 De] Add. (mg.) Articulus Primus FG 3–8 De primo ... finis ultimus] = EFG
in margine vero codicis H exhibentur aliqua verba tres lineas occupantia quae vix legi possint
om. ABCDIJ 4 hoc om. FG || etiam om. F 5 hoc] add. autem G || est om. F
6 est] et G || sui] add. proprii E 7 nec] non G 8 finis] add. ergo etc. ABC
spat. vac. tres litteras comprehendens reliq. B 9 quaedam] aliquae A || probationes]
propositiones H 10 istius] illius AEFI 12 probatio] propositio H add. est B || talis
om. A add. est CEG || illud om. E 13 aliquod obiectum] obiectum aliquod AEG ||
obiectum] omnino F^{corr.} in lin. F || non²] add. lin. F || aliqua malitia] m. a. ABCDG
14 aliquis] aliquid J || autem om. A

Secunda probatio habetur ex dicto PHILOSOPHI II *Physicorum*: “Sicut 10
principium in speculabilibus, sic finis in operabilibus.” Et VII *Ethicorum*:
“In actionibus, quod cuius principium, quemadmodum in mathemati-
cis suppositiones.” Nunc intellectus assentit necessario principio in spe-
5 culabilibus; ergo voluntas necessario assentit ultimo fini in agibilibus.

Tertia probatio talis: Voluntas necessario vult illud cuius participa- 11
tione vult quidquid vult; ultimus finis est huiusmodi; ergo etc. Probatur
maior: Omne variabile reducitur ad aliquod invariabile, et ita variabili-

1 **Aristot.**, *Physica* II c. 9 (AL VII 93; B c. 9, 200a15–16); *Auctoritates Aristotelis* (ed. J. Hamesse p. 147): “Finis in operabilibus est sicut principium in speculabilibus.”

2 **Aristot.**, *Eth. Nic.* VII c. 12 (AL XXVI³ 287; VII c. 8, 1151a16–17): “In actionibus autem quod cuius gratia principium, quemadmodum in mathematicis suppositiones.”

5 **Henricus Gand.**, *Summa* a. 47 q. 5 (II f. 27v V): “quoniam secundum Philosophum et in Physicis et in Ethicis, finis in operandis se habet ad voluntatem sicut principium in speculandis ad intellectum: et ea quae sunt ad finem, sicut conclusiones. Sed in speculativis intellectus de necessitate assentit principiis, licet non conclusionibus; ergo et fini de necessitate aequiescit voluntas, licet non eis quae sunt ad finem. Cum igitur Deus est finis voluntatis cuiusque quia est omnis boni bonum, voluntas quaelibet necessario vult bonum quod est Deus, dum tamen sit ei cognitum—sibi ipsi autem incognitum esse non potest, ut patet ex supra determinatis.” **Henricus Gand.**, *Quodl.* III q. 17. (f. 78vH–79rH): “dicendum ad hoc quod secundum Philosophum in VII *Ethicorum* quod cuius gratia in actionibus principium est quemadmodum in mathematicis suppositiones et ut dicit in fine II *Physicorum* necessitas est in doctrinis: et in his quae secundum naturam quodammodo similiter. Sicut ergo in doctrinis et in rebus mathematicis suppositiones et primae propositiones per se notae sese habent ad intellectum ad conclusiones sequentes quod per se de necessitate et naturaliter ab intellectu cognoscuntur ... sic in iis quae fiunt voluntarie propter finem aliquem, finis ipse se habet ad voluntatem et ad operabilia quae sunt ad finem, quod per se de necessitate et naturaliter velit illud voluntas et propter illa (pro: illud) vult omnia alia quae sunt ad ipsum ...” Cf. **Thomas Aquinas**, *Summa theol.* I q. 82 art. 1 corp. (Ed. Ottaviensis, 501b: 10–21).

6 **Henricus Gand.**, *Quodl.* IV q. 11 a. 5 corp. (f. 102rR) “Si ergo quaestio [de] dilectione Dei naturali super omnia alia intelligatur de dilectione beneplacentiae, cum

1 Secunda] Secunda ... habetur] Secundo probatur hoc A Probatio secunda habetur C Secundum autem proba D Secunda propositio habetur H || ex] add. illo CDHIJ
2 operabilibus] agibilibus A operationibus EJ || VII] 7 I¹ III I² 3 In actionibus] om. BHI || cuius] est E vero F 3–4 mathematicis] metaphysicis H sed. corr. H
4 Nunc ... necessario] Intellectus autem necessario assentit CDIJ Nunc autem intellectus assentit necessario primo AG Nunc autem intellectus necessario assentit primo B Nunc intellectus necessario assentit H 5 ergo] igitur BDF || agibilibus] operabilibus A 6 Tertia] add. est F || probatio] propositio H add. est ACG || talis] add. est E 7 vult om. I || ergo] igitur FH || etc om. AC 7–8 Probatur maior] Probatio maioris A Maior probatur CEH 8 ad ... invariabile] = BCE ad aliquid invariabile DHIJ ad aliquid invariabile F ad aliquid variabile G in invariabile aliquod A 8–166.1 variabilitas] varietas BEGH

tas actuum circa ea quae sunt ad finem praeexigit actum invariabilem, et per consequens maxime circa illud cuius participatione alia obiecta terminant actum. Minor probatur per illud VIII *De Trinitate* 5: “Tolle, inquit, hoc bonum, et illud, et vide ipsum bonum si potes, ita Deum videbis, non alio bono bonum, sed omnis boni bonum.” 5

[C.—De necessitate trium probationum inquantum de omni voluntate tractant et de necessitate earum in se]

- 12 Istae rationes non videntur probare conclusionem necessariam de quacumque voluntate in communi, nec etiam videntur in se necessariae.

[1.—Quod tres probationes de omni voluntate non concludant, ostenditur] 10

- 13 Primum probatur. Quia quando sunt duae naturae absolutae et essentialiter ordinatae, prior sine contradictione videtur posse esse sine posteriori. Nunc autem, istorum trium quae sunt: obiectum diligibile, et

huiusmodi dilectione diligitur bonum simpliciter quia bonum et nullum bonum participatum diligitur nisi quia in ipso est participata aliqua ratio boni simpliciter, quae perfecte habet esse in solo primo bono quod Deus est, gratia cuius illud bonum participatum diligitur tanquam gratia eius quod est in se per se et primo dilectum et cuius cognitione bonum participatum cognoscitur esse bonum ... idcirco igitur absolute dicendum est quod dilectione naturali beneplacientiae Deus diligitur a quacunque voluntate intellectualis creaturae naturaliter super omnia alia ...”

3 **August.**, *De Trin.* VIII c. 3 n. 4 (CCL 15, 272; PL 42 949): “Tolle hoc et illud, et vide ipsum bonum si potes; ita deum videbis, non alio bono bonum, sed bonum omnis boni.”

2 per ... maxime] maxime per consequens B || per consequens] *om.* G 3 actum] *add.* eius ACDIJ || Minor probatur] written: b probatur A || probatur] *lin.* I || illud] *add.* Augustini ABCDIJ || VIII *om.* E || Trinitate] *add.* cap. BE || Trinitate *om.* A || Tolle] Tollo C 4 hoc bonum] b. h. ACDIJ || ipsum] primum G || potes] *add.* et ADH 5 non] nec FG || non ... bonum] *mg.* C || sed *om.* E 5–8 sed ... rationes] Sed BH 5 omnis ... bonum] bonum omnis boni CDFIJ || bonum² *om.* E 8–9 Istae ... necessariae] Sed istae probationes non videntur conclusionem probare necessariam de quacumque (quaecumque I) scilicet voluntate in communi nec etiam videntur esse in se necessariae CDIJ || quacumque] *add.* scilicet F *add.* scilicet de G 9 in *om.* FG || se] *add.* esse BH 12–13 essentialiter] *add.* aequaliter C 13 sine ... videtur] videtur sine contradictione B || posse esse] e. p. DGI 13–14 posteriori] posteriore AB 14 quae sunt] *om.* I scilicet B || et *om.* B

ipsa apprehensio vel visio illius obiecti in intellectu creato, et etiam ipsa voluntas creata, quodcumque est absolutum et prius naturaliter actu diligendi illud obiectum, et hoc loquendo de dilectione in voluntate creata. Ergo quod quodcumque istorum possit esse—immo quod
 5 omnia possint esse—sine illo actu dilectionis, non includit contradictionem; nec per consequens oppositum est simpliciter necessarium. Quomodo illud dicitur necessarium cuius oppositum non includit contradictionem?

Hic dicitur quod maior vera est de illis absolutis, quorum unum non
 10 dependet ab alio, nec ambo a tertio. In proposito autem visio et fructio dependent ab eodem tertio scilicet obiecto.

Contra hoc: Quidquid absolutum Deus immediate potest causare,
 15 tamen non necessario, si causat per causam mediam, potest non necessario causare, quia illa causa media non necessitat ipsum ad causandum effectum illius causae mediae; ergo, licet ambo ista causentur a causa communi, tamen secundum non solum absolute contingenter causabitur, sed etiam, posito primo, adhuc contingenter causabitur.

10 **Henricus de Gandavo**, *Quodl.* XII q. 5 (AmPh s. 2 XVI, 33): “Alia autem differunt re, quae tamen habent naturalem connexionem in esse, sic quod unum eorum, quantum est ex ordine naturae suae, non possit esse sine altero, et hoc quia unum eorum in esse dependet ab altero, vel ambo a tertio.”

1 vel visio] *om.* J || illius] huius B istius DI *om.* H || in *om.* ABC || etiam *om.* BH
 2 voluntas] voluntate F || quodcumque] quodlibet B 2–3 et ... obiectum] et
 illud obiectum est naturaliter prius actu diligendi obiectum illud B 2 naturaliter]
 natura AB 3 diligendi] *add.* est AB 4 Ergo] igitur BDFH || quod] = ABE
 cum DI *om.* CFGHJ || istorum] *add.* trium BDHI || possit] possint B posset H ||
 quod² *om.* BCDHIJ 5 possint] possunt EF possit H' corr. a possunt H 6
 consequens] *add.* eius B || oppositum] *add.* eius H || oppositum] oppositum est] e.
 o. DI 6–7 Quomodo] quoniam C modo F' corr. in *mg.* F 7 illud *om.* BH ||
 dicitur] est simpliciter A || necessarium] *add.* illud B || non] scripsimus; omnes codices
 perperam omittunt 9 vera est] est vera ABH vera C || non *om.* A 10 a] *lin.* I ||
 tertio] tertio] 3 F || proposito] opposito C || autem *om.* I 11 dependent] post
 obiecto (dependens J) CDIJ || eodem] eo C || tertio scilicet] *om.* A s. t. E 12
 Quidquid] *add.* est G || Deus ... causare] = AE Deus potest immediate C Deus
 potest creare immediate DJ potest Deus immediate causare F Deus posset immediate
 causare G Deus potest causare immediate BHI || causare] *add.* et E 14 illa] ista D
 || causandum] creandum J 15 effectum] *dub.* B || illius] istius B || mediae] *add.*
 absolutum BCDHJ *add.* absolutarum I || ergo] igitur BDFH || licet *post* ista D || ista]
 illa H 15–16 causa communi] communi causa C 16 secundum *om.* C || absolute
om. CDIJ *add.* sed G || contingenter] *rep.* I 16–17 contingenter causabitur] causabit
 contingenter H || causabitur ... causabitur] causabit ... causabit B 17 causabitur]
 causabit H

- 16 Praeterea, potentia quae necessario agit circa obiectum, necessario
continuat actum illum, quantum potest; voluntas, saltem viatoris, non
necessario continuat actum circa finem in universali apprehensum,
quantum posset continuare; ergo non necessario agit circa illum.
- 17 Maior patet in exemplo de appetitu sensitivo; et videtur posse pro- 5
bari per rationem, quia illud quod est intrinseca ratio ipsi potentiae
necessario agendi erit etiam ratio semper necessario agendi, semper
inquantum est ex parte potentiae, et ita continuandi, quantum ipsa
potentia potest continuare.
- 18 Minor probatur: Quia voluntas viatoris posset quandoque conti- 10
nuare actum intellectus quo considerat finem, quem non continuat, sed
vel convertit intelligentiam ad considerationem alterius actus, vel sal-
tem non impedit quin obiectum aliud occurrens impediatur illam consi-
derationem; illa autem consideratione non continuata, non continuatur
actus voluntatis circa illud obiectum, et continuata illa, continuaretur 15
ista.

4 Cf. **Scotus**, *Ordinatio* I d. 1 p. 1 q. 2 n. 100 (II 77–78).

16 Subintellige: voluntas secundum quod actus voluntatis.

2 illum ... potest] *om.* H || voluntas] autem CD *add.* autem I 2–3 voluntas ...
actum] *add. mg. signo in mg. adhibito post continuare posito* H 2 saltem *om.* J || viatoris]
maioris D' viatoris? D² 3 actum] *add.* illum E' *exp.* E || apprehensum] *add.* in G 4
quantum] qui H || continuare] contingenter F' *corr. mg.* F || ergo non] igitur nec BD
ergo nec EI] igitur non F || illum] illud BC 5 videtur] *add.* hoc idem E 5–6
videtur ... rationem] potest probari ratione B || posse probari] probari posse H 6
per rationem] ratione H || intrinseca ratio] ratio intrinseca CDJ || ipsi] ipsius AG
om. CDJ 7 necessario agendi] agendi necessario C || erit ... agendi] *om.* D ||
ratio ... agendi] necessaria ratio agendi semper (ratio? *rep. sed exp.* A) AD || semper²
om. ABCDGH 8 inquantum] quantumcumque B quod quantum C || inquantum]
add. quantum G || ita] sic C 9 potest continuare] c. p. B 10 Quia] Quod C ||
posset quandoque] q. p. H || quandoque] *add.* contingenter? F 10–11 quandoque
continuatione] continuare quandoque CJ 11 quem] = CEJ quem (*dub.*) AE quem
corr. in quando G quando BDHI *add.* etiam I || continuat] obtinuat(!) D 12 vel
om. H necessario I || intelligentiam] intellectivam H || actus] obiecti B *om.* CDHIJ
13 aliud] illud C || aliud occurrens] concurrens aliud AG occurrens aliud F' aliud
(*lin.*) occurrens F || illam] istam BI 14 illa] ista B || autem *om.* IJ || continuata]
contra circa?? F' *corr. mg.* F² 15 voluntatis ... obiectum] c. i. o. a. v. G 15–16 et
... ista] quia continuata ista (illa E) continuaretur (continuaretur ista *mg.* D) ista DE
quia ista continuata continuaretur ista I 15 illa *om.* F *mg.* G 16 ista *om.* F

Probatur eadem minor per illud I *Retractationum*, 9 et 22: “Nihil tam 19
est in potestate voluntatis quam ipsa voluntas.” Quod non intelligitur
quantum ad esse voluntatis, sed quantum ad eius agere. Nunc autem in
potestate voluntatis est quod per eius imperium alia potentia habeat
5 actum vel non habeat, sicut quod intellectus non considerat saltem
illud obiectum sine cuius consideratione potest voluntas habere actum
imperandi; ergo in potestate voluntatis est quod ipsamet non habeat
actum circa illud obiectum determinatum.

Hoc non intelligo sic quod possit voluntarie suspendere omnem 20
10 actum suum, sed voluntarie potest non velle illud obiectum; sed tunc
habet aliud velle, scilicet reflexivum super suum actum, istud scilicet,
“volo modo non elicere actum circa istud obiectum.” Et hoc bene
potest ex se, alioquin non posset omnem actum suspendere post deli-
berationem; et est simile de actu intellectus et voluntatis, quoad hoc
15 quod non potest suspendere illam intellectionem quae necessaria est ad
volitionem illam per quam suspendit intellectionem, sed potest quam-
cumque aliam suspendere. Sic non potest pro nunc suspendere omnem
volitionem, quia non illam qua voluntarie suspendit, sed potest suspen-
dere quamcumque aliam ad hoc non necessario requisitam.

1 **August.**, *Retract.* I c. 9 (CCL 57, 25; PL 32): “quid enim tam in voluntate quam ipsa voluntas sita est?”

1 Probatur ... minor] Probatio eiusdem minoris G || minor] maior H¹ *corr. in* H² ||
et *om.* G || et] 23 B 29 J 2 est *post* voluntatis B *om.* CJ || est ... voluntatis] i.
p. e. v. G || in potestate *rep.* C || voluntatis] *add.* est quod per eius imperium alia
potentia *sed del. signo 'vacat' addito* E || quam ... voluntas] *om.* J || intelligitur] intelli-
gat B intelligit H 3 esse] *add.* illius FG || voluntatis *post* agere C || ad²] ab D ||
eius agere] a. e. G 4 per] *add.* quod D 5 actum *om.* B || actum ... habeat]
mg. I² || considerat] cognosceret A considerat H¹ *corr.* consideret H² 6 considera-
tione] *add.* non lin F || voluntas habere] h. v. EF 7 ergo] igitur BDFH 8 illud]
istud BC 8–10 determinatum ... obiectum] *om.* J 9 non] modo F || intelligo]
intelligendo G intelligitur ABCDIJ intelligeretur H || quod] *add.* ipsa ABCDHIJ ||
possit] posset H 10 voluntarie ... sed] omnem actum suum voluntarie suspen-
dere sed B suspendere voluntarie omnem actum suum sed CE suspendere omnem
actum sed F suspendere omnem actum suum sed G || illud obiectum] istud obiec-
tum BCDHIJ obiectum illud A 10–11 tunc habet] h. t. G 11 habet *om.* F ||
reflexivum] reflexum BC || suum actum] a. s. AEH *add.* seu *rep. sed exp.* sed voluntarie
potest non velle obiectum H || istud scilicet] scilicet istud B illud scilicet A 12 volo]
velle E uno H' nullo H || actum *om.* F || istud] illud ABG || Et *om.* CI 12–13 bene
potest] potest bene C 14 intellectus et] *om.* F || quoad] quantum ad I 15 illam]
primam A istam B 16 volitionem illam] i. v. G 17 aliam] illam C' *corr. in* C || Sic]
Sicut H || non] *lin.* H || nunc] voluntarie (*dub.*) C *add.* voluntarie ABDHIJ 18 quia]
qua? F || illam] *add.* in I || qua] quam FJ 19 requisitam] *add.* (*mg.*) volitionem G

- 21 Praeterea, necessitas agendi est ab illo quod est per se principium agendi (quia si illud non necessario se habet ad agere, nec aliquid per illud necessario aget); passum autem secundum se est in potentia contradictionis; si ergo, per te, obiectum sit ratio necessitatis in volendo, quia ponis quod quaecumque voluntas comparata ad ipsum obiectum 5 necessario vult ipsum (nulla autem voluntas necessario vult quodcumque obiectum), videretur sequi quod obiectum sit principale activum respectu volitionis. Quod tamen sic arguens non concedit.

[2. De necessitate probationum
adductarum in se consideratarum]

10

- 22 Secundum, scilicet quod illae probationes non sint necessariae, patet, discurrendo per eas. Ad primam, negaretur maior. Quantumcumque enim in obiecto aliquo sit perfectio obiecti, tamen ad necessitatem actus requiritur quod potentia necessario tendat in illud obiectum. Et quidquid sit de voluntate creata beata et de perfectione eius supernaturali 15 qua tendit in illud obiectum, tamen diceretur quod voluntas creata viatoris simpliciter contingenter tendit in illud, et etiam quando est in universali apprehensum, quia illa apprehensio non est ratio determinandi voluntatem ad necessario volendum illud. Nec ipsa voluntas necessario se determinat in opposito, sicut nec necessario continuat 20

8 Cf. **Scotus**, *Ordinatio* I d. 1 p. 2 q. 2 nn. 93–96.134–142 (II 67–74.90–96). Verba sequentia autem hic adiuntur in margine cod. H: Finis visus obscure in particulari, non necessario, diligitur; ergo nec visus in universali. Probatur consequentia. Cf. apparatus infra n. 22.

12 Cf. n. 9 et textus cancellatus ei adiunctus.

19 Textum vero paene illegibilem ab verbis ‘nec ipsa’ usque ad ‘et tunc’ codex G exhibet, imo folio humectatione polluto.

1 per se principium] principium per se G 2 illud] istud D || non om. F || habet] haberet J 3 aget] agit A ageret G' corr. in G || autem] igitur H' corr. in H || est om. C 4 ergo] igitur BDFH 5 ponis] ponitur BCIJ potentia DH || voluntas] dub. A || comparata ... obiectum] ad ipsum obiectum comparata A comparata ad istud obiectum B ad illud obiectum comparata C comparata ad illud obiectum H 7 videretur] videtur BH 11 scilicet om. F || illae probationes] istae propositiones HI || probationes] propositiones D || sint] sunt BG 12 primam] primum CDFGI 13 obiecto aliquo] a. o. ADHI || aliquo om. F || sit] add. tota BCDGHIJ 15 beata] limitata I 15–16 eius ... voluntas] om. C 15 eius om. A 16 qua] quae B 17 simpliciter] semper A 18 apprehensum ... illa] om. C || illa] ista I 19 volendum ... voluntas] om. D 20 se determinat] d. s. F || in] illo B || in opposito] illo posito CH isto posito DI || sicut] sed E

illud positum, ut tactum est in secunda ratione. Tamen ista posset concedi quod voluntas non potest resilire ab obiecto sive nolle obiectum in quo non ostenditur aliqua ratio mali nec aliquis defectus boni, quia sicut bonum est obiectum huius actus qui est velle, ita malum vel defectus boni, quod pro malo reputatur, est obiectum huius actus qui est nolle. Et tunc non sequitur ultra, “non potest nolle hoc, ergo necessario vult hoc,” quia potest hoc obiectum neque velle neque nolle, ut tactum est supra, pertractando illam auctoritatem de I *Retractionum*.

Contra hoc potest argui sic: si non potest nolle hoc obiectum, hoc 23
ideo est quia necessario habet in se aliquid cui repugnat istud nolle; tale 10
autem repugnans non potest esse nisi actu velle hoc obiectum; igitur illud necessario sibi inest. Maior probatur: quia si unum impossibile repugnat, alterum necessario inest. Minor probatur: quia nulla inclinatio ad volendum habitualis sive aptitudinalis repugnat ipsi nolle actuali, 15
quia cum actu uno potest stare potentialitas vel aptitudo ad oppositum actum.

Hic dici potest quod illud repugnans actui nolendi finem est ipsamet 24
potentia volendi, quia ipsa non potest habere nisi velle respectu obiecti

8 Cf. supra n. 19.

1 illud] id J || illud] *add.* volendum illud nec ipsa voluntas D || positum] oppositum A || ut] sicut H || tactum] tractatum F || ratione] quaestione J *add.* ult. finis etiam visus obscure in particulari non necessario diligitur ergo nec visus in universali probatur consequentia J *add.* finis etiam visus obscuratur in particulari non necessario diligitur ergo nec visus in universali probatur consequentia ista. C || Tamen ista] Tamen illa AG Tamen C Ista tamen DIJ || posset] potest DI 1–2 concedi] concedit D' *corr.* in D 2 nolle] velle C 2–4 obiectum ... est] *om.* F 4 bonum est] e. b. H || huius] istius H || qui] quia A || velle] *add.* et F 5 huius] illius I 6 tunc *om.* F || ergo] igitur ABDFH 7 hoc] hic D || hoc²] hic I || velle] nolle DEI || nolle] velle CDEI || ut] sicut BCDHIJ 7–8 tactum est] e. t. EG est tractatum F 8 pertractando] per G || illam ... de] illud Augustini A istam auctoritatem F || I] libero E *om.* G || Retractionum] necessario C 9 sic *om.* CIJ || si *om.* D || nolle] velle C 9–10 hoc obiectum ... nolle] *mg.* H 9 hoc² *om.* C 10 necessario *om.* F *mg.* G || necessario habet] h. n. E' *corr.* in (*signo transpositionis adhibito*) E || se *om.* H || istud] illud ADG 11 igitur] ergo CEGIJ 12 illud *om.* J || necessario ... inest] inest sibi necessario AD sibi necessario inest B || sibi] si sed *corr.* I || inest] J' *corr.* in J² 12–13 Maior ... inest] *om.* AEFH 12 impossibile] impossibilium G 13 Minor] Maior B *dub.* F 14 ad volendum] *om.* F || sive] vel CIJ || ipsi] illi G isti I || nolle] velle BC 15 actu uno] u. a. G || potest] posset A posse? D || oppositum] propositum I 16 actum *om.* G 17 dici potest] potest dici DI || quod] ? A || illud *om.* J || nolendi] volendi IJ || est *om.* J || ipsamet] ipsa BG 18 volendi] volendi finem A voluntas B voluntatis finem C voluntatis DHI || habere] *rep.* C || nisi] hoc I || respectu *om.* I

volibilis, vel nolle respectu obiecti nolibilis, quia nullum aliud velle vel nolle est possibile fieri; nunc autem finis non habet rationem nolibilis quia nec malitiam, nec defectum boni; unde hoc quod est “nolle finem” includit contradictionem, sicut “videre sonum,” sicut AUGUSTINUS vult in *Enchiridion* 86 vel 52: “Sic beati esse volumus, ut miseri esse non solum nolumus, sed nequaquam velle possimus.” Sicut repugnat ipsi actui volendi tendere in miseriam, ita videtur repugnare actui nolendi tendere in beatitudinem, vel forte magis, quia non ita caret miseria omni ratione volibilis, sicut beatitudo omni ratione nolibilis.

- 25 Ad secundam probationem: Illud simile PHILOSOPHI de fine et prin- 10
cipio debet intelligi quoad duo, videlicet quoad ordinem obiectorum
intelligibilium et obiectorum volibilium inter se, et etiam quoad ordi-
nem quem habent respectu potentiarum ordinate tendentium in ipsa.
Intelligo sic quod sicut est ordo in veritate inter principium et con-
clusionem, quae habet veritatem participatam a principio, sic est ordo 15
inter finem et ens ad finem in bonitate sive appetibilitate, quia ens ad
finem habet bonitatem participatam respectu finis.

5 **August.**, *Enchirid.* 28, n. 105 (CCL 46, 106; PL 40, 281): “qua beati esse sic volumus, ut esse miseri non solum nolimus, sed nequaquam prorsus velle possimus.”

10 cf. supra n. 10.

1 vel] et B || nolle] velle C *add.* nisi ABC 1–2 velle ... nolle] nolle ... velle BCI
2 nolle] velle D || fieri *om.* ABCDHIJ || nunc ... nolibilis] = BE nunc autem finis
non habet aliquam rationem nolibilis H finis autem non habet aliquam rationem
nolibilis ACIJ finis autem non habet aliam rationem nolibilis DG si autem non habet
rationem nolibilis F 3 unde] *add.* seu rep. sed exps. unde hoc quod est nolle respectu
obiecti nolibilis quia nullum aliud velle vel nolle est possibile nunc autem finis non
habet aliquam rationem nolibilis quod nec malitiam nec defectum boni H || hoc] *add.*
est I 4 sicut ... vult] ut ... dicit B 5 *Enchiridion*] 56 C 76 J || 86 ... 52] 63 B ||
vel 52] libro q. 2 E vel 72 F || vel] *add.* Dicens J || Sic] *praem.* Secundo C *add.* enim B
5–6 esse ... nolumus] non solum esse nolimus A esse non solum nolimus D non
solum nolimus G 6 velle] esse A || possimus] possumus CG || Sicut] Sed F *add.*
enim B 6–7 Sicut ... volendi *scrip. bis, prima vice deinde cum signo ‘vacat’ cancell.* B
6 ipsi *om.* CDIJ 7 miseriam] *dub.* D || actui² *om.* J || nolendi] volendi non G
add. id est (*dub.*) C *add.* non F volendi I 8 tendere] intendere I *add.* non (*mg.*) F ||
non ... miseria] miseria non ita caret B 9 omni] ea D || sicut ... nolibilis] *lin.* I
|| beatitudo] beati F¹ corr. *lin.* F || omni² *om.* G 10 probationem] propositio H¹
propositionem H² *add.* dicendum quod B || Illud *om.* H 11 videlicet] scilicet ABFG
|| quoad²] ad H quo ab D 12 obiectorum *om.* A || inter se] *om.* FG || et² *om.* H ||
et etiam] sicut etiam C 13 habent] ? A habet C habemus FG || ipsa] ipsam H
add. obiecta A (*mg.*) J² *add.* primum (*post* sic BC) ABC 14 Intelligo] Intellectio I ||
sic *om.* J || quod] quia GH || est *om.* J || ordo in *add.* (*mg.*) A 14–15 in veritate ...
ordo] *mg.* H 15 sic] sicut F 16 in ... appetibilitate] in b. et a. (*mg.*) I²

Et ex hoc sequitur secundum, scilicet quod sicut intellectus ordinate 26
tendens in ista vera propter principium assentit conclusioni, sic volun-
tas ordinate tendens in illud quod est ad finem tendit in ipsum propter
finem. Sed non est simile hinc inde comparando ad potentias istas
5 ut absolute operantes, quia tunc non posset aliqua voluntas velle illud
quod est ad finem, nisi utendo eo, scilicet volendo ipsum propter finem;
cum tamen dicat AUGUSTINUS 83 *Quaestionum* quaestione 30, quod: “Per-
versitas voluntatis est in utendo fruendis et fruendo utendis.”

Ex quo habetur quod voluntas potest obiecto utendo frui, non sic 27
10 autem potest intellectus verum scibile intelligere tanquam principium,
scilicet tanquam evidens ex terminis. Et ratio differentiae est quia intel-
lectus movetur ab obiecto naturali necessitate movente; voluntas autem
libere se movet. Patet etiam in aliis quod non est similis necessitas hinc
et inde, quia per principium necessario scitur conclusio, non sic per
15 bonitatem finis necessario appetitur illud quod est ad finem.

Ad tertiam probationem: Maior posset simpliciter negari, quia si 28
voluntas nihil necessario vult, non oportet quod illud, ratione cuius

7 **August.**, *De diversis quaest.* 83 q. 30 (CCL 44A, 38; PL 40,19): “Omnis itaque humana perversio est, quod etiam vitium vocatur, fruendis uti velle, atque utendis frui.”

11 Cf. **Scotus**, *Ordinatio* I d. 1 p. 2 q. 2 n. 147 (II 97–98).

16 cf. n. 11

1 Et *om.* DHIJ || ex *om.* C || secundum] tertium H *lin.* I² || scilicet *om.* C || scilicet quod] q. s. G 2 tendens *om.* E || ista] illa ACFG || vera *om.* CDI 3 in] ad H || illud] id J || ad finem] ab fine D || ipsum] ipsam J 4 inde *om.* D *add.* in F || comparando] operando ita C *add.* illa J || ad *om.* AF || istas] illas I 5 quia ... aliqua] quia n. p. tunc aliqua E || tunc non posset] n. p. t. F || illud] id B 6 nisi] non sed. corr. I || eo *om.* F || scilicet] id est B || ipsum *om.* CDIJ 7 cum tamen] t. c. G || tamen *om.* D || Augustinus *om.* A || quaestione *om.* F 7–8 Perversitas] Per diversas C 8 est *om.* FG || in ... utendis] in fruendo utendis *sic in cod.; amanuensis eadem verba repetivit* A || fruendis ... utendis] finendis et in finendo utendis I' fruendis fruendo utendis I² || et] *add.* in HI 9 quo] hoc AF || quo habetur] hoc videtur H || potest ... frui] fruitor obiecto utendo B || obiecto] aliquo G *add.* fruendo AB || frui] et H 9–10 sic autem] a. s. A 10 autem] quod I' autem I² || verum] obiectum E || scibile] sit simile I' corr. *lin.* I² 11 scilicet] id est B || ex terminis] existens H¹ *corr. in H²* || differentiae] duplex I || est *om.* G 12 naturali ... movente] movente naturali necessitate B || autem *om.* AF quod I' corr. I² 13 libere se movet] m. s. l. B || est *om.* I 13–14 necessitas hinc et inde] hinc inde necessitas H || hinc et inde] hinc inde ACG utrobique B 14 sic] autem B 15 illud] id J 16 tertiam] aliam ABH secundam E' *corr. in E²* secundam G || probationem] dicendum quod B 17 nihil] *dub.* G || ratione cuius] c. r. H

vult alia, necessario velit, sed quod illud contingenter velit sufficit ad volendum alia eo modo quo vult ea.

- 29 Aliter potest dici quod maior potest habere duplicem intellectum, unum talem: illud cuius participatione vult alia tanquam participatione obiecti voliti, illud magis vel prius vult; alium intellectum istum: illud 5 cuius participatione in entitate vult alia quae participant entitatem, illud prius vult. Primus intellectus videtur esse verus, sed non secundus, quia etsi color, quem video, participet entitatem suam a primo ente et etiam visibilitatem a primo visibili, non tamen color visus requirit primum ens vel primum visibile prius videri, quia non videtur participatione eius ut visi, sed ut entis vel visibilis; et tantum in isto secundo intellectu est minor vera, sed et ista probatio adducta tantum probat quod 10 istud sit bonum vel volibile per participationem primi volibilis, non autem quod hoc praecise sit volitum participatione illius primi ut voliti.

[3. Summarium articuli primi]

15

- 30 De isto igitur articulo, quidquid sit de voluntate creata beata— si, scilicet, per aliquod supernaturale necessitetur ad volendum ultimum finem vel non—, saltem probabiliter dici potest quod non omnis volun-

12 Cf. **Scotus**, *Ordinatio* I d. 1 p. 2 q. 2 n. 148 (II 98–99).

1 alia] anima H¹ *corr. in* H² 1–2 necessario ... alia] *om.* C 1 illud contingenter] contingenter illud BH 2 alia] anima H¹ *corr. in* H² || ea *om.* AC alia G 3–4 potest ... participatione] *om.* J 4 talem] tale I talem I² || participatione] *add.* voluntas BCD *add.* w I || vult alia] *dub.* G || alia] anima H¹ *corr. in* H² 5 voliti] *add.* mg I² || alium] alterum A || intellectum] talem A || istum] habet I *om.* ABCDH 6 participatione] *add.* vult alia tamquam *sed exp.* E || in *om.* I || in entitate] *mg.* H || alia quae] aliqua D || participant] participant] qui participant D || entitatem] entitatis A *add.* et C 7 intellectus] intelligitur H || sed] et A 8 quem] quam? G || video] *add.* requirit E' *exp.* E 8–9 et etiam] *mg.* H 9 etiam *om.* B || visibilitatem] entitatem DI *add.* suam BC || color] calor D || visus *om.* A 10 ens] esse I || non] nunc F || videtur] videntur? A 11 ut] non? A || visi] *lin.* F || vel] et J || et] sed F || tantum] tamen G || in *om.* BH || isto *om.* AF 12 sed et ista] sicut et illa ABCDHIJ sed etiam ista G || probatio] producta primo D || tantum *om.* A || probat] *add.* terminum? A 13 istud sit] sit illud A illud sit BG || bonum] obiectum A || bonum ... participationem] volibile vel bonum participatione G || vel] et J || participationem] *add.* illius F 14 quod hoc *om.* B || hoc] *dub.* A istud CDIJ || praecise] quia istud B || praecise sit] sit praecise DI || sit *om.* J || illius] istius BH respectu G || primi] principii I 16 igitur] ergo E secundo G || de² ... beata] creata *scrip. post spat. vac. decem litteras comprehendens* C || creata beata] beata creata DIJ || beata] utrum B || si *om.* B 16–17 si scilicet] scilicet si AFI 17 necessitetur] necessitatur BDI 18 finem *om.* E || vel] *spat. vac. quinque litteras comprehendens* C

tas creata necessitatur ex natura sua ad volendum finem, non solum absolute, quod manifestum est, sed nec posita apprehensione obscura illius obiecti, sicut modo apprehendimus. Hoc saltem certum videtur quod voluntas divina simpliciter necessitatur ad volendum bonitatem
5 propriam.

Et si quaeratur an necessario velit aliquod obiectum aliud ab eo, pos- 31
set distingui quod, exclusa necessitate coactionis de qua non est sermo, potest intelligi una necessitas immutabilitatis, quae excludit posse oppositum succedere ei quod inest; alia necessitas omnimodae inevitabili-
10 tatis sive determinationis, quae non solum excludit oppositum posse succedere isti sed omnino excludit ipsum posse inesse. Loquendo de sola prima necessitate, Deus necessario vult quidquid vult, quia non potest succedere oppositum ei quod inest, neque ex parte actus neque obiecti, quia hoc non posset esse sine aliqua mutatione in Deo; cum
15 enim obiectum esse volitum non ponat aliquid extra ipsum Deum, et non potest de non volito fieri volitum, vel e converso, quin sit aliqua mutatio in aliquo. Non enim est transitus a contradictorio in contra-
dictorium nullo aliter se habente, quia tunc non esset ratio quare istud contradictorium magis esset nunc quam prius, nunc illud falsum.

10 Textum vero paene illegibilem a verbo 'excludit' usque ad 'tunc' codex G exhibet, imo folio humectatione polluto.

14 Cf. **Scotus**, *Ordinatio* I d. 8 p. 2 q. unica nn. 294–301 (IV 322–326).

1 creata] tanta C *add.* non *sed exp.* G || necessitatur] necessitetur H || ex ... sua] *om.* CDIJ || volendum] *add.* ultimum A 2 quod] quia A || manifestum est] est manifestum I || sed *om.* B || apprehensione obscura] obscura apprehensione B || obscura *om.* F 3 illius] huius B || saltem] tamen B || certum videtur] videtur certum CDJ 4 divina] dei H || simpliciter *om.* F || simpliciter necessitatur] n. s. G || necessitatur] necessitetur H 6 necessario ... eo] velit aliquod obiectum aliud ab illo necessario B || aliquod] aliud J || obiectum aliud] a. o. F || eo] illo CHJ isto DI 7 quod] quia? I || necessitate coactionis] c. n. AF || de ... sermo] *dub.* D || qua] quo H 8 posse *om.* C 8–9 posse oppositum] oppositum posse DI 9 inest] est F² non (*lin.*) est F || alia] *add.* est BCJ 10 excludit *om.* H 11 isti] ei CDIJ || de] *add.* sole D 13 potest] *add.* sibi CDI || ei] eius CDI 14 quia] *anticip. seu clarius scrip.* quia I² || hoc *om.* J 14–15 cum enim] quia cum B cum ei F 15 volitum] *add.* et I || ponat] ponit F || Deum *om.* CD || et *om.* BCDIJ 17 aliquo] *add.* alio I || est *om.* E || in²] ad F 18 tunc *om.* CJ || istud] illud H 19 magis esset] esset magis ABCH || esset] inesset DJ *om.* I || nunc ... falsum] verum nunc quam prius et quare illud falsum B || nunc] nec ABCDGHJ || prius] *add.* verum AH *add.* esset G || illud] *add.* est FG nisi I || falsum] *add.* hic deficit aliquid post falsum C *add.* falsum I

- 32 Sed de secunda necessitate posset dici quod, licet necessario voluntas divina habeat actum complacentiae respectu cuiuscumque intelligibilis, in quantum in illo ostenditur quaedam participatio bonitatis propriae, tamen non necessario vult quodcumque creatum volitione efficaci sive determinativa illius ad existendum extra; immo sic vult contingenter 5 creaturam fore, sicut contingenter eam creat, quia si necessario hac secunda necessitate vellet eam fore, necessario etiam necessitate inevitabilitatis eam crearet, saltem pro tunc pro quando vult eam fore.

[III.—Articulus Secundus: Utrum cum
necessitate stet libertas in voluntate]

10

- 33 De secundo articulo principali, dico quod cum necessitate ad volendum stat libertas in voluntate.
- 34 Hoc probatur, primo, per auctoritates:

^b*Sequitur textus interpolatus:* Quod libertas in voluntate stet simul cum necessitate respectu eiusdem actus et obiecti: perfectio actus non tollit perfectionem 15 potentiae sed magis ponit; necessitas est perfectio in actu et libertas in agente; ergo. Nam voluntatem necessario velle non est nisi eam toto suo conatu in volum ferre et eius oppositum cohibere, ita quod quanto actus est magis necessarius tanto voluntas volentius et liberior vult obiectum, liberrime et volentissime se tenens cum eo. Unde actui voluntatis nec necessitas nec contingentia 20 repugnat per se ut voluntarius est. Accipiendo necessitatem pro firmitate et

1 secunda necessitate] n. s. BCDHIJ || quod licet] quodlibet H 1–2 licet ... divina] voluntas divina licet necessario B 1 necessario om. A 2 actum] necessarie H || cuiuscumque] add. obiecti BH add. create CD creati I add. creati J 3–4 participatio ... non] partitio propriae bonitatis non tamen B bonitatis propriae participatio tamen non I 4 tamen non] non tamen C || efficaci] necessaria B 5 determinativa] determinata CEFJ terminativa H || illius om. A eius I || existendum om. J essendum C extra essendum G || existendum] pro: exsequendum D exsequendum I² corr. I² || sic om. CG sicut F || vult contingenter] c. v. GI 6 fore] forte G || contingenter eam creat] contingenter causat eam A contingenter eam causat FH eam contingenter causat GI || quia] quod E 7 necessitate] add. ad volendum stat libertas in voluntate hoc probatur primo per auctoritates *scrips. primo (seu anticip.)*, *deinde cum signo 'vacat' cancell.* E || etiam om. AD 8 eam crearet] causaret eam A eam causaret FGHI || pro²] quod H om. E || eam²] ea J 11 De om. J || quod] add. mg. cum necessitate ad volendum stat libertas F add mg. ... secundam inevitabili ... necessitate ad volendum stat libertas cum necessitate G 13 Hoc] Quod B || primo om. C || auctoritates] auctoritatem F 14 Quod] Quod ... cum necessario et contingenter = H

Prima est in *Enchiridion*, ubi dictum est, scilicet 86 vel 12: “Sic,” inquit, “oportebat prius fieri hominem ut bene velle posset et male; nec gratis et frustra, si bene; nec impune, si male.” Hoc est: et in statu illo primo meretur vel demeretur. Et sequitur: “Postea vero sic erit, ut
5 male velle non possit, nec ideo libero carebit arbitrio, multo quippe liberius erit arbitrium quod omnino non poterit servire peccato.” Et subdit quasi pro probatione: “Neque enim culpanda est voluntas: aut voluntas non est, aut libera dicenda non est qua beati sic esse volumus ut esse miseri non solum nolimus, sed nequaquam velle possimus; si
10 igitur habet anima nostra etiam nunc nolle infelicitatem, ita tunc nolle iniquitatem semper habitura est.”

immobilitate adhaesionis potentiae cum obiecto, non autem pro coactione et impetuositate ita quod impellatur ad actum—quia sic esset agens per naturam—, unde liberum stat cum possibili et necessario et sic est in plus quam
15 possibile vel impossibile non. Et similiter agere libere stat cum posse agere alio modo et non alio modo sicut cum necessario et contingenti.

1 **August.**, *Enchirid.* 28, n. 105 (CCL 46, 106; PL 40, 281): “Sic enim oportebat prius hominem fieri, ut et bene velle posset, et male; nec gratis, si bene; nec impune, si male.”

1 est] *add.* Augustinus G || in *om.* ADGH || ubi] ut AGHI || est²] *add.* supra B || scilicet] supra H || scilicet] *dub.* C 83 F 63 B || vel] *dub.* E 52 C 72 F 73 EG
2 inquit] Augustinus CDIJ || prius] *add.* sic C || prius ... hominem] fieri primum hominem A || velle] vivere G *om.* A 3 nec ... frustra] et g. et f. A nec g. id est f. E || et] id est E *om.* H 3–4 et² ... illo] in statu isto B et in statu isto DF sed in statu isto G etiam in statu isto I 4 primo] pro ut C || meretur] mereretur E || demeretur] demeretur (!) E || vero sic] non sic AI sic non D sic F non GHJ non sic vero I vero J 5 possit] posset G || carebit] carebunt B || quippe] quidem A 6 liberius erit] erit liberius CG || arbitrium *om.* AFG arbitrio H atributum I || non] *add.* (*lin.*) B² || non ... servire] servire non poterit A 7 quasi *om.* G || enim *om.* G || culpanda est] e. c. E 7–8 aut voluntas non est] *om.* F 7 aut] *add.* non *sed exp.* E 8 dicenda ... est] danda est J' corr. a dicenda est J' || non² *om.* ACDI || qua] quia I quam J || beati sic] sic beati B || sic esse] e. s. HIJ 8–9 esse ... solum] et miseri non solum esse A 9 nolimus] velimus E volumus I || velle possimus] p. v. F || possimus] possumus G || si] sicut ABCJ 10 igitur] ergo EIJ || igitur ... nostra] ergo a. n. h. A || etiam] et ABCD || etiam nunc] n. e. G || nolle] velle CH || infelicitatem] infelicitate C || ita ... nolle] ita non velle H || nolle²] et non velle C *add.* in J 11 habitura] habitum F || est] esse C 14 quam] *corr. in* H

- 35 Item, ANSELMUS, *De libero arbitrio* c. 1 ait: “Qui sic habet quod decet et quod expedit, ut hoc amittere nequeat, liberior est quam ille qui sic habet hoc ipsum ut possit perdere.” Et ex hoc concludit: “Liberior est igitur voluntas quae a rectitudine declinare nequit.”
- 36 Item probatur per rationem: 5
 Et primo, ‘quia’ ita est. Nam ex praecedenti articulo habetur quod voluntas divina necessario vult bonitatem suam, et tamen in volendo eam est libera; ergo cum ista necessitate stat libertas. Probatio minoris: Quia potentia operans circa unum obiectum non absolute sed in ordine ad aliud, eadem est operativa circa utrumque obiectum, sicut 10 arguit PHILOSOPHUS in II *De Anima* quod illa potentia qua cognoscimus differentiam obiecti unius ab obiecto alio ipsa nata est cognoscere utrumque obiectum in se, sicut ipse arguit ibi de sensu communi. Nunc autem voluntas divina ipsa refert ad finem alia obiecta quae sunt volibilia propter finem. Ergo ipsa sub eadem ratione potentiae est opera- 15

1 Anselmus, *De libertate arbitrii* c. 1 (ed. Schmitt, I: 207; PL 158, 491): “An non vides quoniam qui sic habet quod decet et quod expedit, ut hoc amittere non queat, liberior est quam ille qui sic habet hoc ipsum, ut possit perdere et ad hoc quod dedecet et non expedit valeat adduci?”

11 Aristot., *De Anima* II c. 27 (Ed. Leonina, XLV¹ 182a; Γ c. 2, 426b12–19): “Quoniam autem et album et dulce et unumquodque sensibilem ad unumquodque discernimus quodam, et sentimus quia differunt, necesse igitur sensui: sensibilia enim sunt ... Neque utique separatis contingit discernere quod alterum sit dulce ab albo, sed oportet aliquo uno utraque manifesta esse.”

1 Anselmus] Augustinus CG Augustinus scilicet I || libero arbitrio] libertate arbitri H add. qui CDGIJ || ait om. BG || decet] docet J 2 hoc om. G || amittere] emittere AJ admittere C || liberior est] om. F || est om. J || ille] iste H 3 hoc om. CI || possit perdere] perdere possit C || perdere] per se F || concludit] excludit E 3–4 est igitur] est ergo EG igitur est ABCDHJ est I 4 a om. D || nequit] non potest B 5 Item ... rationem] Idem probatur ratione B Idem probatur per rationem CDJ || per rationem] pari ratione H¹ corr. in H 6 Et om. J || ita est] inest A || Nam om. B 7 suam om. I 8 eam om. AB illam CDIJ || ergo ... libertas] igitur cum necessitate stat ista libertas B ergo cum necessitate ista stat libertas E ergo etc. FG igitur cum necessitate stat libertas H 9 unum obiectum] o. u. CJ 10 obiectum] add. in se C || sicut] et sic C ut DIJ 11 arguit Philosophus] P. a. F || in om. ABCDHIJ || quod] quia I || illa] ista F 11–12 cognoscimus] cognosceremus I 12 obiecti unius] u. o. ABCDGHIJ || obiecto] altero CDHIJ om. AB || obiecto alio] a. o. G || alio om. CDHIJ || ipsa] est B illa J || est om. B 13 utrumque] utrum G || ipse om. B || ibi om. BI 14 divina ipsa] i. d. G || ipsa om. B || alia] omnia B 14–15 volibilia] volita HI 15 Ergo] igitur ABCDFH || potentiae om. C 15–179.1 est operativa] operatur H

tiva circa utrumque. Sed circa illud quod est ad finem libere operatur; patet, quia contingenter vult illa et contingentia in agendo reducitur in principium non naturaliter activum sed libere. Ergo ipsa sub ratione potentiae libere vult bonitatem suam.

5 Praeterea secundo probatur idem, ‘propter quid’. Et hoc primo sic: 37
Actio circa finem ultimum est actio perfectissima; in tali actione firmitas in agendo est perfectionis; ergo necessitas in ea non tollit, sed magis ponit illud quod est perfectionis, cuiusmodi est libertas.

Praeterea, condicio intrinseca ipsius potentiae, vel absolute vel in 38
10 ordine ad actum perfectum, non repugnat perfectioni in operando; nunc autem libertas vel est condicio intrinseca voluntatis absolute, vel saltem in ordine ad actum volendi; ergo ipsa libertas potest stare cum condicione perfecta possibili in operando; talis condicio est necessitas, et specialiter ubi ipsa est possibilis; est autem semper possibilis ubi neu-
15 trum extremum requirit contingentiam in operatione, quae est media inter extrema—sic est in proposito, sicut probatum est in praecedenti articulo.

Si quaeras quomodo stat libertas cum necessitate, respondeo: Secun- 39
dum PHILOSOPHUM IV *Metaphysicae*, non est quaerenda ratio eorum quo-
20 rum non est ratio: “Demonstrationis enim principii non est demonstra-

19 **Aristot.**, *Metaph.* IV c. 6 (AL XXVI³ 87; Γ c. 6, 1011a13): “Demonstrationis enim principium non est demonstratio.”

1 finem] *add. mg.* (dub.) circa illud quod est ad finem contingenter operatur quia contingenter vult alia ergo etiam sub ratione potentiae oporteat velle bonitatem suam, quod falsum est *excidio folii verba puro aliqua desunt* circa finem necessario operatur necessitate omnimodae inevitabilitatis ergo ipsa subest potentiae necessario operantis (pro: operanti) necessitate omnimodae inevitabilitatis ... vult *spatium decem litteras comprehendens sequitur* ... finem effective ... *spatium novem litteras comprehendens sequitur* E 2 et om. C *lin.* H || in²] ad B 3 Ergo] igitur ABDFH 5 Praeterea om. AB || secundo] secunda EG || idem] ratione I || quid] *add.* est ADF || hoc om. FG || primo om. AH primum B || primo sic] s. p. F 6 perfectissima] perfectissime F' *corr. in* perfectissima (*mg.*) F || firmitas] libertas CDI 7 in agendo] *rep. sed exp.* G || ergo] igitur BFH 7–8 ergo ... perfectionis] om. C 7 sed] imo AC 8 quod om. D || cuiusmodi] cuius ACG si H 9 condicio] contradictio J || ipsius] ipsi EI 10 in] *lin.* C 12 saltem om. G || ergo] igitur ABFH 12–13 ergo ... possibili] om. D 12 ipsa] illa A ista BCDHIJ 13 operando] comperando C 14 specialiter] simpliciter F spiritualiter H' *corr. in* H || ipsa] i. e.] e. i. I || autem] enim G 15 requirit] requiritur C requirat H 16 sic] sicut ACH || sicut] ut BCDHIJ || est om. I 16–17 praecedenti articulo] articulo praecedenti CDJ articulo priore I 18 libertas ... necessitate] necessitas ... libertate AF 19 IV] 9 H 20 enim principii] p. e. G || est²] *add.* est F

tio.” Ita dico hic quod, sicut ista est immediata: “necessario voluntas divina vult bonitatem divinam,” nec est alia ratio nisi quia haec est talis voluntas et haec talis bonitas, sic voluntas divina contingenter vult bonitatem seu existentiam alterius; et hoc, quia ipsa est talis voluntas et istud est tale bonum—nisi addamus generaliter unum breve, quod voluntas infinita necessario habet actum circa obiectum infinitum, quia hoc est perfectionis, et pari ratione non necessario habet circa obiectum finitum, quia hoc esset imperfectionis. Nam imperfectionis est necessario determinari ad posterius perfectionis requisitae ad prius perfectionis concomitantis ad illud quod est simul natura. 10

- 40 Confirmatur istud: Quia non est eadem divisio in principium naturale et liberum, et in principium necessario activum et contingenter; aliquod enim naturale potest contingenter agere, quia potest impediri; igitur pari ratione possibile est aliquod liberum, stante libertate, necessario agere. 15

1 Ita] qua ? J || Ita dico] In Deo D || est immediata] i. e. H || necessario] *dub.* A necessaria EFHI 1–2 voluntas divina] Dei voluntas H 2 divinam] suam EF || nec] non E || alia] aliqua D || nisi] ubi J 3 voluntas ... talis] *om.* H || haec] illa A || haec] *add.* est G 3–5 haec ... talis voluntas et] *om.* EF 3 sic voluntas] *add.* *mg.* G 4 seu] sive BHJ || ipsa *om.* A || voluntas *om.* A 5 istud] illud A || est *om.* H || nisi] *add.* et H || generaliter *om.* A || quod] quia DI 6 habet actum] a. h. H 7–8 et ... imperfectionis] *om.* B 7 necessario *om.* F *add.* *mg.* G || habet] *add.* actum ABCDHIJ *add.* actum *mg.* G || obiectum] actum C 8 finitum] infinitum F || imperfectionis] perfectionis C || Nam imperfectionis] *mg.* H 8–9 necessario determinari] d. n. B 9 posterius] posteriora D 10 concomitantis] concomitanter? A concomitatum H || simul] *add.* in I || natura] *om.* G *add.* et H 11 Confirmatur] Contra I || istud] illud A || divisio ... principium] divisio principii in ABDH divisio principii in principium C 11–12 naturale] *add.* naturale *sed exp.* G 12 in *om.* I || principium ... activum] principio ... activo EF 13 potest *om.* C 14 igitur *om.* G || igitur] ergo E || possible est] ponit H

[IV.—Tertius Articulus: Utrum aliquando
cum libertate stare possit naturalitas

A.—Opinio Henrici: prima vice tractata]

De tertio articulo principali dicitur quod voluntas potest esse princi- 41
5 pium spirandi Spiritum Sanctum ita quod ibi est necessitas naturae
concomitans.

Sed semper videtur dubium in quo stat per se ratio libertatis. Sive 42
enim dicatur quod stat in determinatione ad agendum sive in determi-
natione respectu actus, neutrum videtur posse salvari.

10 Hic diceretur quod cum dicitur voluntatem necessario velle, necessi- 43
tas potest determinare actum volendi ut terminatur ad obiectum. Et
sic est verum manifestum, intelligendo de bonitate divina quae sola
est proprium et per se obiectum; alia autem non sunt per se propria
objecta; ideo non necessario vult illa. Aut potest necessitas determi-

6 **Henricus Gand.**, *Summa* a. 47 q. 5 (II f. 28r Z): “Et in hoc differt quodammodo necessitas concomitans libertatem Dei in actu volendi seipsum et in actu spirandi Spiritum Sanctum. Quia scilicet in illo non solum ipsa libertas voluntatis sibi ipsi necessitatem imponit sicut hic secundum iam dictum modum, immo etiam in illo voluntatem concomitatur naturae necessitas, quia natura ipsa productio communicatur per actum, ut infra debet exponi.”

9 **Henricus Gand.**, *Summa* a. 47 q. 5 (II f. 27v X): “Sed tota dubitatio in quaestione est cum voluntas Dei sit omnino libera, etiam in volendo seipsum, quomodo cum voluntas libertate stat necessitas volendi—cum ista necessitas non sit ex suppositione, sicut si dicatur velle seipsum de necessitate quando vult quemadmodum cadit necessitas circa illa quae secundum se simpliciter et absolute sunt contingentia sed est necessitas simpliciter et absoluta.”

12 Textum vero paene illegibilem a verbo ‘quae’ usque ad ‘actu libertas’ codex G exhibet, imo folio humectatione polluto.

4–6 De ... concomitans] *om.* BH 4 articulo *om.* D || dicitur *om.* FG || quod *om.* A
5 Spiritum Sanctum] Spiritus Sancti A 5–6 Spiritum ... concomitans] *om.* G
add. aliqua verba humectatione paene illegibilia adduntur, signo carentiae adhibito G 5 ibi]
add. non tantum G 6 concomitans] *add. quia* DI *add. vel concomitantes* C *add.*
quia J || concomitans] *seq. spat. vac. quindecim litteras comprehendens* A 7 Sed] *add. quia*
hoc C Quia H² *corr. in* H² || videtur] est G || stat] stet D || per se] *om.* ABH || ratio]
relatio AB 8 stat] constat D || ad] ad ... actus] respectu actus sive in determinatione
ad agendum B 8–9 determinatione] divina ratione C dominatione E 10 Hic
om. DIJ || diceretur] diceremus AFJ dicitur enim CD dicere enim I 11 actum]
activum H || terminatur] determinatur B terminetur I || obiectum] agendum CDIJ
12 manifestum *om.* AGH || intelligendo] *add. medium* H || bonitate] voluntate I 13
autem *om.* J 14 obiecta] sola E || ideo] *praem.* et B || illa] ista DFI alia AGJ ||
potest necessitas] necessitas potest BE

nare actum ut egreditur a voluntate. Et hoc potest intelligi dupliciter: uno modo ut sit necessitas praevia ad voluntatem et voluntas intelligatur cadere sub necessitate tamquam impellente in actum et figente in actu—si sic esset, voluntas ageretur et non ageret, nec staret in tali actu libertas; alio modo potest intelligi necessitas concomitans ita quod ipsa intelligatur cadere sub necessitate sic quod voluntas propter firmitatem libertatis suae sibi ipsi necessitatem imponit in eliciendo actum et in perserverando sive figendo se in actu. Et si sic, ideo eam concomitatur necessitas naturae quia vis quaedam naturae primo modo dictae, scilicet essentiae, sive naturae secundo modo dictae, scilicet principii naturalis productivi similis. Talis enim assistit voluntati in communicando naturam Spiritui Sancto.

1 **Henricus Gand.**, *Summa* a. 47 q. 5 (II f. 28r Y): “Et de hac necessitate subdistingendum est in proposito: quod potest considerari ut est praevia vel quasi praevia ad voluntatem ut voluntas ipsa intelligatur cadere sub ipsa necessitate in eo quod ad ipsa egreditur actus volendi; vel potest considerari ut est concomitans ipsam voluntatem ut ipsa necessitas intelligatur cadere sub ipsa voluntate in eliciendo actum. Necessitas primo modo procul dubio auferet libertatem in eliciendo actum, ita quod voluntas in eliciendo actum volendi non esset aliud quam natura ... Unde de hoc modo necessitatis ut includit voluntatem dico quod Deus non vult se de necessitate sed libere tantum aliter enim in volendo non ageret sed potius pateretur vel ageretur.”

11 **Henricus Gand.**, *Summa* a. 60 q. 1 (II f. 154v T): “Ad quarum intellectum et ad clariorem solutionem argumentorum super inductorum, sciendum est quod natura in divinis quadrupliciter dicitur. Uno modo appellatur natura ipsa divine essentia in qua tres personae consistunt et dicitur pure essentialiter. Secundo modo dicitur natura principium activum naturale et sic natura est vis productiva similis est simili ... Tertio modo dicitur natura quaelibet vis naturaliter existens in natura primo modo, etiam etsi sit libera illa vis et sic voluntas in Deo dicitur natura, quia scilicet est naturalis potentia existens naturaliter in divina natura. Quarto modo dicitur natura incommutabilis necessitas circa aliquem actum.” Pro elaboratione amplificationeque sensuum naturae apud Henricum, videsis **Henricus Gand.**, *Summa* a. 60 q. 1 (II f. 154v T – 155r X).

1 actum] volendi CI || hoc om. C 2 sit ... ad] sit necessitas quod AG necessitas sit praevia ad B necessitas sit praevia ad volendum C necessitas praevia ad D || praevia] prima H' corr. in H 2–3 intelligatur] intelligitur AG 3 cadere] eadem CHJ || et] add. et C in I || figente] figentem F 4 actu] actum H add. quod I || si sic] sic si AG || ageretur] ageret AGI 5 ipsa] add. voluntas B 6 intelligatur] potest A || cadere ... necessitate] sub necessitate cadere CDIJ || necessitate] voluntate EG || sic] ita B || firmitatem] infirmitatem F 7 libertatis suae] s. l. B || sibi] si D || necessitatem] necessitate C || actum] rep. B' sed canc. Et exp. B || et] etiam H add. etiam B || in² om. HI 8 perserverando] perservando AB perservando corr. lin. E || Et ... eam] In spiratione autem ABCDHIJ || si om. G || ideo om. G || eam concomitatur] c. e. FG 9 quia] et (supra rasuram) G || vis quaedam] q. v. A || dictae] dicto D 9–10 scilicet] id est ABHIJ vel C id est vel D || scilicet essentiae] om. FG¹ 10 naturae om. AB || dictae] dictum A dicto D || scilicet om. D 11 Talis om. E || Talis enim] enim talis B 12 Sancto om. H

Est igitur ordo quadruplicis necessitatis: prima qua Deus necessario 44
vivit; secunda qua necessario intelligit; tertia qua necessario spirat;
quarta qua necessario diligit se.

In quo igitur est ista libertas volendi? 45

5 Respondeo: quia delectabiliter et quasi eligibiliter elicit actum et 46
quasi permanet in actu.

Contra: Secundum RICHARDUM: “Gloriosius est quod habetur ex 47
necessitate naturae quam quod aliter habetur.”

5 **Henricus Gand.**, *Quodl.* II a. 47 q. 5 (ed. Badius II f. 28r Y): “Voluntas talem actum volendi delectabiliter et quasi eligibiliter elicit.”

7 Cf. **Richardus S. Victoris**, *De Trinitate* VI, cap. 14 (PL 196, 924C–925A): “Si autem concedimus unde post tot praemissas rationes ambigere non possumus, si, inquam, concedimus unam aliquam personam in vera divinitate esse tantae benevolentiae, ut nihil divitiarum, nihil deliciarum habere velit quod nolit communicare, tantae potestatis ut nihil sit ei impossibile, tantae felicitatis ut nihil sit ei difficile, consequens est ut fateri oporteat divinarum personarum Trinitatem non posse deesse. Sed ut hoc melius elucescat, quod diffusius diximus in unum colligamus. Certe si sola una persona in divinitate esset, non haberet cui magnitudinis suae divitias communicaret. Sed et e converso, illa deliciarum et dulcedinis abundantia quae ex intimae dilectionis obtentu ei accrescere potuisset, in aeternum careret. Sed summe bonum, plenitudo bonitatis non sinit illas avare retinere, nec summe beatum, plenitudo beatitudinis istas non obtinere, et ad honoris sui magnificentiam tam de illarum largitate laetatur, quam de istarum fruitione gloriatur. Animadvertis ex his quam sit impossibile unam aliquam in divinitate personam consortio societatis carere, sed si solam unam sociam haberet, ei utique non deesset, cui magnitudinis suae divitias communicaret, sed cui charitatis delicias impertiret omnino non haberet. Dilectionis dulcedine nihil iucundius invenitur, nihil in quo animus amplius delectetur. Huiusmodi dulcedinis delicias solus non possidet, qui in exhibita sibi dilectione socium et condilectum non habet. Communio itaque amoris non potest esse omnino minus quam in tribus personis. Nihil autem, ut dictum est, gloriosius, nihil magnificentius quam quidquid habes utile et dulce in commune deducere. Non potest vero hoc summam sapientiam latere, nec summae benvolentiae non complacere, et quam non potest summe potentis felicitas vel summe felicitis potestas suo beneplacito carere, tam non potest geminae personae in divinitate tertia non cohaerere.”

1 igitur] ergo AE || prima] scilicet una I || qua] quae D 1–2 qua ... secunda] *mg.* H² 2 qua] quae D *add.* Deus H || tertia] tertio B || qua²] quae D || qua² *om.* C || spirat] inspirat D 3 qua] quam D || se *om.* F 4 quo] qua I || igitur *om.* A ergo EG || igitur est] est igitur D || est] erit C || ista] illa AE *om.* FG 5 quia] quod AF || quia delectabiliter] qua delectatur I || eligibiliter] eligenter ABI *mg.* J || et²] id est BH 6 quasi *om.* ABFH *lin.* G 7 Gloriosius] *add.* inquit CDIJ || est] *lin.* F || habetur *om.* FG *post* naturae AE 7–8 ex ... aliter] secundam naturam G 8 quam ... aliter *om.* F || quod ... habetur] quia habetur aliter C || habetur] *add. seu rep. et anticip.* Respondeo necessitate naturae habetur non necessitate naturae quam quod aliter habetur *cancell., signo ‘vacat’ adhibito H*

- 48 Responsio: Necessitate naturae habetur velle non necessitate naturae quia esset contradictio. Ergo in ista propositione quae est de dicto ‘Deum velle se est necessarium,’ patet distinctio quod necessitas potest determinare sic vel sic. Non aeque apparet in ista: ‘Deus vult necessario’ quae est de re, tamen eadem veritas communis est quod necessitate naturae habetur actus, sed non vult obiectum necessitate naturae. 5

[IV.—Tertius Articulus:

B.—Opinio Henrici secunda vice tractata]

- 49 De tertio principali dicitur quod in aliquo actu voluntatis divinae, actu scilicet spirandi Spiritum Sanctum, est aliquo modo necessitas naturalis sic intelligendo: voluntas, ut est simpliciter voluntas, non est principium elicativum actus notionalis quo producitur simile in forma naturali ipsi producenti (quia tunc in quocumque esset, esset principium elicativum actus quo produceretur simile in forma—quod falsum est in creaturis), sed voluntas ut est in natura divina et ut sic per illam habet quamdam naturalitatem ad productionem notionalem, sic est principium elicativum actus naturalis. Ex hoc enim quod fundatur in natura divina 10 15

17 **Henricus Gand.**, *Summa* a. 60 q. 1 (ed. Badius II f. 157vI): “Dicendum quod neque intellectus neque voluntas ratione qua sunt simpliciter intellectus aut voluntas sunt principia elicativa actuum notionalium per quos producuntur similes in forma

1 Responsio] *add.* quod ex G Respondeo HIJ *add.* in E || naturae ... velle] velle habetur CD velle J 1–2 naturae] *lin.* F *mg.* G *add.* voliti G 2 Ergo] Igitur ABDFH || ista] illa A || quae ... dicto] *om.* BH || est] *lin.* F || dicto] Deo A' *corr.* in (mg.) A² Deo CJ divinis BC 3 patet] apparet BCDHIJ *add.* et I || quod] quia AG 4 determinare] *add.* actum volendi ABCDI² (mg.) || sic vel] voluntatis vel volendi C || aeque] tantum A *add.* autem B || ista] illa A 5 tamen] cum D || eadem] eodem I || communis est] e. c. G || est²] consequitur A || quod] *add.* de A 6 naturae *om.* J || naturae] *add.* si est principium eliciendi actus naturalis C *seq. spat. vac. quod tres lineas saltem textus exhibiti occupat* I sic est principium eliciendi actus naturalis J 9 De tertio principali] Aliter A || De] *add.* articulus tertius in quo in quaeretur an cum libertate possit stare in aliquo necessitas *mg.* G² || aliquo *om.* J || actu *om.* A *mg.* F || voluntatis divinae] d. v. AB || actu² *om.* EGI 10 spirandi] accipiendi G || Spiritum Sanctum] id D Spiritum I *om.* CJ || est *om.* DI 11 non] *add.* (*lin.*) ut H² 11–12 est² ... elicativum] est simpliciter elicativum principium CDIJ 13 quocumque] quibuscumque G || esset²] coniecimus cum cod. H et I et fonte *om.* ceteri cod. 14 produceretur] producitur D produceretur ABCGHIJ || forma] *add.* esset voluntas CDJ 15 voluntas] *add.* divina CDIJ || ut *om.* G || sic] sit J || per illam] *mg.* F || habet] *lin.* I 16 naturalitatem] necessitatem G || notionalem] *corr.* A² || notionalem] *add.* vel A 16–17 sic ... naturalis] = AEG(mg.) H (mg.) J *om.* BDFI || elicativum ... naturalis] a. n. e. A 17 natura] essentia H' natura H² || divina] et C

- sive essentia, habet sibi annexam quamdam vim istius naturae, et sic quamdam necessitatem naturalem ab ista naturalitate sive vi naturali annexa voluntati. Licet enim in actu voluntatis ut ordinatur in sum-
 5 mum amatum ab ipsa sola voluntate, ratione qua est libera, sit neces-
 sitas immutabilitatis, tamen, inquantum actio voluntatis ordinatur in
 amorem productum tendentem in amatum naturaliter, sic ab illa natu-
 ralitate annexa voluntati procedit necessitas immutabilitatis circa solum
 actum notionalem elicited a voluntate—vel potius ab ipsa libertate
 voluntatis, ut ei talis naturalitas est annexa.
- 10 Additur ad hoc quod ista naturalitas in voluntate nullo modo prae- 50
 venit eius libertatem nec est ratio elicitive actus eius notionalis (hoc
 enim esset omnino contra eius libertatem) sed potius est consecutiva
 et annexa libertati, ut aliquid quo assistente voluntati voluntas ipsa, ex
 vi quam habet ex eo quod est voluntas et libera, potest elicere suum
 15 actum notionalem, quem sine illo assistente omnino elicere non posset.

naturali ipsi producenti, quia tunc in quibuscumque essent, essent principia elicitive actuum quibus produceretur simile in forma, quod falsum est in creaturis.”

10 **Henricus Gand.**, *Summa* a. 60 q. 1 (ed. Badius II f. 157v I): “Voluntas autem habet ipsam non ut incedendo in rationem naturae dictae secundo modo naturae sed habendo sibi annexam vim quamdam naturae primo modo dictae ex hoc quod fundatur in illo ut naturalitas ista in voluntate nullo modo sit praeveniens eius libertatem, nec ratio elicitive actus eius notionalis penes secundum modum naturae—hoc enim esset omnino contra ipsam libertatem—, sed potius ut sit consecutiva et annexa libertati. Et hoc non ut aliquid quo voluntas suum actum notionalem elicit principiative sed ut aliquid quo assistente voluntati voluntas ipsa ex vi quam habet eo quod est voluntas et libera potest elicere suum actum notionalem, quem, sine illo assistente, omnino elicere non posset.”

1 sive] *add.* in G || sibi annexam] a. s. B || vim] *mg.* I² veri J || istius] illius AE
 2 naturalem *om.* I || ista] illa A || vi naturali] n. v. H || naturali *om.* CDIJ || 3
 voluntati] *add.* contrahit, et sic est principium elicitivum actus notionalis G || enim
om. G || voluntatis] voluntati E || in²] ad J || 4 est *om.* G || libera] est libera] l.
 e. B || 5 tamen] *add.* necessario G || actio *om.* A || 6 tendentem ... amatum] *om.* B ||
 amatum] amantem CDIJ || naturaliter] = EH terminaliter ABDFGIJ terminabitur C
 || sic] sit E || illa] ista BDH || 8 elicited] elicivum G || ipsa libertate] l. i. G
 9 talis *om.* J || naturalitas] necessitas A || 10 Additur] *praem.* ratio D || ista] illa AH ||
 ista ... modo] nullo modo ista naturalitas in voluntate CDIJ || in voluntate] *mg.* G
 11 actus eius] e. a. A || eius² *om.* G || 12 esset omnino] o. e. ABF || consecutiva]
 consecutiva ... annexa] annexa et consecutiva AF || 13 aliquid] aliquod CI || quo
om. G || assistente] coassistente AG || 14 et *om.* A || 14–15 suum actum] a. s. AB
 15 notionalem] notionale I || omnino *om.* G || posset] possit C

- 51 Sunt ergo aliter et aliter istae propositiones necessariae in divinis:
 “Deus necessario vivit,” quia necessitate naturae; “Deus necessario
 intelligit,” quia necessitate intelligibilis determinantis intellectum ad
 hoc, ubi est aliqua diversitas rationis; “Deus necessario spirat Spiritum
 Sanctum,” quia necessitate naturali non praeveniente, sed concomi- 5
 tante; “Deus necessario amat se,” necessitate consequente infinitatem
 libertatis absque aliqua necessitate naturae.

[IV.—Tertius Articulus:

C.—Obiectiones contra opinionem Henrici]

- 52 Contra istud: Non videtur quod illud quod fundatur in aliquo possit 10
 habere duplicem rationem necessitatis et illud in quo fundatur tan-
 tum unicam, quia tunc circumscripta per possibile vel impossibile ista
 unica ratione necessitatis, adhuc remaneret alia ratio necessitatis in fun-
 dato—et ita fundatum necessarium remaneret—, et tamen non mane-
 ret necessitas fundamenti. Nunc autem, secundum istos, actus notional- 15
 es fundantur in actu essentiali, et secundum omnes, actus essentielles

7 Cf. **Scotus**, *Ordinatio* I d. 2 nn. 270–281 (II 287–294); Cf. **Scotus**, *Ordinatio* I d. 10 nn. 10–12.30–58 (IV 343–344.352–363).

14 Scripsimus “fundato”; omnes codices autem perperam scripserunt “fundamento,” scriptis litteris Anglicanis, ut opinamur, male intellectis.

1 Sunt ... propositiones] Istae igitur propositiones sunt aliter et aliter B || ergo] igitur ABDFH || et aliter] a. e. I || istae] illae I || necessariae in divinis] i. d. n. G
 2 vivit ... necessario] om. F || quia ... naturae] om. G || necessitate] necessariae I
 3 quia] add. quia J || necessitate] add. seu rep. naturae C 4 rationis] add. seu suppl.
 quia necessitate naturae G 5 Sanctum] add. scilicet F || quia] scilicet G 6 se
 om. A || se] add. quia B || infinitatem] infinita I 7 naturae om. C 10 quod illud]
 i. q. D || possit] posset H' corr. in H 11 habere] add. rationem aliquam necessitatis
 ulteriorem *ultra* illud in quo fundatur; nec etiam quod fundatum posset habere AH
 add. rationem aliquam necessitatis ulteriorem *ultra* illud quod est fundatum eius; nec
 etiam quod fundatum posset habere B add. duplicem rationem necessitas et illud in
 quo fundatur posset habere GJ || rationem] rationes B 11–12 tantum] trium? A
 12 possible vel impossibile] impossible vel impossible I || vel impossibile] om. E
 vel per impossibile (mg.) H || ista] illa ABCDHIJ 13 unica ratione] r. u. B ||
 necessitatis] add. in fundamento ABCDHIJ 13–14 adhuc ... in fundato] mg. H
 13 alia ratio] r. a. B 13–14 fundato] scripsimus fundamento omnes cod. 14 ita]
 illud F add. illud A || necessarium] mg. G || necessarium remaneret] r. n. AB || non]
 lin. H 14–15 maneret] remaneret A 15 fundamenti] in fundamento B 15–16
 actus ... fundantur] notionalis actus fundatur H || notionales fundantur] notionalis
 fundatur BDF 16 actu essentiali] essentiali actu et notionali F || essentiali] add. et
 notionales sed. exp. G

aliquo modo sunt priores, igitur non potest esse quod in actu essentiali, quo Deus diligit se, sit tantum unica necessitas et ex unica ratione necessitatis, scilicet ex infinitate libertatis, et tamen quod in actu spirandi sit cum hoc alia ratio necessitatis, scilicet naturalis.

- 5 Praeterea, sicut memoria perfecta in supposito conveniente est perfectum principium producendi verbum perfectum, sic videtur quod voluntas perfecta in supposito vel suppositis convenientibus sit perfectum principium producendi amorem perfectum; sicut ergo memoria in Patre est principium gignendi Filium, sic voluntas in Patre et Filio
10 est principium spirandi Spiritum Sanctum. Nec videtur, ultra rationem perfectae memoriae vel perfectae voluntatis, coassistencia alicuius esse necessaria sic quod sine illo assistente non posset voluntas in actum spirandi et memoria in actum dicendi.

[Resumptio opinionis Henrici]

- 15 Si intelligeret assistentiam esse ut obiecti ad potentiam, forte illa requireretur tam in memoria quam in voluntate; et magis forte ad hoc ut per actum communicetur natura quam ad hoc ut actus sit necessarius, quia principiorum illorum, obiecti et potentiae, utrumque per se est ratio propriae necessitatis in eliciendo actum suum ut suus est; sed forte
20 non utrumque esset ratio perfecta consubstantialitatis termini ad ipsum producens. Et tunc verum esset quod non requiritur talis assistentia ad

15 Subaudi: Henricus. Cf. **Scotus**, *Ordinatio* I d. 10 q. 1, n. 25 (IV 349–350); idem *Lectura* I d. 10 q. 1, n. 15 (XVII 120).

1 aliquo modo sunt] sunt aliquo modo F || igitur] ergo CEGJ || quod] *lin.* I 2
Deus *om.* FG || diligit se] se diligit CDIJ || sit] *add.* hoc H 3 necessitatis] *add.* in
fundamento DI || scilicet] *rep.* A *lin.* I || quod *om.* E 5 sicut] si C || conveniente]
convenienti A concomitante I¹ corr. I² 7 vel] *add.* in DI || suppositis] *add.* perfectis F
|| sit] sic C 8 producendi] spirandi ABCDHIJ || ergo] igitur ABDGH 9
gignendi] generandi H || et] *add.* in CJ 10 Sanctum] *add.* sanctum B 11
perfectae *om.* H || perfectae memoriae] m. p. B || voluntatis] *add.* quod ABCGH
|| coassistencia] assistentia BG || alicuius] actus I || esse] esset ABCDFGH 12
necessaria sic] s. n. B || sic] sit E || quod] quasi I || sine *om.* FG || illo] *add.* alia A
add. non (*lin.*) F *add.* non G || posset] possit E 13 in] *mg.* J² || actum] actu C
|| dicendi] *add.* cum memoria sit vis dictativa et ita voluntas AH 15–188.2 Si
... perfectionem] *om.* B *scrip. in imo folio, signo interpositionis adhibito quo indicat verba
principio n. 53, scilicet ad verba 'sicut memoria perfecta,' esse interserenda* H 15 assistentiam]
assistentia F 16 ad hoc] adhuc C 17 natura *om.* H 18 illorum] istorum CHJ ||
utrumque] utriusque E 19 propriae necessitatis] n. p. J 20 ratio perfecta] p.
r. CDHIJ 21 requiritur] requireretur CDFIJ

actum essentialem, quia licet ibi requiratur obiectum, non tamen ut principium communicandi suam propriam perfectionem.

[IV.—Tertius Articulus:

D.—Solutio

1. Praenotanda: quomodo natura et libertas intelligendae sint] 5

- 55 De isto articulo potest dici quod non est hic difficultas, acci-
piendo “naturam” extensive, prout extendit se ad omne ens; sic enim dici-
mus “natura voluntatis,” immo extendendo ad non ens dicimus “natura
negationis.” Sic enim, extensive loquendo, necessitas in quocumque
ente posset dici necessitas naturalis, et tunc, cum voluntas, saltem divi- 10
na, ex sua perfecta libertate habeat necessario aliquod velle, ista neces-
sitas perfectae libertatis posset dici, isto modo, necessitas naturalis.
- 56 Sed difficultas non est nisi acci-
piendo “naturam” magis stricte, prout
scilicet “natura” et “libertas” sunt primae differentiae agentis vel prin-
cipii agendi, quomodo loquitur PHILOSOPHUS II *Physicorum*, ubi dividit 15
causam activam in naturam et propositum: “Eorum,” inquit, “quae
fiunt propter hoc,” id est, propter finem, cuiusmodi sunt omnia quae

6 Textum vero paene illegibilem a verbo ‘De isto’ usque ad ‘prout scilicet’ codex G exhibet, imo folio humectatione polluto. His tamen locis, in quibus textus legi possit, eum contulimus.

15 **Aristot.**, *Physica* II c. 5 (AL VII 68; 196b17–22): “Eorum autem que fiunt alia quidem propter hoc fiunt, alia vero non; horum autem alia quidem secundum propositum, alia vero non secundum propositum, ambo autem in his que sunt propter hoc; quare manifestum est quoniam et in his que sunt secundum necessitatem et in eo quod est sicut frequenter sint quedam circa que contingit esse que est propter hoc. Sunt autem propter hoc quaecumque ab intellectu utique agentur et quaecumque a natura.”

1 actum essentialem] e. a. AB || tamen *om.* F 2 perfectionem] *add.* hoc erat a latere ibi: sicut memoria perfecta H 6 isto] *add.* autem tertio C *add.* autem D illo H *add.* etiam J || potest dici] d. p. ABCDGHJ || hic difficultas] d. h F 7 naturam extensive] extensive rationem naturae I || naturam] necessitatem F || prout extendit] e. p. G 8 natura] *add.* necessitas F || extendendo *om.* J extendemus B || dicimus] dicendo B || dicimus] *add.* necessitas F *add.* enim J 9 enim] est B || extensive] extensione I corr. I² 9–10 quocumque ente] e. q. G 10 posset dici] d. p. CDJ || posset] possit BE || necesitas ... cum] *mg.* G || cum] quod C *om.* F 11 libertate] liberalite B || ista] ita I 12 isto] illo AC 13 non ... nisi] est B || acci-
piendo] accidendo D 14 scilicet *om.* CDI 14–15 agentis ... agendi] principii activi J 15 agendi] *add.* sive activi DI || *Physicorum add.* Cap. VI A 16 activam *om.* FG || in] esse I corr. in *lin.* I² || naturam] materiam J 17 fiunt] sunt G || hoc *om.* D || cuiusmodi] eius AI

fiunt a per se causa, “alia quidem secundum propositum, alia vero non secundum propositum.” Et paulo post: “Sunt autem propter hoc quaecumque ab intellectu utique aguntur, et quaecumque a natura.” Et ad istas duas causas per se reducit ibi duas causas per accidens, casum
5 scilicet et fortunam.

De hac etiam distinctione loquitur IX *Metaphysicae* 5 distinguens 57 modum quo potentiae activae rationales et irrationales diversimode exeunt in actus suos: “Tales,” inquit (scilicet, irrationales potentias), “necesse est, quando ut possunt passivum et activum appropinquant,
10 hoc quidem facere, illud autem pati; illas vero (scilicet, rationales), non necesse” (supple: hoc facere et illud pati).

De hac distinctione loquitur AUGUSTINUS V *De Civitate Dei* 9: “Est 58 causa fortuita, est naturalis, est voluntaria”; et declarat ibi membra.

Ista divisio principii activi diversis nominibus exprimitur, non solum 59
15 apud diversos sed apud ARISTOTELEM, ut patet ex II *Physicorum*, ubi

6 **Aristot.**, *Metaph.* IX t. 10 (AL XXV³ 184–185; TH c. 5, 1048a 5–10; 21–24): “Tales quidem potentias necesse, quando ut possint passivum et activum appropinquant, hoc quidem facere illud uero pati, illas uero non necesse.”

12 **August.**, *De civ. Dei* V c. 9 n. 4 (CCL XLVII, 138–139): “Quid enim eum [sc., Ciceronem] adiuvat, quod dicit nihil quidem fieri sine causa, sed non omnem causam esse fatalem quia est causa fortuita est naturalis est voluntaria? Sufficit quia omne, quod fit, non nisi causa praecedente fieri confitetur. Nos enim eas causas, quia dicuntur fortuitae, unde etiam fortuna nomen accepi, non esse dicimus nullas, sed latentes, easque tribuimus vel Dei veri vel quorunlibet spirituum voluntati, ipsasque naturales nequaquam ab illius voluntate seiungimus, qui est auctor omnis conditorque naturae.”

15 **Aristot.**, *Physica* II c. 5 (AL VII 68; 196b17–22): “Horum autem alia quidem secundum propositum, alia vero non secundum propositum, ambo autem in his que

1 fiunt] sunt G || a om. G || per om. J 1–2 alio ... propositum] mg. H 2 Sunt] lin. H 3 ab] ab ... utique] utique ab intellectu B 4 ibi om. I 4–5 casum scilicet] s. c. BC 5 scilicet om. J || fortunam] add. Et H 6 hac] secunda C ista BH || etiam om. AC || loquitur] add. philosophus A || *Metaphysicae*] add. cap. ABCDGIJ || *Metaphysicae*] 4 DEFGIJ 7 potentiae] add. potentiales EF add. potentiales sed. exp. G 8 exeunt] sunt I¹ corr. in I² || irrationales] rationales G' irrationales G rationales J' irrationales J² || potentias] potentiales BCD potestates A potentiae G 9 necesse est] necessariae F naturae G' necessariae G || est om. J || quando ut] u. q. BDIJ || possunt] ponitur B possint DHIJ || passivum] passivum et activum] a. e. p. BGH || activum] add. in naturalibus AB || appropinquant] approximatum B appropinquantur G 10 autem] vero BDHIJ 10–11 illas ... pati] mg. G³ 10 vero om. DI || rationales] irrationales G' rationales G² 11 necesse] necessarie DE add. est ADF || et illud] illud vero J 12 V] 5 I || Dei om. EJ add. Cap. ABCD 12–13 Est causa] c. E. J 13 est] lin. H || voluntaria] voluntas quorum primum est causa per accidens scilicet duo alia causae per se A || membra] add. quorum primum est causa per accidens duo alia causae per se. CJ 15 sed] add. etiam BDHIJ || ut] sicut BH || patet] apparet et B || ex om. ABCDHIJ || II] III E 2, J

praemisit: “secundum propositum et non secundum propositum,” et subdit: “ab intellectu et a natura”; et in IX *Metaphysicae*, “rationales et irrationales potentiae.” Per ista tria, “non secundum propositum” et “a natura,” et “potentia irrationalis,” intelligitur illud principium activum quod communiter dicimus naturam; per alia tria intelligit aliud principium activum in quo concurrunt respectu actus extrinseci intellectus et voluntas. Sed utrumque istorum per se acceptum habet suum proprium modum principiandi: intellectus quidem per modum naturae, unde et ad suum proprium actum comparatus natura est, sicut Filius in divinis dicitur produci per modum naturae, licet eius principium productivum sit memoria; voluntas autem semper habet suum proprium modum causandi, scilicet libere, et ideo quando concurrit cum intellectu, ut in productione artificialium, totum dicitur produci libere et a proposito, quia propositum voluntatis est principale et immediatum respectu illius productionis extrinsecae.

sunt propter hoc; quare manifestum est quoniam et in his que sunt secundum necessitatem et in eo quod est sicut frequenter sint quedam circa que contingit esse que est propter hoc. Sunt autem propter hoc quaecumque ab intellectu utique agentur et quaecumque a natura.”

2 **Aristot.**, *Metaph.* IX c. 5 (AL XXV 3.2; 1048a2–8): “... Et haec quidem secundum rationem possunt movere et potentiae ipsorum cum ratione, haec autem irrationabilia et potentiae irrationabiles, et illas quidem necesse in animato esse has vero in ambobus: tales quidem potentias necesse, quando ut possint passivum et activum appropinquant, hic quidem facere illud vero pati, illas vero non necesse.”

1 et] *lin.* F 2 et *om.* BC || a *om.* A 3 ista] illa A || tria *om.* J || et *om.* ABDH
4 et] *add.* a CDI || intelligitur] intelligit BCEJ || illud] idem E *om.* FG 5 com-
muniter] convenienter E || dicimus naturam] n. d. A || alia] ista F || tria *om.* DIJ
|| tria intelligit] intelligit tria C || intelligit] intelligitur ACFG *add.* illud DI || aliud]
aliquod F illud J 6 extrinseci] *add.* et G || intellectus] *add.* seu *antic.* quidam G
7 voluntas] voluntatis C || utrumque *om.* BC || istorum *om.* A *add.* activum H || per
... habet] habet per se acceptum B || habet] habens I 7–8 proprium *om.* ACDIJ ||
proprium] *add.* principium *sed exp.* G 8 modum] *add.* proprium CDIJ 9 pro-
prium] propositum D *add.* modum *sed exp.* G || comparatus] comparatum ACDIJ ||
est sicut] eius sed F 10 dicitur produci] producitur G 11 autem] etiam AB *om.* G
|| semper] per se A || proprium *om.* E post causandi G 11–12 proprium ... cau-
sandi] suum modum causandi proprium H *om.* B 12 causandi] *add.* proprium F
significandi G' *corr. in* G || scilicet] *add.* et F || quando *om.* J || cum *om.* H 13 ut]
sicut BDHI] sic C || dicitur] dicimus H || produci libere] producibile D 14 imme-
diatum] *add.* principium DI 15 illius] istius BDH || extrinsecae] *add.* seu *anticip.* etc.
si etiam quandoque concurrat potentia naturaliter activa cum ipsa voluntate sicut est
de potentiis inferioribus quibus utimur (utuntur I' *corr. in* I²) ad agendum, licet actio prop-
rie ut est illius principii sit per modum naturae, tamen quia totum subiacet voluntati,
ideo libere utimur et dicimus (dicimur I) totum libere agere a principali agente CI

- Unde PHILOSOPHUS IX *Metaphysicae* vult quod ultra intellectum 60
 requiritur aliud determinans ut appetitus vel prohaeresis —alioquin
 simul faceret contraria. Nam ipsa scientia simul ostendit contraria et
 ipsa quantum est ex parte sui esset principium per modum naturae;
 5 et necessario, quantum est ex se, causaret quodlibet respectu cuius
 est potentia. “Illae,” inquit, “contrariorum quare simul faciet contra-
 ria, hoc autem impossibile.” Necesse ergo alterum ad esse quod pro-
 prium est, hoc est, determinans ad unum oppositorum. Et subdit:
 “Dico autem hoc appetitum,” etc.
- 10 Si etiam quandoque concurrat potentia naturaliter activa cum ipsa 61
 voluntate sicut est de potentiis inferioribus quibus utimur ad agendum,
 licet actio proprie ut est illius principii sit per modum naturae, tamen
 quia totum subiacet voluntati, ideo libere utimur et dicimur totum
 libere agere a principali agente. Et hoc modo IX *Metaphysicae*.

1 Hic insererunt codices ABCD paragraphum subsequentem, scilicet, paragraphum quae his verbis ‘Si (vel: sicut) etiam quandoque ...’ incipit, ante hanc paragraphum, aliquibus lectionibus variantibus introductis; codex C. autem textum paragraphi subsequentis bis exhibet, prima vice ante (vide lectiones variantes supra), secunda vice post hanc paragraphum. Attamen codex H hanc paragraphum in margine exhibet, signo intersersionis adhibito.

1 **Aristot.**, *Metaph.* IX c. 5 (AL XXV 3.2, 1048a8–11): “Hae quidem enim omnes una unius factiva, illae autem contrariorum, quare simul faciunt contraria hoc autem impossibile. Necesse ergo ulterius aliquid esse quod dominans. Dico autem hoc appetitum aut prohaeresim.” cf. **Aristot.**, *Metaph.* IX c. 5 (AL XXV 2, 1048a8–11): “Hae namque omnes ut una unius poetice, et illae contrariorum, quare simul faciunt contraria, sed hoc impossibile. Ergo necesse diversum quid esse quod proprium est. Dico autem hoc orexim aut proheresim.” Cf. autem **Aristot.**, *Metaph.* IX c. 5 (1048a8–11) in Bernhard Buerke (ed.), *Das Neunte Buch (Theta) Des Lateinischen Grossen Metaphysik-Kommentars von Averroes* p. 43: “Unaquaeque enim omnium istarum agit aliam, illa vero agunt contraria. Agit igitur contraria insimul, quod est impossibile. Ergo necesse est ut dominus verus sit aliud. Et dico quod hoc est appetitus aut voluntas.”

1 Unde ... *Metaphysicae*] Et hoc modo loquitur 9 *Metaphysicae* ubi B || *Metaphysicae*] *add.* Cap. 3 A || vult] prae 9 J 2 aliud] aliquod G || determinans] terminans C || prohaeresis] *add.* et D 3 ostendit] agit DI 4 ipsa *om.* B || sui] sua A || esset] esse CJ 5 quantum ... se] *om.* B 6 est] *add.* in CDIJ || Illae] Istae B || simul] ibi C sic J || faciet] faceret ABCE 7 autem] est A || Necesse] Necessario CFG || Necesse] *add.* est AC || ergo] igitur ABDFH *om.* C || alterum ad] aliud alterum H || ad] aliquid ABCJ aliquod D quidem I 7–8 proprium] propositum EF 8 hoc est] *om.* I || est²] *add.* est E || subdit] subditur F 9 hoc *om.* ABHI || appetitum] *add.* hoc I 10 Si etiam] sicut A 10–14 Si ... *Metaphysicae*] *om.* I 10 etiam] igitur C autem FGH || etiam quandoque] quando etiam B || quandoque *om.* J || concurrat] concurrat A || naturaliter] naturalis AB 11 inferioribus *om.* A 12 illius] istius B 13 et] *lin.* J || totum² *om.* AFG 14 Et ... *Metaphysicae*] *om.* ABCDJ || modo] vult E || *Metaphysicae*] *add.* loquitur G

[IV.—Tertius Articulus:

D.—Solutio

2. Opinio propria]

- 62 Ad propositum, dico quod, licet aliquod principium possit concurrere in agendo cum voluntate (puta, secundum aliquos obiectum et secundum aliquos intellectus), et illud concurrens, quantum est ex parte sui, sit naturaliter activum, tamen voluntas, per se loquendo, numquam est principium activum naturaliter, quia esse naturaliter activum et esse libere activum sunt primae differentiae principii activi, et voluntas, unde voluntas, est principium activum liberum. Non magis ergo potest esse voluntas naturaliter activa quam natura, ut est principium distinctum contra voluntatem, posset esse libere activa.
- 63 Si quaeratur: Unde est quod voluntas, licet sit necessario agens, non tamen naturaliter agit, cum non possit natura magis esse determinata ad agendum quam quod sit necessitata ad agere? Respondeo: Omne agens naturale vel est omnino primum vel, si est posterius, est ab aliquo priore naturaliter determinatum ad agendum; voluntas numquam potest esse agens omnino primum, sed nec potest esse determinata naturaliter ab aliquo agente superiore. Quia ipsamet est tale activum quod seipsam determinat in agendo, sic ‘intelligendo quod sibi relin-

4 possit] posset ABH 5 in ... voluntate] cum voluntate in agendo BH || puta] scilicet ita I 5–6 obiectum ... aliquos] *om.* A 7 sit *om.* FG || naturaliter] *add.* est G *add.* per se H 8 activum naturaliter] n. a. ABCDHIJ || naturaliter] essentialiter E' corr. *mg.* E² || naturaliter activum] a. n. CDIJ 9 esse *om.* CDIJ || activi *om.* J 9–10 voluntas] voluntatis H 10 unde] ut CDIJ || principium ... liberum] libera activa BCJ libere activa DHI || liberum] libere G || ergo] igitur BDFH 11 esse *om.* I || esse voluntas] v. e. ABG voluntas essentialiter esse H || quam] quod BC || est] *add.* naturale A 11–12 principium distinctum] d. p. BCDHIJ 12 posset] possit BEG || posset esse] esse potest CDIJ 13 Si] Sed A || quaeratur] *add.* quod *sed exp.* F || est] A² marg. || sit] si AG *om.* CHJ || sit ... agens] necessario agat B 13–14 non ... agit] tamen non agit naturaliter CDIJ 14 possit] posset H || natura] alia esse H || natura ... determinata] aliqua causa esse magis determinata B || natura magis] m. n. CDIJ || magis esse] e. m. EF || esse *om.* H 15 agendum] I² || quam] A² || quod *om.* J || sit] sic E || necessitata] necessaria BC necessitas H 16 agens naturale] n. a. (*lin.*) F || est *om.* AC 17 priore] priori ACH || determinatum] determinatur AC || voluntas] *add.* autem A 18 sed] sicut FGI || nec *om.* CD 18–19 determinata naturaliter] n. d. A 19 aliquo] alio EF 20 quod] *add.* secundum F || seipsam] per se ipsam B || quod²] *om.* E *lin.* J² *add.* si BH 20–193.1 relinqueretur] *add.* et BH

queretur, posito actu primo quo voluntas est voluntas, quod si voluntas aliquid necessario velit puta A, non tamen istud velle naturaliter causatur a causante voluntatem, etiamsi naturaliter causaret voluntatem, sed posset contingenter habere vel non habere hoc velle, cum seipsam
5 determinaret ad hoc velle.^c

Quando igitur dicitur quod naturale activum non potest magis deter- 64
minari quam quod necessitetur, respondeo: licet necessarium sit summe determinatum, quoad exclusionem indeterminationis ad utrumlibet, tamen aliquod necessarium alio modo est determinatum quam aliud,
10 sicut ignem esse calidum vel caelum esse rotundum est determinatum a causante simul dante esse caeli et rotunditatem; sed grave est determinatum ad descendendum, non habito necessario ab ipso generante

^c*Hic post verba 'intelligendo quod' usque ad terminum paragraphi codices ACDGIJ verba sequentia exhibent:* Si voluntas necessario velit aliquid puta A, non tamen illud
15 velle naturaliter causatur a causante voluntatem, etiamsi naturaliter causaret voluntatem; sed posito actu primo quo voluntas est voluntas, si ipsa sibi relinqueretur, et posset contingenter habere vel non habere hoc velle, tamen seipsam determinaret ad hoc velle.

4 Scripsimus "cum"; omnes codices autem perperam "tamen" tradunt.

1 posito ... primo] primo actu posito H || est voluntas] *mg.* H || voluntas?²] *add.* se ipsa H || quod *om.* B || si] sit H 2 aliquid ... velit] n. v. a. B || necessario *om.* F || A] alia H || non ... istud] istud tamen velle B || istud] illud FH || velle] non B 3 voluntatem] voluntate H || etiamsi] vel si H 4 cum] *scripsimus* tamen *om.* cod. 6 igitur] ergo AE || quod] *add.* hic? C || potest magis] m. p. F 6–7 magis determinari] d. m. G 7 respondeo] responsio J *add.* quod DIJ || necessarium] activum F 8 determinatum] *add.* per se determinationis *sed exp.* H || indeterminationis] determinationis H || utrumlibet] utrumque BCDHI 9 alio] aliquo A || est] *add.* magis A² (*mg.*) G 10 ignem] lignum B || calidum] *spat. vac. (mg.)* quinque literas comprehendens C || est] esse I corr. I² 10–11 determinatum ... causante] a causante determinatum C 11 causante] *creante* J || simul] ut G vel I || caeli] caelo E || rotunditatem] *add.* et esse ignis et rotunditatem C 12 descendendum] descensum G || necessario *om.* B || necessario] *add.* et esse ignis et caliditatem J || generante] *gravante (dub.)* J 12–194.1 generante ... ipso] *om.* F 14 necessario velit] *om.* A || necessario] necessario ... aliquid] a. v. n. G || A *om.* ACD || non *om.* A || tamen] tantum C || illud *om.* A istud I 15 velle] non G || naturaliter causatur] c. n. G || causatur] *creatur* J || causatur ... naturaliter] *om.* A || causante] *creante* J || voluntatem] voluntate D *corr. ex* voluntate I² || causaret] *crearet* J 16 voluntatem] *mg.* G² volendo volendo I² || volitionem I² || sed] *add.* relinqueretur sibi et *mg.* G² || posito ... est voluntas] *mg.* G² || si ... sibi] quod si *mg.* G² 17 et *om.* A etiamsi I || et] *add.* si D || hoc] illud I

actu descendendi, sed tantum habito ab ipso principio naturaliter determinativo ad descendendum. Voluntas creata, si necessario vult aliquid, non sic est determinata a causante ad illud velle sicut grave ad descensum, sed tantum a causante habet principium determinativum sui ad hoc velle. Si dicas, si descensus gravis causatur a gravitate intrin- 5
seca, tunc grave movet se, quare ergo non aeque libere sicut voluntas se ad illud velle, respectu cuius ipsa voluntas est necessaria ratio cau-
sandi? Respondeo: illa causatio gravitatis respectu descensus gravis est naturalis, quia hoc est hoc et illud est illud.

- 65 Breviter, posset dici quod forma, esse, et modus essendi— agere et 10
modus agendi—sunt immediata; ideo, sicut non est alia ratio quare hoc
habet talem modum essendi, nisi quia est tale ens, sic non est alia ratio
quare hoc habet talem modum agendi, puta libere, licet necessario
agat, nisi quia est tale principium activum, scilicet liberum.

5 Textum vero paene illegibilem ab verbis 'Si autem' usque ad 'illud est illud' codex G exhibet, imo folio humectatione polluto.

5 Duobus verbis exemptis, textus qui incipit verbis 'si dicas' et explicit cum verbis 'illud est illud' a scriptore codicis B inter paragraphos n. 66 et n. 67 interponitur.

14 Cf. **Scotus**, *Ordinatio* I d. 10 nn. 6–9.30–58 (IV 341–342.352–363); Cf. **Scotus**, *Ordinatio* I d. 2 nn. 327–344 (II 322–332).

1 actu] actum E || sed tantum] licet tamen D || tantum] tamen EI || ab ipso] *om.* DI
1–2 determinativo] determinabitur B determinato G || determinativo] *add.* aliquid I
2 Voluntas] *add.* autem CDJ *add.* tamen I || creata] causata G || si] scilicet E' corr.
mg. E² summo I' corr. I² 3 non] nec BH || causante] *creante* ABCDJ 4 descensum]
descendendum C || causante] *creante* ABCDFIJ 5 ad] ab G 5–14 Si ... liberum
(ad finem n. 65)] *om.* A 5–9 Si ... est illud] *om.* EF 5 Si dicas] *om.* BH ||
gravis *om.* BH 6 grave *om.* B || ergo] igitur BDH || aeque] eam D || aeque
libere] l. a. J || voluntas] *add.* movet B 7 se *om.* H || ipsa voluntas] *om.* B ||
voluntas] non J 8 illa *om.* B || gravis] = C gravitatis HI *om.* BJ gravis C gravitat
gravitas D 8–9 est naturalis] n. e. J 9 naturalis] *add.* ista est libera BHJ ||
est *om.* CI 10 Breviter] *add.* igitur CDIJ || quod] *add.* esse BG (*lin.*) || forma]
formae BG || esse *om.* CDIJ 11 modus] modo D || immediata] *add.* et G || non
om. C || alia] aliqua D 12–13 essendi ... modum] *om.* C 12 non] nec H || alia]
aliqua CDI *om.* F 13 modum] *add.* seu *rep.* essendi nisi quia est tale ens sic non est
alia ratio quare hoc habet talem modum BD || libere *om.* D || licet] vel B 14 agat
om. B || est] habet B || activum scilicet liberum] s. a. l. H || liberum] necessarium G

[V.—Ad argumentum in contrarium]

Ad argumentum in contrarium: Dici potest quod intentio AUGUSTINI est 66
 ibi contra Ciceronem, qui negavit praescientiam Dei ne ex illa prae-
 scientia concessa, oporteret eum negare liberum arbitrium nostrum.
 5 AUGUSTINUS autem docet qualiter praescientia et liberum arbitrium
 simul stant, et arguendo: “Si,” inquit, “Deo certus est ordo causarum,
 quod concessit ipse Cicero.” Subdit AUGUSTINUS: “Et ipsae quippe
 nostrae voluntates in causarum ordine sunt, quoniam humanae volun-
 tates humanorum operum causae sunt, atque ita, quia omnes rerum
 10 causas praescivit, profecto in eis causis etiam nostras voluntates igno-
 rare non potuit.”

Et post: “Quomodo ergo ordo causarum, praescienti Deo certus, 67
 illud efficit ut nihil sit in nostra voluntate, cum in ipso causarum ordine

3 **Cicero**, *De natura deorum* III c. 26ss (*De Natura Deorum*, v. II, ed. Arthur Stanley Pease (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), 1017ss.

6 **August.**, *De civ. Dei* V c. 9 n. 3 (CCL XLVII 138): “Non est autem consequens, ut, si Deo certus est omnium ordo causarum, ideo nihil sit in nostrae voluntatis arbitrio. Et ipsae quippe nostrae voluntates in causarum ordine sunt, qui certus est Deo eiusque praescientia continetur, quoniam et humanae voluntates humanorum operum causae sunt; atque ita, qui omnes rerum causas praescivit, profecto in eis causis etiam nostras voluntates ignorare non potuit, quas nostrorum operum causas esse praescivit.”

12 **August.**, *De civ. Dei* V c. 9 n. 4 (CCL XLVII 139): “Quo modo igitur ordo causarum, qui praescienti certus est Deo, id efficit, ut nihil sit in nostra voluntate, cum in ipso causarum ordine magnum habeant locum nostrae voluntates?”

3 ibi] hic G ibidem I *add.* arguere AB || Ciceronem] Ciceronem B auctorem H' Ciceronem (*mg.*) H² || qui] quae I || Dei ne] sine BH || illa] ista ACDFG 3–4 praescientia] *add.* Dei AB 4 concessa] *add.* et ideo G || oporteret] oportet AFG *add.* determinet? A || nostrum *om.* C 6 et] in CI sic EG ita J || Si ... Deo] Inquit si Deo B || inquit] *add.* in H || Deo] Deus ABD || certus] certum vel C || certus est] e. (*mg.*) c. G e. c. H || ordo] *add.* omnium ACDHIJ 7 quod *om.* C || Cicero] et secundo B || Et] Quod F || quippe] quidem ABC 8 nostrae voluntates] v. n. B || quoniam] quia I quomodo E 8–9 quoniam ... operum] quantum voces humanae humanorum actuum B 9 causae sunt] s. c. CDHIJ || atque] at que H || ita] om B || quia *om.* BCDI quod EG || omnes] omnium C 10 causas] om B || profecto] perfecte BC imperfecte (*sed corr.*) H perfectio J || etiam] et BCJ || nostras] nosceretur H' *corr. in mg.* H² 10–11 ignorare ... potuit] stare ... ponit I 12 Quomodo] Quoniam ACD || ergo *om.* GJ igitur BFH || causarum *om.* C || praescienti] praescitarum a H || certus *om.* CDIJ creatus H' *corr.* H² 13 illud] id J || nihil sit] vel tunc A || voluntate *om.* C || in² *om.* C

magnum habeant locum nostrae voluntates?” Et in sequenti capitulo: “Non propterea nihil est in nostra voluntate, quia Deus praescivit quid futurum esset in nostra voluntate; non enim nihil sed aliquid praescivit, profecto et illo praesciente est aliquid in nostra voluntate.” Respondendo autem vult ostendere quomodo simul stent necessitas illa quam in praescito requirit praescientia, et tamen quod praescitum sit in potestate nostra. Hoc quidem non esset verum, si esset ibi necessitas violentiae, de qua ait: “Si nolumus, efficit quod potest, sicut est necessitas mortis.” Sed si est necessitas qualiscumque, de qua solemus dicere, “necesse est ut ita sit aliquid vel ita fiat aliquid,” non oportet timere quod talis necessitas, si ponatur in actu nostro praescito, nobis auferat libertatem, quia ista necessitas praescientiae, vel praesciti ut praesciti, etsi sit necessitas immutabilitatis, non tamen est simpliciter necessitas inevitabilitatis sive omnimodae determinationis, sed tantum est inevitabile ex praesuppositione ista, quod illud est iam praescitum. 15

1 **August.**, *De civ. Dei* V c. 10 n. 2 (CCL XLVII): “Non ergo propterea nihil est in nostra voluntate, quia Deus praescivit quid futurum esset in nostra voluntate. Non enim, qui hoc praescivit. Nihil praescivit. Porro si ille, qui praescivit quid futurum esset in nostra voluntate, non utique nihil, sed aliquid praescivit: profecto et illo praesciente est aliquid in nostra voluntate.”

1 habeant] habeat E'G habeant E² || voluntates] *add.* seu *rep.* in sequenti capitulo non propterea nihil est in nostra voluntate cum in ipso causarum ordine magnum habeant locum nostrae voluntates *concell.*, *signo 'va-cat interposito* H² || Et] Etiam AD 2 propterea] propter hoc E || est *om.* FG || quid] quod EFG 3 voluntate] *add.* seu *rep.* quia Deus praescivit quid futurum esset in nostra voluntate *exp.* H² 3–4 non ... voluntate] *mg.* H² 3 enim] est H || sed] si E *om.* F || aliquid] verum F 4 et ... praesciente] praesciente et illo C || est aliquid] a. e. G 4–5 Respondendo] respondeo G responsio J 5 autem] igitur quia C igitur DI Augustinus G igitur quod J || necessitas illa] i. n. H || quam] qui E 6 praescito] praesciente ABCDFH 6–7 potestate nostra] n. p. H 7 si] sic H 8 nolumus] volumus EIJ || sicut] illud A 9 necessitas] *add.* mortis I || qualiscumque] *add.* est necessitas CDIJ 10 ut] igitur D || aliquid *om.* CJ || vel] *add.* ut G || ita ... aliquid] fiat B || non] *add.* a H || oportet] debet D 11 talis] *add.* esse F || auferat] aufert F 12 ista] illa A || ista necessitas] n. i. I || praescientiae vel] praescibilis praesciti ut H || vel *om.* F || ut praesciti] *om.* ACFH 13 etsi] si A || non] ideo I || tamen est] e. t. AEG || simpliciter necessitas] n. s. ABH 14 sive *om.* CD || est *om.* CFIJ 14–15 inevitabile] in evitabile C 15 ex *om.* BDHIJ || praesuppositione] suppositione ACFG || ista] illa A ita H || quod illud] quia illud (*mg.*) tantum G quia illud J

- Et ad ostendendum quod non qualiscumque necessitas tollat libertatem, subdit illud ex quo argutum est: “Neque enim et vitam Dei et praescientiam,” etc. Si praecise dixisset “praescientiam,” facile esset qualiter illam non ponimus sub necessitate, quae scilicet repugnet libertati, quia libere et contingenter praescit hoc, licet supposito quod praesciat, immutabiliter praesciat. Et eodem modo est de actu meo praescito, quod licet immutabiliter sit praescitus, tamen contingenter ex parte Dei praescientis; et similiter relinquitur contingentia ex parte mei exequentis.
- 10 Sed difficilius est quia addit: “Vitam et praescientiam.” Sed ibi potest 69
esse duplex responsio: Una quod vita accipitur pro actu beatifico, sicut accipitur vita IOHANNIS 17: “Haec est vita aeterna, ut cognoscant te,” et sicut loquitur PHILOSOPHUS XII *Metaphysicae*: “Intellectus actus vita;” et pari ratione actus voluntatis est vita; ista vita non cadit sub necessitate
15 excludente libertatem, etiam in Deo. Quod si intelligatur vita pro vita naturali ipsius Dei, tunc non debet intelligi de illa vita secundum se accepta, sed de ipsa ut a voluntate divina accepta; bene autem potest

2 **August.**, *De civ. Dei* V c. 10 n. 1 (CCL 47, 140): “Neque enim et vitam Dei et praescientiam Dei sub necessitate ponimus, si dicamus necesse esse Deum semper vivere et cuncta praescire.”

12 **Io.** 17:3

13 **Aristot.**, *Metaph.* XII c. 7 (AL XXV 3.2; 1072b25–30): “intellectus actus vita.”

1 Et *om.* C || necessitas] *mg.* H² || tollat] tollit BFG 2 illud] idem G || enim *om.* DGIJ || et *om.* C 3 etc] etiam A || Si] Etiam AD?I Similiter C || esset] *add.* videre ACJ² 4 quae scilicet] quasi AC || repugnet] repugnaret EFG repugnat J 5 libere] *lin.* I² || et *om.* FGJ || hoc] *lin.* H² || supposito] praesupposito BDHI 5–6 praesciat] sciat H' corr. a praesciat H² || praesciat ... praesciat] sciat immutabiliter A praesciat mutabiliter praesciat B immutabiliter praesciat et immutabiliter CD immutabiliter praesciat IJ 6 Et] In H' corr. a H² 6–8 Et ... praescientis] *om.* J 6 meo] nostro AC modo H' *sed exp.* H² 7 quod] quia AC qui G || immutabiliter sit] s. i. A i. scit GH 8 parte *om.* F || similiter] *lin.* H² || contingentia] praescientia J' *sed exp.* J² (later hand) || contingentia] contingenter A || mei] nostri ADHI 10 quia] quod J || et] ad H 11 esse] esse duplex] d. e. EF || responsio] *spat. vac.* comprehendens quinque litteras J || Una *om.* F || accipitur] accipitur I || actu] statu CJ || sicut] sed E' sicut *mg.* E² 12 vita *om.* B || est] *add.* autem A || aeterna *om.* B || cognoscant] cognoscam E || te] *add.* etc. BCDHIJ 13 sicut] sic H || Philosophus *om.* H || vita] *add.* est CDIJ || et *om.* B 14 est vita] v. e. ABCDIJ || vita] *add.* est. *mg.* J || ista] illa AF || ista vita] v. i. H || vita² *om.* G || sub necessitate] *om.* H 15 Quod si] *lin.* I² || intelligatur] intelligitur H || vita pro] p. v. CJ || pro] *add.* ut AC *add.* actu B 16 illa] ista BDHI 17 a] de B || divina] Dei H *om.* J || accepta²] acceptat D acceptata potest F acceptata GH || bene autem] ubi ibi A 17–198.1 bene ... aliquid] potest autem bene aliquid F potest autem aliquid bene G

aliquid in se esse necessarium, etiam necessitate repugnante libertati, quamvis tamen sit libere, immo contingenter acceptum.

- 70 Exemplum: si quis voluntarie se praecipitat et semper in cadendo idem velle continuat, necessario quidem cadit necessitate gravitatis naturalis, et tamen libere vult illum casum; ita Deus, licet necessitate vivat 5 vita naturali, et hoc tali necessitate quae excludit omnem libertatem, tamen libere vult se vivere tali vita; ergo vitam Dei non ponimus sub necessitate; intellige “vitam” ut a Deo libera voluntate dilectam.

8 vitam: subintellige verbum Augustini iam citatum.

1 aliquid in se esse] in se esse aliquid I || in *om.* C || in ... esse] esse in se B || etiam] et B 2 quamvis] quam J || quamvis tamen] quod I² corr. *lin.* I² || immo] in medio EH || acceptum] acceptatum BDGHI 3 quis] aliquis H || voluntarie se] s. v. CJ || praecipitat] praecipitans A || et semper] *om.* BCDGHI 3–4 in ... velle] illud velle in cadendo A 4 idem] illud ABCGHJ || continuat] continuet E || quidem] quod B¹ corr. in B² 4–5 naturalis] *add.* deorsum (*sig. inv. adh.*) G 5 illum] istum BDHI || necessitate] necessario DHJ 6 hoc] *add.* in CDI *add.* etiam J || tali] est A 7 tamen] cum C || libere vult] v. l. G || ergo] igitur BDFH || Dei] *add.* ut B 8 intellige] *dub.* I intelligendo A intelligere J || vitam] vita E || ut] et D || a Deo] actio H restit (*mg.*) H²

THE *QUODLIBETA* OF JOHN OF POUILLY († CA. 1328)
AND THE PHILOSOPHICAL AND THEOLOGICAL
DEBATES AT PARIS 1307–1312

Ludwig Hödl

In the medieval and early modern periods, John of Pouilly was known above all for his trial at the Papal Curia in Avignon (1318–21), where he retracted his censured theses concerning the pastoral authority of the pope following their condemnation, since this condemnation, long afterwards the subject of vigorous defense but also criticism, settled the disastrous conflict over the pastoral privileges of the mendicant orders.¹ John, born in Pouilly (either near Beauvais or, more likely, near Laon), held one of the secular chairs of theology at the University of Paris from 1307 to 1312.² He was a student of Henry of Ghent and Godfrey of Fontaines, and he bragged that he had also been a student of the famous Dominican theologians Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas.³ Therefore, in the 1270s he personally experienced the renaissance of theology at the Dominican *studium* in Paris, but also the disciplinary action against the Parisian philosophers and theologians by Bishop Étienne Tempier.

The secular schools in Paris were particularly affected by the condemnation, since, according to the course of study, their teachers came from the arts faculty. The spokesman for the secular masters in the last quarter of the thirteenth century was Henry of Ghent, one of the advisors (*assessores*) to the Parisian bishop in the condemnation. But as *magister artium* (and thus of philosophy), he was familiar with the influence and impact of philosophy and the arts masters on theology.

¹ See H. Denzinger and A. Schönmetzer, *Enchiridion Symbolorum* (34th ed., Freiburg 1967), p. 287, nos. 921–4.

² On his biography see the still valid article by N. Valois in *Histoire littéraire de la France* 34 (1914), pp. 220–81, and J. Koch, “Der Prozess gegen den Magister Johannes de Polliaco und seine Vorgeschichte,” *RTAM* 5 (1933), pp. 391–422.

³ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* I, q. 5 (P 10vb; for manuscript sigla, see at note 12 below): “...doctores excellentissimi, scilicet Albertus, Thomas et Godefredus...illi mihi contemporanei et conterranei fuerunt et etiam doctores mei...” But when could John have heard Albert and Thomas in Paris?

He wanted to stem this influence and to bring theology back to the patristic tradition. His followers in the schools, the *Gandavistae*, swore by the words of their teacher and would tolerate no contradiction. The ecclesiastical condemnation (under cover of the authority of Holy Scripture) and Henry's reputation within the walls of the University enticed and seduced these followers into academic intolerance, which John of Pouilly at times bemoaned bitterly.

In the controversial question whether the freedom of the will has a rational foundation as free choice (*liberum arbitrium*), which Henry of Ghent and his students rejected in the strongest terms on biblical grounds, John of Pouilly remarks in *Quodlibet* II, q. 13:

'God be praised!' I know—and it was not too long ago—that in Paris there was only one who tried to defend this position, which I hold as correct. God knows the reason and, likewise so do I! Now many defend it at Paris, and among them the better thinkers, and it must be held, as long as the natural capacity to judge lasts and the nature of things does [not] change.⁴

John resisted this "school-conformism" of the *Gandavistae* and promoted the argumentative openness of scientific theology, externally in the realm of the schools and internally in the understanding of science. In the *Quodlibeta* he took this path.

This chapter is divided into five sections with the following topics: 1) How John of Pouilly's *Quodlibeta* I–V (I–VI in the Nuremberg manuscript) are transmitted in two redactions and are part of a larger body of questions; 2) how the scholastic debates in these *Quodlibeta* reveal numerous insights into the theological schools of the University of Paris, above all on the opposition to and rejection of Henry of Ghent and his followers, the *Gandavistae*; 3) John's necessary reorientation of theological knowledge along the lines of Aristotelian thought; 4) how the scholastic disputes reveal the focal points and difficult issues of the discussion: a) the truth of faith and its demonstrability, b) human freedom as freedom of judgment and choice, c) the necessary *habitus* of moral goods, of grace, and of the eternal vision of God, d) the internal and external constitution of the Church, e) current problems; 5) the development of the schools in the *Quodlibeta*.

⁴ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* II, q. 13 (P 58rb).

John of Pouilly's Quodlibeta I–VI

In accordance with the statutes of the University of Paris, John of Pouilly's 1307 promotion to master in the theological faculty began with the *vesperiae*, the introductory disputation on the eve of the promotion, for which the candidate had to propose four questions in advance.⁵ Two senior masters—in the case of John's promotion, Henricus Augustinensis, that is Henry Friemar the Elder (†1340), master of theology since 1305, and (probably) Thomas of Bailly (†1328), master since 1301—posed the question and opened the disputation with their arguments against the thesis of the candidate.⁶ The latter had to respond one last time as bachelor. The next day, in the morning, the incipient master, acting for the first time as such, had to take over the reins of the disputation in the *aula* of the bishop of Paris' residence, putting forth his *determinatio*, the master's doctrinal decision. This act of official disputation and determination signed and sealed the master's position and authority.

Naturally, for the promotion to master, the scholars chose themes of contemporary debate in which they could put their ability to argue and to determine to the test.⁷ John of Pouilly discussed God's creative power with respect to the infinite plurality of individuals, as regards future contingency and immaterial creatures. Once again the problem of free will arises in the context of this question: Does what is (contingent) individual and future come to be, exist, and remain under a persistent essential form, the divine idea, or do only creatable-temporal circumstances meet the requirements of the free, time-bound choice of the will? In their response, scholastics gave opinions that were in sharp opposition, an opposition that in turn divided their positions on the doctrine of divine ideas.

John's *aula* determination ended in an uproar, as I have discussed elsewhere.⁸ The students and bachelors engaged in a battle of words,

⁵ See J. Koch, *Durandus de S. Porciano O.P. Forschungen zum Streit um Thomas von Aquin zu Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts*, part 1 (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters, 13) (Münster 1927), pp. 160–8: "Die Vesperien und die Aula des Durandus."

⁶ John of Pouilly, *Quaestio ordinaria* 7 (P 219va): "...sed doctores aliqui etiam contra dicta tunc arguerunt, primo Henricus Augustinensis..." *Quodl.* II, q. 13 (N 47va).

⁷ Cf. the themes of Durand of St Pourçain, who was promoted to master a few years later, in 1313. Koch, *Durandus*, pp. 167ff.

⁸ L. Hödl, "Die Aulien des Magisters Johannes von Pouilly und der scholastische

in which the *Gandavistae*, the followers of Henry of Ghent, stood out. "One shouted after the other," John writes, "such that I could not say a word."⁹ His two fellow masters, the co-disputants, did not, as François-Xavier Putallaz believes, cause this incident, but rather the students who wanted to block the magisterial determination and thereby John's promotion.¹⁰ John of Pouilly's conflict with the *Gandavistae* henceforth grew all out of proportion and the protagonists did not refrain from personal disparagements and insults, with accusations of ignorance and negligence. But the followers of Henry of Ghent found allies in the other schools, who severely criticized the new master's doctrine of the will; indeed in the same place John opines that his opponents have grouped together like the (biblical) Pharisees and Sadducees at the condemnation of Jesus (Matthew 22:23). The scientific environment of the University of Paris in the first decade of the fourteenth century was still very tense. The Condemnation of 1277 and a fundamentalist party among the theologians opposed academic freedom. John of Pouilly cast himself with Godfrey of Fontaines on the side of the secular masters in Paris in favor of academic freedom in research and teaching at the University.

John of Pouilly wrote five or, in the Nuremberg tradition, six *Quodlibeta*. But this sixth Nuremberg *Quodlibet* contains just a single question, as manuscript N explicitly states: "Hic incipit VI quodlibet magistri Joh<annis> de Polliaco et est una quaestio sola, videlicet utrum Deus possit producere multitudinem actu infinitam." "Can God bring about in actuality an infinite number (of creatures)?" As was shown above, this question originally comes from the vespers. John "labeled" it a *Quodlibet* and imparted to it the literary quality of a public University disputation. He published it together with the five "official" *Quodlibeta*. On the one hand, they were published in accordance with the statutes by the University stationers and, on the other, by his own account John also published them himself in their entirety. The difference between institutional and personal publication deserves great attention, since it indicates the development of free-standing and independent authorial publications.

Streit über die Begründung der menschlichen Willensfreiheit," *Scholastik* 35 (1960), pp. 57–75.

⁹ John of Pouilly, *Quaestio ordinaria* 7 (P' 209vb): "...suis clamoribus unus post alium sic me impediunt, quod non potui dicere verbum..."

¹⁰ F.-X. Putallaz, *Insolente liberté. Controverses et condamnations au XIII^e siècle* (Vestigia, 15) (Fribourg 1995), pp. 65ff.

As Glorieux showed,¹¹ *Quodlibeta* I–III were published in a first redaction in Paris, BnF lat. 14565 (= P'). This publication, under the auspices of the University stationers, contains the “notariially” certified, official version, which was copied down at the disputation and (in accordance with precise regulations) was made available to the public. The remaining four manuscripts report the unified, complete version of the *Quodlibeta*, which John himself undertook:

P = Paris, BnF lat. 15372

F = Firenze, BNC, II.I.117

N = Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cent. III.75

V = Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. lat. 1017¹²

The principal witness is Paris, BnF lat. 15372, which states explicitly that it was written in 1328, and which was part of John's legacy to the library of the Sorbonne (later, it went from there into the Bibliothèque nationale de France). This information concerning the origin of the manuscript should also serve as an indicator of John's year of death, for which the traditional “post 1321” is merely conjectural. After his return from Avignon in 1321 and his retraction of the condemned theses, John dedicated himself to the publication of his opus. The other witnesses to the text, F and V, are both copies that were made in the stationers' workshop on the basis of the borrowed exemplar. The Vatican copy is (according to my observations) extremely rife with errors. The Nuremberg manuscript is demonstrably a copy of P, and therefore deserves special consideration.¹³

John of Pouilly reworked and published his *Quodlibeta* as a unified whole. There are clear traces of this, if one notes that the frequent internal references extend not only to the preceding questions that have already been treated, but also to the following questions that are still to be discussed. In *Quodlibet* II, q. 3 (concerning the threefold distinction), he cites what was said “supra in quaestione praecedenti, membro 3 in secunda ratione,” immediately he refers ahead to “infra quinto quolibet

¹¹ Glorieux I, pp. 223–8, II, p. 181.

¹² L. Hödl, “Die Kritik des Johannes de Polliaco an der philosophischen und theologischen ratio in der Auseinandersetzung mit den averroistischen Unterscheidungslehren,” *Miscellanea M. Grabmann, Mitteilungen des Grabmann-Institutes* III (Munich 1959) (pp. 11–30), pp. 12–13.

¹³ L. Hödl, “‘Non est malitia in voluntate...’ Die magistrale Entscheidung der Pariser Theologen von 1285/86 in der Diskussion des Johannes de Polliaco, *Quodl. I*, q. 10,” *AHDLMA* 66 (1999), pp. 245–97, esp. pp. 264–6.

quaestione tertia,” and a little later there appears once more, “ut ostendetur evidentissime infra quodlibet V quaestione tertia.”¹⁴ These precise indications of passages make it clear that John had his entire opus at hand. John was also able to take the time and trouble to enrich the apparatus fontium. For *Quodlibet* I, q. 11, he studied the doctrinal position of Thomas Aquinas concerning the (otherworldly) vision of God and the necessary disposition for it, collecting passages from all the important works of Thomas and putting them together in a remarkable apparatus that thoroughly corresponds to our contemporary notions of an apparatus fontium.¹⁵

A comparison of the final text with the earlier, University-published one (of the first three *Quodlibeta*) shows—as has long been noted¹⁶—that John inserted numerous questions into the draft, such as, for example, questions 3–5 of *Quodlibet* II, concerning the demonstrability of Creation in time. He finished this opus with a comprehensive analysis of its entirety, such that this authentic text of the *Quodlibeta* also attests to their being revised at the master’s “desk.” In the thirteenth century, *quodlibeta* are the *litteratura* of the schools, but in the fourteenth century they increasingly become also the “literature of the desk.”

In addition to John of Pouilly’s authentic *Quodlibeta*, the (surviving) collections of his questions should not be neglected, above all the one in Paris, BnF lat. 15371, which likewise came to the Sorbonne from John’s legacy: “Iste liber est pauperum de Sorbonia... de legato magistri Johannis de Polliaco, in quo continentur multae quaestiones disputatae ab eodem.” Moral-theological questions, especially concerning the essential and ethical significance of *habitus*, take up a great deal of space. These collections of questions need to be examined. It goes without saying, however, that a critical edition of the *Quodlibeta* is first called for. Since this work, in turn, requires the critical edition of the Henry of Ghent’s *Quodlibeta*, so far further progress has not been possible.

¹⁴ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* II, q. 3 (P 36ra, V 48rb).

¹⁵ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* I, q. 11 (P 22ra, V 28va).

¹⁶ Hödl, “Die Aulien,” p. 64.

The Scholastic Debates with the Gandavistae in the School of Henry of Ghent

The disputations in the schools proceeded by means of arguments *pro et contra* that were put forth by the students and bachelors. These were under the direction of the masters *actu regentes*, who officially supervised the sessions and determined the debates. In theology, the arguments were supported by Holy Scripture, Church doctrine, and philosophical *ratio*. The latter had been restrained by theological reins since the Condemnation of 1277, particularly in the school of Henry of Ghent. At his promotion to master, John of Pouilly must have experienced this restriction.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century, John of Ghent taught in the school of Henry of Ghent; documents witness him as master of theology and *canonicus* of Paris in 1303 and again in 1304–06.¹⁷ In 1309 he acted as a theological expert in the case against Marguerite Porete.¹⁸ On 11 March 1310 he acquired from Pope Clement V the privilege of receiving the proceeds of his parochial prebend of Kieldrecht in Tournai for three years while teaching at Paris.¹⁹ Assuming that John of Ghent's writings were not published under the pseudonym of John of Jandun (Genduno, Gauduno, Ganduno <Ardenne>), we have no direct literary witness to his doctrine and must rely entirely on information contained in the *Quodlibeta* of John of Pouilly.²⁰ This is all the more noteworthy in that it also markedly limits our information concerning the school of Henry of Ghent and its later life (to the great detriment of the *Magister Sollemnis*). It cannot be excluded that this literary blockade of the school of the *Gandavistae* was also directed against the master from Ghent, one of the *assessores* of the Paris condemnation, which, insofar as it pertained to Thomas Aquinas, was repealed in 1325.

In the *quaestiones ordinariae* of his promotion to master, John of Pouilly sharply opposed the "intentional distinction" that Henry of Ghent had employed in connection with the classical (real and rational) distinctions. On the basis of Aristotelian logic and categorical theory, John of Pouilly could understand and permit this additional distinction only as

¹⁷ CUP II, nos. 635 (p. 103) and 658 (p. 121).

¹⁸ CUP III, no. 660.

¹⁹ CUP III, no. 660 (pp. 142ff.).

²⁰ See C. Lohr, "Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought and Religion," *Traditio* 26 (1970) (pp. 135–216), p. 208.

a special type of rational distinction. John of Ghent, in the school of the master from Ghent, rejected this criticism and accused the newly promoted master from Pouilly of “ignorantia” and “negligentia” of Henry of Ghent’s doctrinal tradition. Either he did not understand this doctrine of distinction or he had not read the supporting arguments at all (in the writings of Henry of Ghent). For the new master, this accusation was as much an affront to his honor as it was abusive; he responded and he recorded this reply in *Quodlibet* I, q. 5. This question is an important source for the school tradition of the master of the *Gandavistae*: “Can a difference of things according to reason actually, formally, and completely precede every operation of the intellect?”²¹ The formulation of the question is remarkable! It concerns not simply what intentional difference distinguishes, but rather whether such a distinction is formally and essentially something other than the (usual) rational distinction. Irrespective of this intentional distinction—however it may be understood—it is asked whether something other than the rational distinction could be meant by it. John of Pouilly firmly denies that, in the spirit and teaching of Henry of Ghent, the intentional distinction is some other (free-standing) third difference, and refers to a series of questions from Henry of Ghent’s fifth and tenth *Quodlibeta*.²²

The master from Ghent understood *intentio* not only in the logical sense of first and second intentions, concepts, and categories (species and genus); “intention” also means that formal element of meaning of the essence without which the essence cannot be understood (*intellectus tentio*).²³ The intentional distinction is not real, nor is it purely rational; it ranks as formal. In *Quodlibet* X, q. 7, Henry of Ghent, using the classic example of the identity and difference of *essentia* and *esse*, showed his understanding of the intentional rational difference.²⁴ Properly understood, that is, in an absolute sense, the creative essence is always identical with its [created] being, but only from the specific consideration of *esse*

²¹ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* I, q. 5 (P 8ra–11ra; V 10va–14va): “Utrum differentia rerum secundum rationem actualiter, formaliter et complete possit praecedere omnem operationem intellectus.”

²² John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* I, q. 5 (P 8vb, citing Henry of Ghent, *Quodl.* V, q. 12, and 9rb, Henry of Ghent, *Quodl.* X, q. 7).

²³ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* I, q. 5 (P 8va): “... appellant non primam aut secundam... sed aliquid pertinens realiter ad simplicitatem essentiae alicuius natum praecise concipi absque alio a quo non differt re absoluta...”

²⁴ Henry of Ghent, *Quodl.* X, q. 7, ed. R. Macken (Leuven 1981), pp. 145–97: “Utrum ponens essentiam creaturae esse idem re cum suo esse potest salvare creationem.” (Cf. esp. pp. 155, 160, 182, 186: “differant ratione vel potius intentione.”)

can it be distinguished. This distinction is not only logically rational, but also intentional. Henry of Ghent explained the intentional difference as a specific modal conceptual distinction, but not at all as a third type, separate and different from the real and rational distinctions.²⁵

John admits it! Henry of Ghent may have occasionally “incidentaliter” spoken of a specific intentional difference, but without deliberately coming back to it. But one should not take such an occasional observation to be his main doctrine; on the contrary, his main doctrine should put a chance observation in its proper light. John of Ghent had drawn the wrong conclusion.

I have often heard this opinion, especially in their determination of a *Quodlibet* one time, but they never said that the intentional is contained within the rational distinction, rather they taught that it is between the real and the rational distinction. Although being and essence do not differ in reality, they do in intention, and this middle distinction in intention is between the real and the rational difference, less than the real, yet more than the rational.²⁶

This doctrine of distinction did not come from Henry of Ghent, but rather it was developed in his school.

John of Pouilly is certain of Henry of Ghent’s true doctrine of distinction. His opponents scurrilously accused him of ignorance and negligence.²⁷ They too probably let themselves be convinced by a pile of proofs. He refers to John of Jandun as a “glomerista,” as a “heaper”; the scribe of the Vatican manuscript could not read this word, and wrote “geometra.”²⁸ He now insults his colleagues, i.e., John of Ghent, as dreamers “who most recently reckon some of their dreams to be true and maintain that there is a medium between these two, saying that some things differ according to intention.”²⁹

Using the logic of Avicenna, he then accuses his opponent of a double sin of dialectic! They leave the boundaries of linguistic expression, which are not exceeded with impunity, and give a new, unfamiliar meaning to the concept of intention.³⁰ Avicenna’s logic only speaks of first and second intentions: “*logicus enim considerat secundas intentiones*

²⁵ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* I, q. 5 (P 10rb).

²⁶ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* I, q. 5 (P 11rb).

²⁷ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* I, q. 5 (P 10ra).

²⁸ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* I, q. 5 (P 10ra, V 13ra).

²⁹ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* I, q. 5 (P 8ra).

³⁰ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* I, q. 5 (P 8ra).

applicatas primis.” If Henry of Ghent had changed this usage, he would have certainly discussed it at length, since “in caustum et pergamenum,” in polemic and in writing, words never failed him.³¹

The doctrine of the three types of distinction, with the problematic notion of the *distinctio media*, thus should not be attributed uncritically to Henry of Ghent. He spoke often and explicitly of the intentional distinction, but he understood it as a rational one, and qualified it in its specific application to mean the formal aspect of the essence. The school of the *Gandavistae* drew further conclusions from this; John of Pouilly’s opposition and their dispute with him contributed. The master from Pouilly could be right when he says that his colleague sought to overcome the criticism by means of a “fuga,” a flight to the front.³² The school had its doctrine of three types of distinction, making regular use of it henceforth.

*The Theological Reorientation of John of Pouilly towards
Aristotelian Philosophy*

The doctrine of the three types of distinction contradicts Avicenna’s logic as much as it does the philosophy of Aristotle, who, as John of Pouilly knew and argued, in book IV of the *Metaphysics*, and again in books V and VI, understood the logical distinction ontologically: “ens in anima—ens extra animam.”³³ The *media distinctio* in the school of Henry of Ghent cannot harken back to tradition. Repeatedly John of Pouilly finds himself compelled to invoke the indispensable authority of Aristotle: first and extensively in the already mentioned question 5 of *Quodlibet* I, in criticizing the doctrine of distinction, then later again in question 7, in the conflict over the validity of Aristotelian categorical theory, above all the theory of (categorical) relation.

Henry of Ghent and his school vigorously campaigned for the revision (starting with Trinitarian theology) of the Aristotelian table of the categories, and above all for a reworking of the concept of relation. This work brought the *Doctor Sollemnis* all honor and recognition, not

³¹ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* I, q. 5 (P 10rb).

³² John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* I, q. 5 (P 10rb): “Sed propter argumenta mea hanc fugam innoverunt. Hoc dico, quia dixerunt me locutum fuisse ex ignorantia vel negligentia.”

³³ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* I, q. 5 (P 8ra).

only in his school. In his school the presumptuous line went: if both philosophers, Aristotle and Henry, had lived at the same time, then their teacher would have surrounded and overcome the other teacher. Theirs was the real “regula in natura” that Averroes bragged Aristotle had been.³⁴ This *bon mot* of the school, which is more suited to the mouths of students than to those of masters, clearly illustrates the arrogant attitude of the *Gandavistae*, who were inspired by the *Doctor Sollemnis*. John of Pouilly declared himself resolutely and unmistakably in favor of the authority of Aristotle, and in both questions he twice incorporates “laudes Aristotelis,” as a gloss in the Vatican manuscript indicates.³⁵ In both lists John of Pouilly collects a series of *sententiae* from Antiquity and the Middle Ages that stress the authority of Aristotle. Martin Grabmann published the longer one (from question 5) as an “unparalleled witness of esteem for the Philosopher.”³⁶ In the shorter list (from question 7) the lasting authority of Aristotle is opposed to the fading authority of Henry of Ghent and his supporters:

Whom shall we follow? Aristotle with the greater insight, and who is reputed as the most learned in the human sciences, or those people, who have recently appeared and only serve to subvert science, as is clear to those who read their writings?

I deem it safer to follow Aristotle, because, according to the Commentator [Averroes] in I *De generatione*, he is deemed to have said nothing without strong proof; but these people say everything without proof, or if they induce a proof, it does not even attain the level of a probable opinion (*non attingit sermonem probabilem*).

Again, the Commentator says of Aristotle in III *De anima*, “I believe that this man was the measure which nature fashioned to show the highest perfection possible in material things.” But nobody believes such a thing about those people, rather they seem to have been an ambiguity in nature.

Again, as Alexander says—and as the Commentator reports in XII *Metaphysics*, comment 18—“[I follow Aristotle] because his judgment is less doubtful and is more suitable to be true”; but the judgment of those

³⁴ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* I, q. 5 (P 10vb); see on this L. Hödl, “Die Opposition des Johannes de Polliaco gegen die Schule der Gandavistae,” *Bochumer Philosophisches Jahrbuch* 9 (2004), pp. 115–77, esp. pp. 144ff.

³⁵ L. Hödl, “Die Unterscheidungslehren des Heinrich von Gent in der Auseinandersetzung des Johannes de Polliaco mit den Gandavistae,” in *Henry of Ghent and the Transformation of Scholastic Thought*, G. Guldentops and C. Steel, eds. (Leuven 2003), pp. 371–86.

³⁶ M. Grabmann, *Mittelalterliches Geistesleben* II (Munich 1936), pp. 101–2: “Das Werturteil des Johannes de Polliaco über Aristoteles.”

people is more doubtful and is more suitable to be false, as is clear in nearly everything.

Again, [I follow Aristotle], because the Commentator says at the beginning of *De coelo et mundo*: when someone considers the opinion of Aristotle and that of his adversaries, he will find that from the opinion of the others, namely of those people, follow many impossibilities and he will find that from the opinion of Aristotle nothing impossible follows, and hence he will acquire greater trust than he had before this consideration. Therefore Alexander said, "We are only convinced by the judgment of this man among all others because we see that it has less ambiguity and is farther from contradiction." But many impossible conclusions follow from the judgment of those people, and their judgment has the greatest ambiguity and is rife with contradictions, and therefore, having abandoned their judgment, one should adhere to the judgment of Aristotle. But I say this not only because of the present question, but because in nearly everything where one can opine thus or differently, I do not know by what presumption, they seek to contradict Aristotle.³⁷

Strictly speaking "those people" is Henry of Ghent, but the master from Pouilly later explicitly adds to the "isti" the "sequaces" of the *Gandavistae*, whom he reproaches for turning away from Aristotle and perverting his thought. The theologian from Ghent revised the Aristotelian theory of the categories, rejected its distinction between substance and accident, and, starting from the notion of relation, developed a new concept of the Aristotelian table. "In every being one must consider essence and relation to being, so that only three genera can be observed in the table of categories: the substance of the quantitatively and qualitatively determined thing, its existence in the manner of being-in-another, and in the manner of the relation of being-in-another-and-to-another (*in alia ad aliud*)."³⁸

Relation adds nothing to the thing; being ordered to another is an aspect of the thing. Respect changes nothing in the thing's makeup. The numerous local and temporal, active and passive, positive and habitual aspects of things need no foundation other than the thing itself. In God, the relations are founded in the essence itself and constitute this essence in its threefold "suppositum." In its relations, the Trinitarian divine essence is absolutely and completely one in form. In a theological context, Henry of Ghent fundamentally changed the

³⁷ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* I, q. 7 (P 11vb), ed. Hödl, "Die Opposition," pp. 161–2.

³⁸ Henry of Ghent, *Quodl.* V, q. 6, ed. Badius, f. 161rD.

philosophical notion of relation. This conception has been extensively debated down to this day.³⁹

The school of John of Ghent accentuated Henry of Ghent's conceptual inquiries on relation in two ways: relation as "modus essendi" and "respectus purus." The mere relation, stripped bare of reality, can only be known by reference to a thing, and then as "modus," as a way of being of the thing. By means of the notions "modal" and "intentional" the *Gandavistae* opposed the prevailing theory of relation as an accident of a substance. That is, in this sense relation is a "compositum" that form never permits. For the supporters of Henry of Ghent, this theory is philosophically and theologically impossible. In eleven arguments John of Pouilly summarizes the criticism of his disputation opponents.⁴⁰ In fact, the theological difficulties of the Aristotelian notion of relation could not be overlooked; Duns Scotus also discussed them in his *Quodlibet* (1305/07).⁴¹

John of Pouilly's criticism of the reinterpretation of the doctrine of relations by the school of Henry of Ghent concentrated above all on the oft-invoked analysis of relation as "purus respectus," "pura habitudo," "purus modus." John rebukes their incessant, uncontrolled argumentation, which relies on the notion of the modal: "They fill the whole world with their *intentiones* and *modi*."⁴² In the end, one knows absolutely nothing about what they actually mean by the notion of "modi"! If relation is not founded in reality, and thus must be distinguished from substance, then it cannot be relevant to reality either. A relation must be determined in reality, starting from the thing, on the one hand by the point of reference ("terminus ad quem"), and on the other by the "terminus a quo." The real relation is determined in reality.

In this connection John of Pouilly accused his colleague of not being a realistic thinker, not a "realis." Then he permitted the accusation that he himself was a "compositus realis"; this was better than being a "non-realis

³⁹ See the most recent investigation by J.C. Flores, *Henry of Ghent: Metaphysics and the Trinity, With a Critical Edition of Question Six of Article Fifty-five of the Summa Quaestionum Ordinariam* (Ancient and Medieval Philosophy, 36) (Leuven 2006).

⁴⁰ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* I, q. 7, ed. Hödl, "Die Opposition," pp. 166–7.

⁴¹ John Duns Scotus, *Quodl.* I, q. 3 (ed. Lyon 1639, pp. 66–88): "Utrum ista duo possint simul stare quod relatio ut comparata ad oppositum sit res, et ut comparata ad essentiam sit ratio tantum." The formulation of the question clearly betrays the affinity with Henry of Ghent.

⁴² John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* I, q. 7, ed. Hödl, "Die Opposition," p. 171.

omnino.”⁴³ John of Pouilly was not yet familiar with the designation of *nominalis*, but he would have numbered his opponents among them. A *nominalis* is someone who abandons propositional logic.

The Theological Focal Points of John of Pouilly's School Disputations

Quaestiones de quolibet concern contemporary themes that bachelors and masters deemed worthy and necessary of discussion. In many cases they illuminate particular historical elements that only in retrospect can be brought together in a formal frame to make the whole visible. But John occasionally also discussed thematically related problems, as in *Quodlibet* II, qq. 2–5, the problem of creation in time, qq. 11–13, the question of the rational freedom of choice and of the will, or in *Quodlibet* V, qq. 13–14, the theme of the perfect internal and external constitution of the Church. Together these running themes illuminate the focal points of theology, clarifying the status and the course of the history of ideas in the transition to the later Middle Ages. They deserve our attention.

The Truth of Faith of Creation and Its Demonstrability

The theme of the eternity of the world or of creation in time appears in all *quodlibeta* as a problem linked to the Condemnation of 1277. Is the first article of faith rational in the sense of Romans 1:20 or, according to the Condemnation of 1277, can it also be demonstrated, as the bishop of Paris and his theological advisors believed? The aforementioned questions 3–5 of *Quodlibet* II, which John of Pouilly revised, address this problem; in *Quodlibet* V, q. 4, the whole complex of questions once again comes up for discussion; and finally he dedicates his entire “quodlibetal” attention to the question, “Can eternal God essentially cognize and create (in time) the singular and plural, the contingent and future?” elevating this solitary question to the rank of a *quodlibet*.⁴⁴

Ultimately, these questions concerning the eternal cognizability and time-determined creation of the cosmos deal with the distinction between the biblical knowledge of faith and philosophically demon-

⁴³ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* I, q. 7, ed. Hödl, “Die Opposition,” p. 173.

⁴⁴ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* VI (N 162ra–166va); cf. note 13.

strable science. John distinguished between them very clearly, rooting philosophical science primarily in the understanding of the text. He cited textual passages continuously with very precise references, as he was accustomed to do for Scriptural interpretation. Does the content of the revealed truth of Creation in time agree with the philosophical tradition of Aristotle? Repeatedly John had to answer this question negatively: the writings of Aristotle, in book VIII of the *Physics* and in book X of the *Metaphysics*, allow for no demonstration that the unmoved mover can be understood as creative cause.⁴⁵ If God, the unmoved mover, corresponds to the first cause, then it cannot be concluded by means of Aristotle that God is the creative originator of each and every individual. The (secondary) intelligences and the heavens are freestanding forces and powers. Aristotle did not know the revealed truth of Creation and cannot be held to account for it. The cognitions achieved under faith are probable, but they are not demonstrations. “But I do not care if you use them as *demonstrationes*, because it holds from the fact that it is not a demonstration: demonstration starts with things that are known in themselves, or leads to things known in themselves; but the articles of faith are not of this sort.”⁴⁶

Under the pressure of the Parisian Condemnation of 1277, Henry of Ghent and later, more particularly, the Dominican Hervaeus Natalis professed themselves in favor of the rational demonstrability of Creation.⁴⁷ John of Pouilly rejects these efforts harshly. He who reads the text of the Philosopher “superficially” (*superficialiter*) does injury to the understanding of the Philosopher and of theology. At times he responds to these attempts, especially to that of Hervaeus Natalis, with evident derision: “And if they intend to demonstrate by mockeries and cackles, I confess that I cannot resist them by my own powers, but rather I must hire an actor to sit next to me.”⁴⁸ In another passage, he accuses his opponent of either not knowing the text of Aristotle or of not understanding the Latin.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* II q. 2 (P 31va–b).

⁴⁶ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* II q. 3 (P 39va, V 53vb).

⁴⁷ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* II q. 3 (P 36ra, V 48rb; P 38ra, V 50vb).

⁴⁸ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* II q. 3 (P 41rb, V 55ra): “Et si per derisiones et cachinnos ipsi velint demonstrare, confiteor me non posse resistere propriis viribus, sed oporteret me conducere histrionem qui sedebit iuxta.” The scribe of the Vatican manuscript could not read *cachinnos*!

⁴⁹ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* II q. 3 (P 40vb, V 54rb).

The conflict with the Dominican theologian Hervaeus, who, along with John, had obtained the promotion to master in 1307, is particularly charged in the *Quodlibeta*. In *Quodlibet* IV, q. 2, he accused Hervaeus of ignorance, even of being misguided, in his treatise on the “verbum mentis.”⁵⁰ Could this be a foreshadowing of the case that the Parisian mendicants brought against John at the Papal Curia on account of his theses on Church governance? In his *Quodlibet* of Advent 1308, Hervaeus criticised his secular colleague’s theology of Creation, and Pouilly, in turn, in his third *Quodlibet* (1309), strongly refuted this criticism. Prospero T. Stella has carefully traced these attacks.⁵¹

In the debate over the (philosophical) demonstrability of creation in time, John of Pouilly revealed the boundaries of the Condemnation of 1277 and contributed to neutralizing the condemnation from the inside, from the domain of theological science. The condemnation served neither theology and Holy Scripture, nor the Philosopher and the study of Aristotle, because it did not respect the boundaries of the two different fields. The creation in time of the world through God and the ordering of the cosmos with an unmoved mover could not be reduced to a single concept.

Human Freedom as Freedom of Judgment and Choice in John of Pouilly’s Quodlibetal Debates

The burning issue of quodlibetal disputations that most occupied schools, masters, and students concerned the understanding of human freedom. In the fourteenth century, the Paris condemnation of theses limiting and determining the freedom of the will with respect to the intellect⁵² received full attention in the school of Henry of Ghent. The student unrest at the promotion of the master from Pouilly and his own testimony about the constraints on his teaching are proof that it was difficult for self-critical reasoning in theology to obtain freedom of judgment again. But John of Pouilly had set himself on it, in spite of

⁵⁰ Hödl, “Die Kritik,” p. 18.

⁵¹ P.T. Stella, “Intentio Aristotelis, secundum superficiem suae litterae. La ‘Replicatio contra magistrum Herveum Praedicatorum’ di Giovanni di Pouilly,” *Salesianum* 23 (1961), pp. 481–528.

⁵² According to the count of R. Hissette, *Enquête sur les 219 articles condamnés à Paris le 7 mars 1277* (Leuven-Paris 1977), p. 219, these are articles 150–169.

his negative experiences with the *Gandavistae*. The right will of men in conformity with right reason is free will.

In 1307, the year of his promotion to master, he debated in *Quodlibet* I, q. 10, the resolution of the Parisian masters of theology concerning the assessment of the doctrinal orthodoxy of Giles of Rome (probably 1285/86, on the occasion of his rehabilitation as master),⁵³ and in *Quodlibet* II, qq. 9–14, taking into account the Paris Condemnation of 1277, he argued that the act of the will, in its complex, entire, and whole shape, was an “actus exercitus.” These two official Parisian communications of doctrine predetermined John’s future discourse, above all with the school of Henry of Ghent.

From the beginning of his tenure as master of theology (1276), Henry of Ghent opposed vehemently the integration and linking of the free (human) will to practical reason and maintained that such determination and restriction of the will was philosophically and theologically false. The rational binding of the will to the intellect limits, even cancels, its freedom. The example of the drunk in book VII of the *Nichomachean Ethics* of Aristotle shows how reason, led astray and corrupted by the passions, limits the freedom of the will. Moreover, the Apostle Paul, in chapter 7 of his *Letter to the Romans*, makes the sinner responsible for his guilt. As theologian, Henry of Ghent can only understand freedom and make it understandable in the sense that the will is always, even in the “nunc stans” of its decision, capable of opposites.⁵⁴

The theses of 1277 that were condemned by the bishop of Paris—a condemnation that Henry of Ghent had reinforced with his support—fell between opposing and denying outright the intellect’s (rational) freedom of judgment. But in 1286, during the rehabilitation process of Giles of Rome, the Parisian masters had to concede that an “erroneous reason” was a requirement for an evil will: “*non est malitia in voluntate, nisi sit error in ratione.*” Henry of Ghent took great pains to bring this position, which he had to deal with as a member of the committee, in line with the Condemnation of 1277: erroneous judgment is not the cause of the corrupt will, but rather its penalty. In *Quodlibet* X he allowed himself to be convinced by Augustine’s exposition of Psalm 123:3, “Perhaps they had swallowed us up alive,” that the penalty of

⁵³ Hödl, “Non est malitia.”

⁵⁴ On Henry’s of Ghent’s doctrine of the will, cf. R. Macken, “Heinrich von Gent im Gespräch mit seinen Zeitgenossen über die menschliche Freiheit,” *Franziskanische Studien* 59 (1977), pp. 125–82.

misguided willing is corrupted and clouded thought and awareness.⁵⁵ Even at the temporal instant of the good or evil choice, the will remains free to will the opposite. In order to establish conceptually the simultaneity of freedom of choice with error, Henry of Ghent had to make questionable distinctions in the concepts of “error” and “*instans*,” which John of Pouilly rightly criticised severely.

In *Quodlibet* II, qq. 9–14, John of Pouilly engaged the extremely formal, fundamental discussion on the freedom of the will with specific questions concerning the concrete act of the will (“*actus exercitus*”): Is the external act of the will also formally a moral good (q. 9)? Is it directed to many things at the same time as to the ultimate goal (q. 10)? Is the intellect able to determine and “immobilize” the will through practical judgment such that at the instant of decision it is no longer capable of willing the opposite (q. 11)? Can the will, when determined by the intellect toward the goal, conform to judgment and determine it (q. 12)? Is goal-willing also determined by something other than the intellect (q. 13)? Is the intellect or the will the more principal cause of our acts (q. 14)?

The broad field of discussion covers the entire range of the topic under debate. Certainly, the whole scope of the subject matter was not proposed by the bachelors, but rather by the master himself, who was able to see the whole issue. This topic is determined both by the Condemnation of 1277, which opposed providing a rational foundation and precondition for the free choice of the will, and by the magisterial doctrinal decision of 1285/86, which permitted keeping this rational foundation.

Henry of Ghent laid out the skeleton of the discussion with the bones of contention concerning the philosophical concept of freedom. Even at the temporal instant of its choice, the human will must be free with respect to the “oppositum.”⁵⁶ The free and independent rational power of the will is as such free for the opposite! By means of questionable distinctions Henry of Ghent sought to explain both official communiqués to the effect that the error of the practical judgment is in no way the basis and cause of evil choice.⁵⁷ In this fashion he also sought to bring Aristotle, with his treatments in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, into line

⁵⁵ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* I, q. 10, ed. Hödl, “Non est malitia,” p. 276; Henry of Ghent, *Quodl.* X, q. 10, ed. R. Macken, pp. 258–60.

⁵⁶ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* II, q. 11 (P 47va–55rb).

⁵⁷ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* II, q. 11 (P 52rb).

with the "Apostolic prophecy."⁵⁸ Moreover, both Parisian doctrinal decisions must be understood in the same sense, since one and the same master was their originator or advisor.

The rational power of the will is self-acting: it is neither principally nor causally brought about by the cognized object, and hence by objective, practical judgment. Right down the line, Henry of Ghent used intellect and will in a formal-intentional sense, and the *Gandavistae* made this formal distinction and way of considering things a central tenet of their school's doctrine.

John of Pouilly experienced this. In question 13 of *Quodlibet* II, as noted above, he reported that he could not freely and openly establish a doctrinal position for a rationally based choice of the will, and that the Parisian theologians nearly unanimously—"God knows it"—held the opposite. 1308, John of Pouilly's second year of teaching, was thus a milestone for the Parisian theologians' self-critical enterprise. This enterprise had already been set in motion, above all by Godfrey of Fontaines and the Dominican theologians, who had rejected the *Correctorium fratris Thomae* as a "Corruptorium," but John of Pouilly moved it forward decisively.

The formalizing approach to free will masked the concrete and complex shape of the will's choice, which, even in its external shape, is formally a moral good.⁵⁹ Cognition and willing ought not to be considered exclusively in their formal difference; their "conformitas" is equally meaningful. Practical reason and the choice of the will "semper habent conformitatem," that is, the practical judgment must ultimately determine the decision of the will, and, at the temporal instant of choice, the will can no longer be open to the opposite.⁶⁰ The choice of the will is determined by the object; it must be objectively informed and actualized, because no potency can actualize and form itself.⁶¹ "Recta ratio" and "voluntas recta" belong together.⁶²

Across several columns, John of Pouilly had to engage his opponents and to defend the philosophical doctrine of actuality and potency.⁶³ He pointed out the difference between Aristotle and Paul. The ungoverned

⁵⁸ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* II, q. 11 (P 53va).

⁵⁹ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* II, q. 9 (P 47ra).

⁶⁰ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* II, q. 11 (P 48vb).

⁶¹ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* II, q. 11 (P 52ra).

⁶² John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* II, q. 11 (P 52rb).

⁶³ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* II, q. 13 (P 56va).

drunkard of book VII of the *Nichomachean Ethics* and the sinner of chapter 7 of the *Letter to the Romans* are not on the same level of argumentation. The freedom the Apostle speaks of is unfettered, while that of the Philosopher is blocked! The objective determination and information of the act of the will by practical reason is no foreign determination of the will and thus neither is it an objection to the freedom of the will. John concludes his argument, “what was principally intended follows from what has been said: regardless of the fact that the object is effective, because it first and directly imparts the form and difference to the act of willing and to the act of cognizing, nevertheless it remains in our power and is attributed to us and in no way to the object.”⁶⁴ For this position John could also call upon Thomas Aquinas, whom he (for all his criticism) always mentions with great esteem and with all of whose (major) writings he is familiar.

The Necessary habitus of Moral Good, of Grace, and of the Eternal Vision of God

The concept of *habitus* is discussed in all of John of Pouilly’s *Quodlibeta*, partly in the context of the moral virtues (*Quodlibet* I, q. 11; *Quodlibet* II, qq. 16–17), in discussing the supernatural virtues and grace (*Quodlibet* I, q. 12; *Quodlibet* IV, qq. 8–10), and in dealing with the eschatological vision of God (*Quodlibet* III, q. 7). The broad conceptual field shows the deeply concealed path of the history of the concept, which has hardly been investigated yet, and for which there is no synthesis that can provide an overview.⁶⁵ John of Pouilly has a double significance in this history: directly, through his analysis of the concept of *habitus*, and indirectly, through his influence on contemporary schools, primarily on the later school of Thomas Aquinas, especially on Hervaeus Natalis, who had to engage John’s criticism continuously. John owed many propositions to the thought of Thomas Aquinas, as will be clear immediately, but he also provoked the criticism of the Thomists. Future research on this, long overdue, must work out this chapter in the history of the concept, and it must do so not merely on the basis of John of Pouilly’s

⁶⁴ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* II, q. 13 (P 57vb).

⁶⁵ G. Funke, “Gehabe(n),” in *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie* III (1974), p. 140, and M. Bauer, *Lexikon des Mittelalters* IV (1989), pp. 13–15, provide little historical understanding.

Quodlibeta, but employing his entire corpus of questions (especially those in Paris, BnF lat. 15371).

John's extensive explanations of the concept of *habitus* explore its problematic aspects, which must be tackled from many angles. In its extension and meaning the concept is not yet contained and secured. Is it even thinkable? "Is the *habitus* of virtue the cause of the act of virtue?" is the fundamental question he asks in *Quodlibet* I, q. 11.⁶⁶ If the *habitus* does not touch upon the act in its substance, but rather only in the *modus* of passion, then it must be asked whether it is even thinkable. If it signifies the act only in a modal respect, then it would be superfluous, since it would mean a "doubling," which is meaningless from a philosophical perspective.⁶⁷ This criticism obviously betrays its origins among the *Gandavistae*.

In his doctrine of the categories, Aristotle understood the concept of habit (*hexis*) from the aforesaid modal perspective. In the *Metaphysics* (IX, c. 1) he speaks of an acquired habit of skill. "*Ar̄s* is the knowledge of how a thing is to be made through skill. Knowledge [alone] does not achieve it; will and choice are also required, as the rational powers are open to the opposite and are determined by desire."⁶⁸ The history of the concept of *habitus* achieved a decisive development in theology, in the doctrine of grace and in eschatology, through the concept of the so-called infused, received *habitus* (as opposed to the acquired *habitus*). The grace of faith and the glory of the eternal vision of God must be adapted to and prepared for the subject. He who is not elevated and illuminated by the *lumen gloriae* cannot look upon God. Until then—"usque adhuc"—all theologians had this conviction; Henry of Ghent was the first to bring this tradition into question.⁶⁹ With regards to the rapture of the Apostle Paul (II Corinthians 12:1–4), Henry established the light of faith as a sufficient basis for the eternal vision of God.

The multilayered theological discussion required a consideration of the *habitus*. Even from a philosophical point of view, the *habitus* is not "frustra."⁷⁰ The supernatural perfection of man in the vision of God presupposes the preparation by grace of the rational soul. Not that God, in His absolute power, could not give to the blessed the power

⁶⁶ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* I, q. 11 (P 19rb–23va, V 26ra–30vb).

⁶⁷ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* I, q. 11 (P 20vb).

⁶⁸ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* I, q. 11 (P 20va).

⁶⁹ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* III, q. 7: *Utrum fides remaneat in beatis sive in patria*.

⁷⁰ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* I, q. 11 (P 21ra).

and the grace to see Him, but, according to the established order of salvation, the vision of God presupposes this elevating, illuminating grace. John of Pouilly explains anthropologically the necessity of a sufficient disposition. For the supernatural—that is, extending beyond the boundaries of nature—fulfillment of the human spirit, it is necessary that this grace be infused into the prepared subject. A perfection that transcends nature cannot be brought about naturally.⁷¹ John explains this understanding at length and concludes:

together with the corollary: God grants perfection and goodness to the recipient who is sufficiently disposed to it, having prepared himself—insofar as he is capable. [God grants] to him that perfection of the [covenantal] necessary disposition and ordering to salvation, and by that perfection He grants that preparation to fulfillment, in which preparation He perpetuates them according to a general and a specific exertion of influence.⁷²

From the notion of a *habitus* supernaturally infused by grace John arrives at the recognition that a *habitus* is identical neither to potency nor to actuality (for as such it would be superfluous), but rather it is a medium that falls between them, not dividing, but binding them. The *habitus* produces a certain conformity to the actuality and to the object, and thus contributes to and promotes the passing into actuality in the realization of the object.⁷³

John of Pouilly elaborated this conceptual analysis following Thomas Aquinas. In the *quaestio* he collected an extensive apparatus of relevant passages from Thomas' main works. From Thomas' *Sentences* commentary, *Summa theologiae*, *Summa contra gentiles*, and *Quaestiones de veritate*, clear to the *Quodlibeta*, John put together the texts (with precise references) that show how Thomas understood the concept, and then added, "I do not know if elsewhere they said other words that can somehow be interpreted in the opposite way."⁷⁴ To the end, the theologian is concerned about the concept of *habitus* and its meaning. But for him Thomas Aquinas was the teacher who established the concept in the schools.

⁷¹ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* I, q. 11 (P 21rb–vb).

⁷² John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* I, q. 11 (P 21va).

⁷³ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* I, q. 11 (P 22vb): "Habitus quid est medium inter potentiam et actum, facit quandam conformitatem ad actum et obiectum; quo agente elicitur et quasi (?) transit in actum praesente obiecto."

⁷⁴ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* I, q. 11 (P 22ra, P' 77vb, V 28va).

For John of Pouilly, the concept of *habitus* has its place in the doctrine of virtue and grace, but attains its full expression in eschatology. The light of glory is the necessary disposition for the vision of God. He firmly refutes the thesis of Henry of Ghent that faith (in this world) could persist and perpetuate itself in the otherworldly vision of God. He also objects to Henry's thesis that virtue lies in the will. Many theologians, including Thomas Aquinas and Godfrey of Fontaines, taught this understanding of virtue. John of Pouilly turned away from the opinions that prevailed in the schools. The rational power of the will does not have or need either virtue or its *habitus*, because it is directed towards the (general) good and strives for it. The desiring and striving sensitive powers and faculties of man need the potentiality of the moral virtues and their guiding *habitus*.

Although (even according to Thomas Aquinas) prudence and its *habitus* is one virtue with respect to all operations ("agibilia"), formal and final, it can nevertheless lead to various specific actions (*Quodlibet* III, q. 8); in this way John was also able to clarify (*Quodlibet* IV, q. 8) the controversial question from Aristotle's *Ethics* (IV, c. 10) concerning the unity of individual, household, and civic prudence ("monastica, oeconomica, et politica prudentia"). Many years ago, Thomas Graf edited and evaluated the relevant *quaestio* from *Quodlibet* IV: "Do the moral, striving virtues have their place in the intellectual appetite, that is, in the will, or in the sensitive appetite?"⁷⁵

John turned away from Thomas Aquinas' ontological foundation of the doctrine of virtue and made it concrete using a psychology of virtue, a psychology that Thomas also knew about. On the authority of Aristotle, he "located" the virtues in the striving and desiring sensitive faculties of man, where their power and grace are essential. Here, and only here, does the moral *habitus* have its proper function as guiding virtue. Henry of Ghent and his school located the moral virtues in the power of the will, in order to underscore its autonomous governance. But if the intellectual virtues have their place in the intellect of the rational soul because they are used there, John rightly asked, why should the moral virtues not have their place in the striving and

⁷⁵ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* IV, q. 10, ed. T. Graf, *De subiecto psychico gratiae et virtutum secundum doctrinam scholasticorum usque ad medium saeculum XIV* (Studia Anselmiana, 3/4) (Rome 1935), pp. 203–12, ed. pp. 55*–104*.

desiring sensitive powers? In the fourteenth century, he had moved moral psychology forward considerably.

The Internal and External Constitution of the Church in the Quodlibeta of John of Pouilly

Another trio of questions in *Quodlibet* V (1312), qq. 13–15, had its most lasting effect on the century-long conflict over the pastoral privileges of the mendicant orders. *Quaestio* 13 describes the priority of the (ecclesiastical) “status” of the greater and lesser prelates over the ecclesiastical rank of the mendicant friars. The next question (q. 14) rejects the claim that perfect poverty is the state of perfection in the Church. And question 15 discusses the privilege of mendicant pastors in preaching and in hearing confessions. This (last) disputation gave the impetus to the denunciation of John of Pouilly at the Papal Curia in Avignon and to the condemnation of 1321 mentioned at the outset. Throughout the Late Middle Ages, disputations, court cases, and condemnations continued to have an effect on the conflict over the pastoral care of the mendicants.

John starts the discussion in *quaestio* 13 by considering the primacy of prelates over the status of members of religious orders who, through the famous vows of obedience, poverty, and chastity, pledged themselves to the way and status of the perfect imitation of Christ. “Below the status of prelates, can there be another status, such as that of those with the cure of souls, more perfect than the status of members of religious orders?”⁷⁶ That is, the status of those with cure of souls (pastors) is more original, more important, and more constant than the status of those in religious orders. Not only the greater prelates, the bishops, but also the lesser prelates have their biblical legitimation from Jesus Christ, according to the witness of the Gospel, Luke 10:1, in the seventy-two disciples who, after the Apostles, were called and were sent out. They are original, like the Apostles, and received the promise of continuity in the time and history of the Church. Likewise, they received from Christ the ministry and the commission to proclaim the Gospel and dispense the sacraments. The status of members of religious orders,

⁷⁶ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* V, q. 13 (P 169vb–171vb, F 280ra–282vb, V 213vb–216ra).

however, was established later, by men; it exists in time and serves the perfection of individuals.⁷⁷

Pope and bishops could not cancel this original order of the cure of souls. Whoever makes any and all pastoral authority, that is jurisdiction, derive from the pope, opens himself to the accusation of falsifying the Gospel. "And to him who would question [me], I ask (*et rogo illum*): if one says that someone other than the pope immediately received the commission from Christ, is he a heretic? I do not know whether they or others say and decree that the Gospel is heresy and that he who teaches according that the Gospel is a heretic."⁷⁸ John of Pouilly was attacking the Dominican theologian Hervaeus Natalis, whom he also contradicts elsewhere repeatedly, and who later (as Paris prior provincial) brought charges against his colleague. All prelates and even the lesser pastors have from Christ onward their original and absolute mission and task. Members of religious orders only have an "exercitium," an attendance to the spiritual life.

In the next question (q. 14), John demarcates ascetic fulfillment from the general duty to aim at moral virtue that is given to all men as the goal of perfection.⁷⁹ Striving for virtue also follows the other, worldly path, with ownership, marriage, and family. In this way, John also brought into discussion the Aristotelian view of "extrinsic goods." In the internal conflict between the Franciscans and Dominicans over perfect poverty as the way to or goal of perfection, he pointed out that perfect poverty is an indivisible whole and that one could not distinguish between ownership and use (*usufruct*), but he shared Thomas Aquinas' opinion that the three biblical vows are not the goal, but merely the way to perfection. This perfection is the undivided love of God. Not even the mendicant friars' goal of perfection differs from that of all Christians.

In the third question of the series, the fifteenth of the *Quodlibet*, the discussion arrives at the real point of dispute: when a pastor and a privileged *frater* seek to preach at the same time, who has priority?⁸⁰ The matter concerned above all penitential authority, the confessions that

⁷⁷ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* V, q. 13 (P 179va–b).

⁷⁸ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* V, q. 13 (P 170vb).

⁷⁹ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* V, q. 14 (P 171vb–178ra, V 216ra–223rb): "Utrum status religiosorum mendicantium sit perfectior statu religiosorum habentium bona in comuni sufficientia ad vivendum."

⁸⁰ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* V, q. 15 (P 178ra–181rb, F 287vb–291ra, V 223rb–227ra).

the canon *Omnis utriusque sexus* of the Fourth Lateran Council required to be made before one's own pastor (*proprius sacerdos*). This pastor alone exercised *ius ordinarium*, in accordance with law and statute, the *cura animarum*. The papal privileges granting cure of souls to the mendicants constituted an exception to the law that should not undermine the law in force. The canonists held the conviction that the privileges should be interpreted not excessively, but restrictively. Pope Martin IV's pastoral privilege *Ad fructus uberes* (13 December 1281) granted mendicant priests the authority to hear the confessions of parishioners, ordinarily with the approval of the local pastor, but if need be even without it, and in these cases without the obligation to repeat the confession to the pastor in charge.

The canonists and secular theologians established the requirement of repeated confession by reference to the "duplex servitus," the double relation of servitude in the parochial and common ecclesiastical order. The parochial commitment to the cure of souls and the duty to obey the instructions of the pope are two different obligations: "If one of the two servitudes is removed or dropped, the other remains intact."⁸¹ The papal privilege does not dissolve the parochial obligation; it remains intact. This canonical argument extends across several columns.

The other argument, in line with the one concerning two servitudes, emphasizes the difference between general and special permission, and recognizes in the papal privilege only a general authorization, which does not include the permission for parishioners to seek another confessor. John explained this by means of the logical distinction between genus and difference. The latter is only contained in potency in the genus, but not in actuality. In these long discussions a "magister Minorum" had his say,⁸² and John had to debate him for more than half of the whole disputation. Evidently, John had consulted notes or records of the opponent's disputation, and, in turn, had refuted his arguments in a disputation *inter absentes*. We know this form of overflowing dispute from the *Quodlibeta* of Henry of Ghent.⁸³ It shows that the actual *quaestio disputata de quolibet* had left the confines and context of the schools and had become a means of public relations.

⁸¹ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* V, q. 15 (P 178va, V 223vb).

⁸² John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* V, q. 15 (P 179ra): "Contra praedicta, quamvis bene et probabiliter dicta, argutum est per magistrum Minorum multipliciter et minus probabiliter."

⁸³ Cf. R. Macken, "Heinrich von Gent," pp. 161–6.

John of Pouilly rebuked his colleague for attacking the “pauperes theologos” with accusations of their vices and shortcomings and not with arguments and *auctoritates*.⁸⁴ He repeatedly accused him of lacking evidence. His opponent reproached John for having taken the distinction of the double dependencies from the gloss of Bernard (de Botone). To this reproach, John replied that the fact that he did not shy away from using the authentic witness as a proof only served to redound to his reputation and honor.⁸⁵ His opponent relied much more often on his own authority and neglected this actual witness.⁸⁶ He deemed his own authority more important than that of others. Occasionally his opponent believed that an argument was directed against him personally.⁸⁷ Did the *magister Minorum* have special authority in the Order at Paris (as provincial?) such that he had to lead the opposition against John of Pouilly *ex officio*? Such a thesis might find support in his general statements that stress the salvation of men. With the *magister Minorum*, the conflict acquired a public character and ultimately led to the official charges.

Current Problems

In the context of the literary genre of the *quodlibet*, John of Pouilly also discussed current problems and issues: in *Quodlibet* III, q. 4, he considered the question of the Immaculate Conception of Mary raised by John Duns Scotus, which conception he denied,⁸⁸ and in *Quodlibet* V, q. 16, he treated the Templars’ retraction in court of their confession and their relapse.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* V, q. 15 (P 179va).

⁸⁵ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* V, q. 15 (P 179vb).

⁸⁶ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* V, q. 15 (P 180ra).

⁸⁷ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* V, q. 15 (P 180rb).

⁸⁸ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* III, q. 4 (V 89rb–107ra): “Utrum potest teneri pro opinione probabili quod Beata Virgo non contraxit peccatum originale,” ed. C. Balić, *Joannis de Polliaco et Joannis de Neapoli, Quaestiones disputatae de Immaculata Conceptione beatae Mariae Virginis* (Sibenik 1931).

⁸⁹ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* V, q. 16 (V 227rb): “Utrum si aliquis confessus haeresim et postea revocet in facie Ecclesiae dicendo se falsum dixisse, talis debeat dici relapsus.” William Courtenay is currently working on an edition of this large question.

The Development of the Schools in John of Pouilly's Quodlibeta

Scholastic disputations were sociologically set in the schools, where arguments were exchanged and problems discussed. According to the statutes of the University, *quodlibeta* were held in Advent (before Christmas) and Lent (before Easter). On the one hand, this temporal determinancy gave the disputants time to catch their breath, not to rush, but on the other, it also offered a period to maintain a flowing discussion. What was said the previous year still counted as “satis recenter” (*Quodlibet* V, q. 7). In the interval, the problems that were raised could be picked up and developed in the individual schools. The beginning of the fourteenth century is (in the history of theology) the era of the schools and the division of theology into schools. School authorities and different school traditions determine the history. Many years ago, Cardinal Ehrle made some important observations on this development.⁹⁰

The individual schools' doctrines of distinction were influenced as much by their teachers as by intellectual and historical currents. The Condemnation of 1277 still had a notable effect in the first decade of the fourteenth century. The controversial questions over the demonstrability of temporal creation or the (rational) foundation of the freedom of the will, focal points of John of Pouilly's disputations, developed under the pressure and the burden of the Parisian condemnation. Thus the magisterial determination of 1285/86 achieved the significance of a counterweight to the episcopal decree. By their determination, the Parisian theologians had given a clear sign of academic self-criticism. Henry of Ghent, who himself was the *assessor* of the condemnation, had, along with his school, to confront this correction (*Quodlibet* I, q. 10). Only in 1325, when the bishop of Paris annulled his predecessor's condemnation, at least insofar as it went against the teaching of Thomas Aquinas, did scholastic disputation once again achieve its necessary freedom.

This historically charged disputation inevitably involved Aristotle and interpretations, Latin and Arabic, of his thought. John of Pouilly was convinced that, when the doctrinal position of the Philosopher came under discussion, that position first had to be certified by the *littera*, by the text. One of John's main objectives was to establish a

⁹⁰ F. Ehrle, *Der Sentenzenkommentar Peters von Candia, des Pisaner Papstes Alexanders V* (Franziskanische Studien, Suppl., 9) (Münster 1925).

textually sound and resonant interpretation. He cited with precision; he cited completely, that is with an exact indication of the passage and according to all relevant texts. In many cases, the doctrinal position of an author cannot be verified merely by referring to sources and texts; it requires a whole apparatus of passages. John maintained this obligation to cite precisely and completely—even when citing himself. He often adduced all relevant passages from his *Quaestiones ordinariae* and *Quodlibeta*, at times even giving the page: “primo Quolibet, q. 9, pagina 30.”⁹¹ These page indications can only refer to the *liber magistri* and cannot be confirmed in the copies.

In his literary compulsion to cite sources precisely, John was also aware that an author may have later corrected his doctrinal position. Thomas Aquinas’s explanations of the *verbum mentis* are not uniform in his writings. John had to direct his colleague Hervaeus Natalis emphatically to Thomas’s last statements on the matter in the *Compendium theologiae*, “quod in fine suorum dierum ediderunt.”⁹² He cited passages from Thomas against Hervaeus’s interpretation of him. Is there any wonder, then, that John also considered that, if need be, Thomas might now have determined differently?⁹³ John clearly recognized the problem of Thomas’s doctrinal development, but he had not yet drawn the consequences from it. If it concerned an important opinion of Thomas, John eagerly put together an apparatus of references and established his doctrinal position: “et hoc tractat per intentionem.”⁹⁴ The intention hinges on the text!

* * *

John of Pouilly held the chair of Godfrey of Fontaines. His interlocutors were the masters of all the theological schools in Paris, and he occasionally mentioned them also by name, and among those even the lesser known such as Berengarius Praedicator (*Quodlibet* IV, q. 2), Henricus Amandi (*Quodlibet* IV, q. 10), or the oft-mentioned Johannes Gandavensis (*Quodlibet* I, q. 5). In contrast to these less often or only rarely mentioned colleagues, Thomas Aquinas and Henry of Ghent were his permanent interlocutors. He also counted Thomas among his contemporaries. He often quotes Henry of Ghent by name; Thomas Aquinas he cites by name more rarely, more often as *doctores* “solemnnes.”

⁹¹ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* II, q. 11 (V 69ra).

⁹² John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* IV, q. 2 (V 138vb).

⁹³ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* IV q. 6 (V 200rb).

⁹⁴ John of Pouilly, *Quodl.* I, q. 11 (V 28va).

When he cites both by this honorific title, he counts Thomas among the “solemniores” (*Quodlibet* III, q. 6). Thomas unequivocally has priority; he belongs to the *doctores* “communissimi” (*Quodlibet* III, q. 3). But he is not by a long shot in agreement with the interpretations given to these teachers by their students, particularly with those given by the *Gandavistae*. Among the followers (“sequaces”) of Thomas Aquinas, he was in conflict with Hervaeus Natalis and his reading of Thomas.

He had to point out repeatedly to the students of Henry of Ghent that they had misunderstood the doctrine of their own master. Henry of Ghent’s teaching did not support the threefold distinction of the concept of intention (*Quodlibet* I, q. 5). In this his students failed by “a sin of dialect,” as Avicenna said; they did not take the concepts in their conventional, fixed meaning. It was precisely this threefold distinction that had become accepted as that of Henry of Ghent. This doctrine had a life of its own. Thomas’ doctrines of the *verbum mentis* and of the *actus exercitus* also took on significant elements from their contemporary historical interpretation.

The interpretation of Henry’s doctrine influenced its transmission. The history of the concepts of relation, *habitus*, and *actus exercitus*, important for Thomas’ philosophy, can serve as an example. Henry of Ghent’s formalization of the concept of relation made it necessary in the other schools to discuss the connection between relation and its fundament. Thomas’ doctrine of a moral *habitus* was bolstered precisely by criticism. John of Pouilly let Thomas lead him in the controversy with the *Gandavistae* over the *habitus*. And in the notion of the *actus exercitus*, the rational foundation of the free act of the will was an important question for the Thomists as well.

At the turn of the fourteenth century, the (theological) schools of the University of Paris had not yet solidified such that one could speak of *Thomistae* or *Scotistae*. Arnau de Vilanova was one of the first Parisian theologians to speak of the “Thomatistas.”⁹⁵ In *Quodlibet* I, q. 5, John of Pouilly spoke of the “Gandavistae,” and then only in the Vatican manuscript.⁹⁶ But there, at first glance, the word appears to be a correction. In the Parisian manuscript P, f. 10ra, it unmistakably reads “Gallandistae.” This reading is also supported by the context.⁹⁷ “Gandavistae” is wrong;

⁹⁵ Cf. F. Ehrle, *Der Sentenzenkommentar* (note 90), p. 263.

⁹⁶ V 13ra.

⁹⁷ P 10ra, V 13ra: “...nec ab Aristotele nec a Commentatore nec ab Avicenna...nec Gallandistae aliter accipiunt intentionem...”

the copyist of V could not understand the “Gallandistae” in front of him; he did not know that such a term indicated the Parisian philosophers. Even these *Gallandistae*, like the ancient philosophers, could not understand “intentio” in the sense of the *Gandavistae*, the students of Henry of Ghent. Evidence for the existence of the term *Gandavistae* is the fact that this expression was comprehensible to the copyist. Thus it should be considered authentic.

Being led by their teacher, Henry of Ghent’s students relied upon the Parisian Condemnation of 1277 and sought to maintain theological disputation at Paris on this level. But the theologians had self-critically freed themselves from the condemnation before and after the turn of century. This condemnation had already had its day when the school of the *Gandavistae* came onto the scene, and it, in turn, had its day. The Parisian theologian John of Pouilly witnessed and empowered this passing.⁹⁸

⁹⁸ This chapter was translated from German by William O. Duba and Olivier Ribordy.

THE *QUODLIBET* OF THOMAS WYLTON

Cecilia Trifogli

Thomas Wylton was fellow of Merton College from about 1288 until 1301 and master of arts at Oxford until 1304. He then went to Paris to study theology and became master there in 1312. He taught theology in Paris probably until 1322. He was appointed chancellor of St Paul's Cathedral in London in 1320, although it is likely that he took this position only in 1322. The position of chancellor was vacated in 1327, so Wylton must have died by that date.¹ In addition to the *Quodlibet*, two other major works by Wylton are extant: a question-style commentary on the *De Anima*² and a question-style commentary on the *Physics*.³ The two Aristotelian commentaries were most probably written by Wylton as master of arts in Oxford. Although the *Quodlibet* is the only extensive theological work by Wylton that is extant, Wylton also commented on the *Sentences*. The *Sentences* commentary has not yet been identified, but Stephen Dumont has recently discovered five questions that may belong to the Prologue of a commentary of this kind.⁴

Thomas Wylton was a prominent and influential figure as master of theology at Paris.⁵ He had disputes with the most important among his contemporaries over a variety of controversial issues. For example, he debated with Peter Auriol on the nature of relations (q. 17),⁶ on the

¹ On Wylton's biography, see especially A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, vol. III (Oxford 1959), pp. 2054–5.

² The *De Anima* commentary is contained in manuscript Oxford, Balliol College Library 91, ff. 247ra–277vb. This manuscript contains questions on books I and II only.

³ The *Physics* commentary is a complete set of questions on the eight books of the *Physics*. It is contained in four manuscripts: Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana, Plut. VIII sin. 2, ff. 4r–141v; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional 2015, ff. 1r–217v; BAV, Vat. lat. 4709, ff. 1r–143r; Erfurt, Universitätsbibliothek, Dep. Erf. CA F.178, ff. 57r–73v (only books VII and VIII).

⁴ They are contained in manuscript New Haven, Yale University Library, Beinecke General 470. See S.D. Dumont, “New Questions by Thomas Wylton,” *DSTFM* 9 (1998), pp. 341–79.

⁵ Stephen Dumont found a contemporary reference to Wylton as “Magister Thomas Anglicus, quidam secularis valde famosus.” See Dumont, “New Questions,” p. 341, n. 2.

⁶ See the Bibliography sections below for details on Wylton's debates.

problem of the infinite power of God (q. 1) and on the nature of theology and virtue;⁷ with William of Alnwick on the issue of the eternity of the world (q. 9); with Henry of Harclay on the infinite (q. 9); with Guy Terrena on the nature of the beatific act (q. 3) and the problem of final causation (q. 14); with Durand of St Pourçain on the nature of intellection.⁸ Wylton's treatment of divine foreknowledge of future contingents was copied verbatim by John Baconthorpe.⁹ His views on the separation and unity of the intellect¹⁰ and on the infinite power of God (q. 1) had a strong influence on John of Jandun, one of the main exponents of Parisian Averroism. In fact, Wylton first became known to historians of medieval philosophy especially for being a major exponent of Parisian Averroism.¹¹ Recent studies have shed light on other aspects of Wylton's thought, above all on his realist ontological orientation. Investigations into his physical theories have revealed his realist opposition to Averroes concerning the ontological status of motion and of time¹² and the influence of some of his positions on Walter Burley.¹³ Studies of his metaphysical and theological thought have pointed out his strong realism about relations, very similar to that of Duns Scotus,¹⁴ and his support of the formal distinction between divine attributes.¹⁵

⁷ See L.O. Nielsen, "The Debate between Peter Auriol and Thomas Wylton on Theology and Virtue," *Vivarium* 38.1 (2000), pp. 35–98.

⁸ See Dumont, "New Questions," pp. 367–73.

⁹ Dumont, "New Questions," pp. 359–62. For an analysis of Wylton's position, see C. Schabel, *Theology at Paris 1316–1345. Peter Auriol and the Problem of Divine Foreknowledge and Future Contingents* (Aldershot 2000), pp. 52–63.

¹⁰ W. Senko, "Jean de Jandun et Thomas Wylton. Contribution à l'établissement des sources des *Quaestiones super I–III de Anima* de Jean de Jandun," *Bulletin de la Société Internationale pour l'Étude de la Philosophie Médiévale* 5 (1963), pp. 139–43; Z. Kuksewicz, *De Siger de Brabant à Jacques de Plaisance. La théorie de l'intellect chez les Averroïstes Latins des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles* (Wrocław 1968), pp. 209–14; E. Jung-Palczewska, "Jean de Jandun, a-t-il affirmé la nature active de l'intellect possible?" *MPP* 27 (1986), pp. 15–20.

¹¹ See the pioneering paper by A. Maier, "Wilhelm von Alnicks Bologneser Quaestionen gegen den Averroismus (1323)," *Gregorianum* 30 (1949), pp. 265–308.

¹² See C. Trifogli, "Il problema dello statuto ontologico del tempo nelle *Quaestiones super Physicam* di Thomas Wylton e di Giovanni di Jandun," *DSTFM* 1.2 (1990), pp. 491–548; eadem, "Thomas Wylton on Motion," *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 77 (1995), pp. 135–54; eadem, "Due questioni sul movimento nel commento alla *Fisica* di Thomas Wylton," *Medioevo* 21 (1995), pp. 31–73.

¹³ See C. Trifogli, "Thomas Wylton's Question *An contingit dare ultimum rei permanentis in esse*," *Medieval Philosophy and Theology* 4 (1994), pp. 91–141; eadem, "The Reality of Time in the Commentary Tradition on the *Physics*: the Case of Wylton and Burley," in *Il commento filosofico nell'Occidente Latino (secoli XIII–XV)*, G. Fioravanti, C. Leonardi, and S. Perfetti, eds. (Turnhout 2002), pp. 233–51.

¹⁴ See below Q. 17, Bibliography, p. 254.

¹⁵ See below Q. 5, Bibliography, p. 243.

Although his ontology was influenced by Scotus, Wylton appears to be an original and complex philosopher.¹⁶ A comprehensive picture of Wylton's philosophical and theological thought, however, has not yet been drawn.

The historical importance of Wylton lies also in the fact that his *Quodlibet* is the last known secular theological *Quodlibet* from the period covered by this book. And since no complete secular *Sentences* commentaries survive from Paris afterwards until after the Black Death, Wylton's *Quodlibet* represents the last extensive work of the secular masters of theology at Paris for several decades.

Most of the questions of Wylton's *Quodlibet* are preserved in the form of a *reportatio* in a single manuscript, BAV, Borgh. lat. 36 (henceforth: V). The first major studies on Wylton's *Quodlibet* are due to Anneliese Maier. In her paper "Das *Quodlibet* des Thomas de Wylton," published in 1947,¹⁷ Maier gave a detailed description of V and established which questions of Wylton's *Quodlibet* are actually preserved in it. Wylton's questions are found on ff. 47ra–96va, and are preceded on f. 46va–b by a table of contents, written by a later hand, in which thirty-nine questions are listed. Glorieux remarked that questions 34–39 on this list do not seem to belong to Wylton's *Quodlibet*, but he took the list of the first thirty-three questions to be an accurate index of the contents of Wylton's *Quodlibet* and published that list.¹⁸ Maier showed that the list published by Glorieux and the actual contents of the *Quodlibet* do not completely correspond. Questions 8–11 and 20–33 in Glorieux's list are not present in the *Quodlibet*. Questions 1–7 and 12–19 are present but in many cases the title has a different formulation. Furthermore, the *Quodlibet* actually contains three questions missing from Glorieux's list.¹⁹ The conclusion of the accurate analysis carried out by Maier is that Wylton's *Quodlibet* as preserved in V actually contains eighteen questions. In Appendix I to this paper, I have reported both the list of questions published by Glorieux, which is that found on f. 46va–b,

¹⁶ Chris Schabel, for example, points out that the first clear, sustained attack on Scotus's theory of divine foreknowledge comes from Thomas Wylton. See Schabel, *Theology at Paris*, p. 52.

¹⁷ This paper originally appeared in *RTAM* 14 (1947), pp. 106–10, and was reprinted in A. Maier, *Ausgehendes Mittelalter* I (Rome 1964), pp. 87–92. All page references to this paper and to other papers by Anneliese Maier reprinted in *Ausgehendes Mittelalter* will be to the reprinted version.

¹⁸ See Glorieux II, pp. 278–9.

¹⁹ These are questions 8, 11, 15 in Maier's list.

and the list published by Maier, which reflects the actual contents of the *Quodlibet*. Maier pointed out that the third *quaternus*, between ff. 70 and 71 (i.e., between qq. 7–8 and q. 9 in Maier's list), is missing from the codex, so that Wylton's *Quodlibet* must have originally included more questions than the eighteen contained on ff. 47ra–96va.

The problem of establishing exactly which are the missing questions of Wylton's *Quodlibet* has not yet been systematically investigated, although an important find has been made. Stephen Dumont has discovered five questions by Wylton on the intensification and remission of forms. They are preserved in two manuscripts: New Haven, Yale University Library, Beinecke General 470, ff. 21rb–24rb, and Tortosa, Archivo Capitular 88, ff. 1ra–4vb. The questions on the intensification and remission of forms correspond approximately to items 8–11 in Glorieux's list. Accordingly, they most probably belonged to the *Quodlibet* and were contained in the missing *quaternus* of V.²⁰ Dumont is preparing an edition of these questions.

As for the date of Wylton's *Quodlibet*, Glorieux began with a guess of 1312.²¹ In 1958,²² Anneliese Maier was the first to present dating evidence and concluded that Advent of 1315 was the most probable date of Wylton's *Quodlibet*. The *terminus post quem* is given by the third *Quodlibet* of Guy Terrena, which is quoted by Wylton in the question of his *Quodlibet* about the causality of the end (q. 14 in Maier's list). According to Maier, Guy Terrena discussed *Quodlibet* III almost certainly in 1315. The *terminus ante quem* is given by Peter Auriol's *Scriptum* on the first book of the *Sentences*, where Auriol refers to some doctrines held by Wylton in his *Quodlibet*. And Maier claims that Auriol's *Scriptum* was certainly finished by the summer of 1316 and probably already in the spring of that year.²³

²⁰ See Dumont, "New Questions," pp. 347–8, for the discussion of the authorship. For the list of these questions and other questions by Wylton preserved in the Beinecke and Tortosa manuscripts, see *ibid.*, pp. 380–1. As Dumont has shown, the two manuscripts contain in whole nineteen theological questions by Wylton. Apart from the five questions on the intensification and remission of forms, which most probably belonged to the *Quodlibet*, and five questions that very likely belonged to the prologue of Wylton's *Sentences* commentary (see above, p. 231), for the remaining questions it is not clear whether they belong to the *Quodlibet*. They are listed by Dumont under the heading "*Quaestiones Quodlibetales et Disputatae*."

²¹ Glorieux II, p. 278.

²² "Zu einigen Sentenzenkommentare des 14. Jahrhunderts," originally appearing in *AFH* 51 (1958), pp. 369–409, and reprinted in Maier, *Ausgehendes Mittelalter* I, pp. 265–305.

²³ See Maier, "Zu einigen Sentenzenkommentaren," pp. 279–81.

The dating evidence provided by Maier, however, does not seem conclusive. Although with respect to the *terminus post quem* Chris Schabel agrees that Guy Terrena's *Quodlibet* III was probably discussed in Lent of 1315, or perhaps Advent,²⁴ as to the *terminus ante quem*, however, Lauge Nielsen remarks that the latter part of Auriol's *Scriptum* on I *Sentences* reflects Auriol's stay at Paris, and this postpones the date by which it was certainly finished to the early spring of 1317.²⁵

Elzbieta Jung and Zdzislaw Kuksewicz more recently argued again for Advent of 1315 as the most probable date for Wylton's *Quodlibet*. The main additional evidence they provide is for the *terminus ante quem*. In his disputed question *De infinitate vigoris Dei* John of Jandun gives extensive quotations from Wylton's question on the infinite perfection of God (q. 1 in Maier's list). And the question by Jandun is dated very precisely to 30 August 1316. Therefore, the *terminus ante quem* for Wylton's *Quodlibet* is Easter 1316. As to the *terminus post quem*, the only new evidence they present is the remark that in his discussion about the infinite power of God in his *Physics* commentary Jandun does not quote Wylton's opinion in the *Quodlibet*, although he does quote Wylton's opinion both in his commentaries on the *Metaphysics* and on the *De substantia orbis*. From this they infer that at the time of writing his *Physics* Commentary John of Jandun did not know the quodlibetal question by Wylton. They further assume that the *Physics* commentary by Jandun is dated 1315, so that Wylton's *Quodlibet* was discussed not much before the end of 1315.²⁶ One of the problems with this evidence, however, is that it is not certain that Jandun's *Physics* commentary was written in 1315.²⁷ In conclusion, although Advent of 1315 is a very probable date for Wylton's *Quodlibet*, this has not yet been proved beyond any reasonable doubt and Lent 1316 remains a possibility.

Regarding the question whether the *Quodlibet* was disputed by Wylton in England (Oxford) or in Paris, in 1949²⁸ Maier argued for England,²⁹

²⁴ See his chapter in this volume on "Carmelite *Quodlibeta*," p. 518.

²⁵ Cf. L.O. Nielsen, "Peter Auriol," in *A Companion to Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, J.J.E. Gracia and T.B. Noone, eds. (Oxford 2003) (pp. 494–503), p. 494.

²⁶ See E. Jung-Palczewska and Z. Kuksewicz, "The Date of Wylton's *Quodlibet*," *Studia Mediewistyczne* 32 (1997) (pp. 59–63), p. 60.

²⁷ See Trifogli, "Il problema dello statuto ontologico," pp. 491–5.

²⁸ "Wilhelm von Alnwick's Bologneser Quaestionen gegen den Averroismus (1323)," first appearing in *Gregorianum* 30 (1949), pp. 265–308, and reprinted in Maier, *Ausgehendes Mittelalter* I, pp. 1–40.

²⁹ See Maier, "Wilhelm von Alnwick's," p. 3, n. 6.

but she later changed her mind and suggested Paris.³⁰ This latter hypothesis has been confirmed by Jung and Kuksewicz.³¹

Since the publication of Maier's papers, much work has been done on Wylton's *Quodlibet*. Some questions have been edited, new manuscripts for some of the questions have been found, and doctrinal studies have been devoted to a variety of topics discussed by Wylton in the *Quodlibet*. All the results of these recent studies have not yet been collected and organised in a single publication, which would provide an up-dated work of reference on Wylton's *Quodlibet*. And this is what I intend to do in the present chapter. I will proceed as follows. For each of the eighteen questions contained in the Borghese manuscript V (i.e., the questions on Maier's list) I will provide five types of information: (1) the manuscripts in which the question is contained (section "MSS"); (2) whether the question has been edited and where (section "Edition"); (3) an overview of the bibliography about the question (section "Bibliography"); (4) the content of the question (section "Content")—if the content of a question has been summarised in an existing publication, I will simply refer the reader to that publication, but if this is not the case, I will provide a short summary of its content; (5) the questions by Wylton not contained in the *Quodlibet* that deal with the same or a closely related topic (section "Related Questions").

Since all the questions in the Borghese manuscript have been either totally or partially (qq. 17 and 18) edited with the exception of two short questions (qq. 11 and 12), in Appendix II I provide an edition of these two questions.

I will use the following sigla for the manuscripts containing Wylton's questions:

B = New Haven, Yale University Library, Beinecke General 470.

C = Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana, Plut. VIII sin. 2.

F = Firenze, BNC, II.II. 281.

O = Oxford, Balliol College Library 91.

T = Tortosa, Archivo Capitular de Tortosa 88.

V = Città del Vaticano, BAV, Borgh. Lat. 36.

³⁰ See Maier, "Zu einigen Sentenzenkommentaren," p. 281, n. 40.

³¹ See Jung-Palczewska and Kuksewicz, "The Date," pp. 60–1.

The eighteen questions of Wylton's *Quodlibet* are very heterogeneous. They vary greatly both in topic and in length. Although the questions dealing with theological issues are predominant (qq. 1–5, 9, 11–12, 17–18), there are also questions in natural philosophy (qq. 14–16), metaphysics (qq. 6, 13) and theory of knowledge (qq. 7–8, 10). The problems discussed in the theological questions are the infinite power of God (q. 1), the beatific act (qq. 2–4, 11), the distinction between divine attributes (qq. 5, 12), the eternity of the world (q. 9), and divine relations (qq. 17–18). The questions in natural philosophy discuss final causality (q. 14), the instant of time (q. 15) and the problem of indefinite dimensions (*dimensiones interminatae*) (q. 16). The metaphysical questions deal with the problem of the simultaneous existence of accidents of the same species in the same subject (q. 6) and with the ontological status of number (q. 13). The epistemological questions are about the knowledge of singulars (qq. 7–8) and common sensibles (q. 10). As to the length, there are two extremely long questions: question 1 about the infinite power of God (34 columns) and question 9 about the eternity of the world (35.5 columns). These two questions deal with hotly debated topics and Wylton discusses at length a number of contemporary positions. The only other question comparable in length to these two is question 5 on divine attributes, which takes up 28 columns. But there are also a relevant number of rather short questions: nine out of eighteen questions take up less than seven columns.³²

Q. 1 *Utrum essentia divina sit perfectio infinita intensive.*

MSS: V, ff. 47ra–55rb; T, ff. 5rb–15rb; F, ff. 130rb–137vb.

Edition: E. Jung-Palczewska, “La Question quodlibétique *De infinitate vigoris Dei* de Thomas de Wylton,” *AHDLMA* 64 (1997), pp. 347–403.

Bibliography: (1) For the relevance of this question to the problem of the authorship of Wylton's *Physics* commentary, see M. Schmaus, “Thomas Wylton als Verfasser eines Kommentars zur Aristotelischen *Physik*,” *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 9 (1956), pp. 10–11. (2) For the debate between Wylton and Peter Auriol on the infinite power of God, see A. Maier, “Das Lehrstück von den *vires infatigabiles* in der scholastischen Naturphilosophie,” *Archives Internationales*

³² These are q. 2 (4.5 cols.), q. 3 (6 cols.), q. 4 (2 cols.; this question, however, is incomplete), qq. 7–8 (4.5 cols.), q. 10 (2.5 cols.), q. 11 (3 cols.), q. 12 (1.5 cols.), q. 17 (4 cols.). As to the remaining questions, q. 6 takes up 15 columns; q. 13, 8 cols.; q. 14, 7.5 cols.; q. 15, 9.5 cols.; q. 16, 13 cols.; and q. 18, 18 cols.

d'Histoire des Sciences 5 (1952), pp. 25–8; eadem, *Metaphysische Hintergründe der Spätscholastischen Naturphilosophie* (Rome 1955), pp. 247–50; eadem, “Verschollene Aristoteleskommentare des 14. Jahrhunderts,” in eadem, *Ausgehendes Mittelalter* I, pp. 244–5 (first published in *Autour d'Aristote* [Louvain 1955], pp. 515–41). (3) For the debate between Wylton and William of Alnwick, see Maier, “Wilhelm von Alnwicks,” pp. 28–37; eadem, *Zwischen Philosophie und Mechanik* (Rome 1958), pp. 196–205. (4) For John of Jandun's use of Wylton's question in his treatise on the infinite power of God, see C.J. Ermatinger, “John of Jandun in his Relations with Arts Masters and Theologians,” in *Arts Libéraux et Philosophie au Moyen Âge* (Montreal-Paris 1969), pp. 1181–3; Z. Kuksewicz, “Johannis de Janduno *De infinitate vigoris Dei*. Edition Critique,” *Studia Mediewistyczne* 24.1 (1985), pp. 98–104. (5) For an analysis of Wylton's position, see E. Jung-Palczewska, “Thomas Wylton and his Question on the Infinite Power of God,” *MPP* 32 (1994), pp. 41–56; eadem, “Thomas Wylton's Solution to the Aristotelian Problem of God's Infinite Power,” in *Aristotle in Britain during the Middle Ages*, J. Marenbon, ed. (Cambridge 1996), pp. 311–21; eadem, “Delimitation between Theology and Natural Philosophy: the Case of God's Infinite Power in Thomas Wylton,” *Studia Mediewistyczne* 33 (1998), pp. 65–71.

Content: See especially Jung-Palczewska, “La Question quodlibétique,” pp. 340–2; eadem, “Thomas Wylton and his Question,” pp. 49–56.

Related Questions: (1) *An motus infinitus requirat potentiam infinitam in virtute* (QPhys, C, ff. 134rb–135rb). (2) *An demonstratio sua concludat* (QPhys, C, f. 135rb–va). (3) *An sequatur ‘virtus infinita est in magnitudine; ergo movet in non tempore’* (QPhys, C, ff. 135va–137ra). (4) *An virtus finita possit movere per tempus infinitum* (QPhys, C, f. 139ra–va). (5) *An demonstratio Philosophi concludat de necessitate* (QPhys, C, f. 139va–b). (6) *An aliqua virtus in corpore posset movere per tempus infinitum* (QPhys, C, ff. 139vb–140ra). (7) *An [si] virtus infinita modo supra exposito, si esset in magnitudine, moveret in instanti* (QPhys, C, ff. 140ra–141ra).

Q. 2 *Utrum necessario necessitate absoluta requiratur lumen gloriae in visione beata.*

MS: V, ff. 55va–56va.

Edition: L.O. Nielsen and C. Trifogli, “Questions on the Beatific Vision by Thomas Wylton and Sibert de Beka,” *DSTFM* 17 (2006), pp. 524–32.

Bibliography: Nielsen-Trifogli, “Questions on the Beatific Vision,” pp. 513–15.

Content: Wylton attacks the view that supernatural habits are necessary for both meritorious acts *in via* and the beatific vision *in patria*. There is a strong likelihood that this is the view of the Carmelite Master Sibert of Beek.³³

The question starts with the report of six arguments proposed in favour of this view. The essential point of these arguments is to show that a natural potency cannot perform a supernatural act by itself but only by means of a supernatural habit. In one of the arguments the following inference is used to make that point: "acting presupposes being; therefore supernatural acting presupposes supernatural being." In the case of meritorious acts, the authority of Augustine is invoked in support of the claim that infused supernatural habits are required both in the intellect and in the will. In the case of the beatific vision, the exponents of this view argue that, if supernatural habits and in particular the *lumen gloriae* were not required, then every created intellect would have the vision of God and without any habit whatsoever.

Wylton also reports an argument against this view. If the intellect could not immediately receive the beatific act, this should be due either to a lack of proportion between a natural potency and a supernatural act or to a lack of proportion between a finite passive potency and the action proper to an agent of infinite power. In the first case the position of a supernatural habit (e.g., the *lumen gloriae*) as a necessary means between the natural potency and the supernatural act opens an infinite regress. In the second case, the appeal to a supernatural habit would be of no help because such a habit does not make the finite potency proportionate to the action of an infinite agent.

Wylton's formal reply to the question is that the view according to which God can by his absolute power provide the created intellect with a beatific act without any intermediate supernatural act is more probable than the opposite view. In order to assert that God cannot do this by his absolute power, one would need to have certitude that doing this would imply a contradiction. But Wylton shows that we have no certitude that the claim that the intellect can receive the beatific act without any intermediate supernatural habit implies a contradiction. There is no certitude based on faith or Holy Scriptures for claims involving the absolute power of God. There is no certitude of evidence either, as is

³³ On the hypothesis that Wylton's anonymous opponent in q. 2 is Sibert of Beek, see Nielsen-Trifogli, "Questions on the Beatific Vision," pp. 516–19.

shown by the fact that some people doubt that it is contradictory for God to induce the beatific act without a supernatural habit and in fact formulate probable arguments for the opposite view. It is similar in the case of meritorious acts.

As to the claim of the opponent that a natural potency cannot have a supernatural act, Wylton replies that the claim is false if it is understood in the sense that a supernatural act exceeds the capacity of a natural potency. It is true if it is understood in the sense that a supernatural act cannot be produced in a natural potency by a natural agent.

It is likely that Wylton had already discussed another question on a similar topic. In connection with the inference “acting presupposes being; therefore, supernatural acting presupposes supernatural being” used by his opponents, he says “respondi alias.”

Related Questions: (1) *Utrum intellectum creatum videre Deum immediate, sicuti est, sine aliquo habitu supernaturali, puta glorie lumine, et voluntatem sine habitu caritatis diligere Deum beatifice implicet contradictionem* (T, ff. 46ra–48rb). (2) *Utrum voluntas divina sit totalis causa actus intuitivi beatifici circumscripta omni actione obiecti beatifici in quantum tale obiectum beatificum et circumscripta omni actione cuiuscumque agentis creati* (T, ff. 59rb–61va). (3) *Utrum manente actu beatifico eodem numero possit terminari notitia circa secundaria obiecta* (T, ff. 61vb–62vb).³⁴

Q. 3 *Utrum actus beatificus sit simplex.*³⁵

MS: V, ff. 56va–58ra.

Edition: Nielsen-Trifogli, “Questions on the Beatific Vision,” pp. 533–43.

Bibliography: (1) Nielsen-Trifogli, “Questions on the Beatific Vision,” pp. 522–3. (2) For the suggestion that Wylton’s opponent in question 3 is Guy Terrena, see B. Xiberta, “De Mag. Guidone Terreni, Priore Generali Ordinis Nostris, Episcopo Maioricensi et Elmensi,” *Analecta Ordinis Carmelitanorum* 5 (1925), pp. 258–63.

Content: The issue at stake is whether beatitude consists of both an act of the intellect, i.e., the contemplation of God, and an act of the

³⁴ The three questions in the Tortosa manuscript are edited in Nielsen-Trifogli, “Questions on the Beatific Vision,” pp. 548–57, 558–69, and 570–84 respectively.

³⁵ The title is missing at the beginning of the question, but it can be reconstructed from the *incipit*: “Quod actus beatificus sit simplex probatur...” (ed. Nielsen-Trifogli, p. 533, l. 3).

will, i.e., the love of God, or of only one of these two acts, and thus be simple.

Wylton first presents a series of arguments, some of them showing that beatitude is simple and the others that it consists of an act of the intellect alone. A number of passages from Aristotle's *Ethics* are quoted in favour of the claim that beatitude is simple. Furthermore, the simple nature of beatitude is argued on the basis of an analogy between the hierarchy of subsisting forms and that of inhering perfections: as the highest item of the first hierarchy is one simple form, similarly, the highest item of the second hierarchy, namely, beatitude, must be a simple perfection. Other reasons for the simplicity of beatitude are that it is the best of all human operations and that the thing that is made happy by it is only one. The claim that beatitude consists of an act of the intellect alone is supported by passages from Augustine. The main arguments for that claim show that the act of the will is not an essential part of beatitude because it is simply an effect, in the order of efficient causality, of the act of the intellect, and because it does not immediately join us to God as object of love. Xiberta suggests that it is very likely that the view Wylton refers to in these arguments is that of Guy Terrena.³⁶ The exponent of this view, however, is named in Wylton's text as "Magister Laurentius," perhaps to be identified with the Benedictine Master Laurentius Anglicus.³⁷

Wylton rejects this view. In his reply to the question he first introduces a distinction between two senses of "beatitude." In the first sense, beatitude is the most perfect of all human operations. In the second sense, beatitude is the set of operations that make man perfectly happy. He then argues that if beatitude is taken in the second sense (that relevant to the question), then it consists of both an act of the intellect and an act of the will. The main argument for this claim is the following. Any creature that is apt by nature to immediately join to its ultimate end by means of different operations is not perfectly happy unless it is joined to its ultimate end by means of all these operations; but man is apt by nature to immediately join to God by means of both intellect and will. The controversial part of this argument is the claim that man is immediately joined to God by an act of the will, namely, that the will immediately desires God insofar as God is good. In support of this

³⁶ See Xiberta, "De Mag. Guidone," p. 261.

³⁷ See Nielsen-Trifogli, "Questions on the Beatific Vision," p. 522 and p. 541, l. 272.

claim Wylton quotes passages from Anselm and Augustine and appeals to the principle that every potency can immediately tend towards its first object and whatever is per se contained in it.³⁸

Wylton further specifies that the act of the intellect and the act of the will do not equally concur in beatitude, but one of them is more fundamental than the other. The more fundamental act is also called the more perfect portion of beatitude and corresponds to beatitude taken in the first sense as the most perfect among human operations. Whether the will or the intellect is the most perfect portion of beatitude is left undetermined in question 3 and is the topic of question 4.

To his opponent's arguments he concedes that the act of intellect and the act of will cannot equally concur in human beatitude. But he denies that the act of will does not immediately lead to God as object of love and that it has the intellect as efficient cause. The intellect is the cause of the will only as cause *sine qua non* in the sense that the object of the will can be present to the will only by means of the intellect.

Related Questions: Cf. q. 2.

Q. 4 *Quis istorum actuum <sit> principalior portio beatitudinis.*³⁹

MS: V, f. 58ra–va.

Edition: Nielsen-Trifogli, “Questions on the Beatific Vision,” pp. 544–7.

Bibliography: Cf. q. 3.

Content: As has been explained above, this question in fact asks whether the act of the will is more perfect than the act of the intellect. The question is incomplete (the question stops at f. 58va, l. 37 and the rest of f. 58v is left blank). It contains a series of arguments in favour of the superiority of the act of the intellect over the act of the will

³⁸ Note that this principle is also the topic of q. 10, which asks whether a cognitive potency can have per se knowledge also of something that does not fall under its per se object and discusses the case of common sensibles. It is therefore possible that q. 10 was intended by Wylton as a clarification of some controversial point about this principle left unexplained in q. 3.

³⁹ In Maier's list, this question is given a slightly different title, namely, *Utrum actus voluntatis sit perfectior portio beatitudinis*. Although this title is not that present at the beginning of the question, it is suggested by the way Wylton presents some of the arguments later in the course of the question at ed. Nielsen-Trifogli, p. 545, l. 55: “Quod actus voluntatis sit perfectior portio beatitudinis...” In correspondence to these lines there is the marginal annotation “quarta quaestio.” The question, however, begins much earlier at p. 544, l. 1, apparatus, and with the title I have given in the text.

and a series of arguments in favour of the superiority of the act of the will over the act of the intellect. Both series of arguments try to show the superiority of one act over the other on the basis of a comparison between their respective potencies, their objects and the way these acts are joined to their respective objects. Wylton remarks that these kinds of arguments are not adequate. The superiority among the potencies cannot be used to infer the superiority among the corresponding acts because potencies are known only in virtue of their acts. Furthermore, even when a potency is clearly superior to another potency, it is not always the case that this is true also for the corresponding acts. For example, the agent intellect is a more perfect potency than the possible intellect, and yet the ultimate act of the possible intellect, namely, the vision of God, is more perfect than the ultimate act of the agent intellect. Also the comparison between the objects of the acts is not of great help. Again, the case of the possible and agent intellect shows that, although the agent intellect is more perfect than the possible intellect, still the object of the possible intellect is more perfect than that of the agent intellect, if these two potencies have different objects. Furthermore, many people—Wylton remarks—posit that the intellect and the will have exactly the same object. Again, the case of the possible and agent intellect shows that the criterion of superiority among potencies or acts based on the way they are joined to their respective objects is not sound. Although the possible intellect is less perfect than the agent intellect, it is joined to the beatific object in a more perfect way than the agent intellect. Wylton suggests that those who want to support the superiority of the will should rather appeal to the freedom of the will. The question stops here so that we do not know which position Wylton finally supports.

Related Questions: Cf. q. 2.

Q. 5 *An omnes rationes quae dicuntur de Deo secundum substantiam sint eadem Deo et inter se omnibus modis ex parte rei.*

MS: V, ff. 59ra–65vb.

Edition: L.O. Nielsen, T.B. Noone, and C. Trifogli, “Thomas Wylton’s Question on the Formal Distinction as Applied to the Divine,” *DSTFM* 14 (2003), pp. 342–88.

Bibliography: For the structure, the historical setting and the content of the question, see Nielsen-Noone-Trifogli, “Thomas Wylton’s,” pp. 330–41.

Content: Ibid.

Related Questions: (1) *Utrum, posito quod attributa distinguuntur ex natura rei, utrum maior sit distinctio ipsorum ad essentiam quam relationis ad essentiam* (B, ff. 26vb–27vb). (2) *Utrum in una proprietate relativa constitutiva personae divinae...sint aliquae realitates quae non omnibus modis sint eadem ex natura rei* (T, ff. 36rb–39va).⁴⁰

Q. 6 *An accidentia eiusdem speciei possint inesse simul eidem subiecto.*

MSS: V, ff. 65vb–69va; T, ff. 52rb–59ra.

Edition: G.J. Etzkorn and R. Andrews, “Tortosa Cathedral 88: A ‘Thomas Wylton’ Manuscript and the Question on the Compatibility of Multiple Accidents in the Same Subject,” *MPP* 32 (1994), pp. 65–99.

Bibliography: Etzkorn-Andrews, “Tortosa Cathedral,” pp. 57–64.

Content: Ibid., pp. 63–4.

Related Questions: None.

Qq. 7–8 *Circa duas quaestiones de verbo singularium quae habent eandem difficultatem sic procedam et brevissime...*⁴¹

MSS: V, ff. 69vb–70vb; T, ff. 23ra–24va.

Edition: W. Senko, “Tomasza Wiltona Quaestio disputata de anima intellectiva,” *Studia Mediewistyczne* 5 (1964), pp. 117–21.⁴²

Bibliography: (1) For a possible debate between Wylton and Guy Terrena, see Xiberta, “De Mag. Guidone Terreni,” p. 262. (2) For a summary of Wylton’s position, see Z. Kuksewicz, *De Siger de Brabant à Jacques de Plaisance. La théorie de l’intellect chez les Averroïstes latins des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles* (Wrocław 1968), p. 191.

Content: See Kuksewicz, *De Siger de Brabant*, p. 191.

Related Questions: None.

⁴⁰ For a discussion of Wylton’s authorship of these two questions, see Dumont, “New Questions,” pp. 351–3, 358–9. For other questions on the same topic ascribed to Thomas Wylton by Glorieux but the authorship of which is very doubtful, see Nielsen-Noone-Trifogli, “Thomas Wylton’s,” p. 330, n. 18.

⁴¹ The title of the two questions is missing but it can be deduced from Wylton’s reply to them: “Per istud apparet ad utramque quaestionem. Ad primam, quod intellectus potest formare de singulari aliud verbum a verbo sui universalis. Ad secundam etiam dico, quod intellectus noster potest de duobus singularibus formare duo verba” (ed. Senko, “Tomasza Wiltona,” p. 121). Senko edits the two questions under the title “An intellectus noster possit de duobus singularibus formare duo verba” (ibid., p. 117), which is in fact the title of the second question.

⁴² Senko’s edition is based on the Borghese manuscript alone. The copy in the Tortosa manuscript was not known to him.

Q 9 *An ista simul stent quod motus sit aeternaliter a Deo productus et cum hoc quod Deus sic produxit mundum libere quod potuit ipsum non produxisse.*

MSS: V, ff. 71ra–79vb; T, ff. 94va–111va.

Edition: Senko, “Tomasza Wiltona,” pp. 156–90.⁴³

Bibliography: (1) For the debate between Wylton and Henry of Harclay on the infinite, see A. Maier, “Diskussionen über das aktuelle Unendliche in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts,” in eadem, *Ausgehendes Mittelalter I*, pp. 55–7 (first published in *Divus Thomas* 24 [1947], pp. 147–66, 317–37). (2) For the debate between Wylton and William of Alnwick on the eternity of the world, see Maier, “Wilhelm von Alnicks,” pp. 23–6. (3) On Wylton’s attitude to Aristotle’s arguments for the eternity of motion, see Maier, *Metaphysische Hintergründe*, pp. 7–8, n. 8; L. Hödl, “Die Kritik des Johannes de Polliaco an der philosophischen und theologischen ratio in der Auseinandersetzung mit den averroistischen Unterscheidungslehren,” in *Miscellanea Martin Grabmann*, M. Schmaus, ed. (Munich 1959), pp. 27–9. (4) On the relation between the discussions of Wylton, Harclay and Alnwick about the eternity of the world, see J.M.M.H. Thijssen, “The Response to Thomas Aquinas in the Early Fourteenth Century: Eternity and Infinity in the Works of Henry of Harclay, Thomas of Wilton and William of Alnwick O.F.M.,” in *The Eternity of the World in the Thought of Thomas Aquinas and his Contemporaries*, J.B.M. Wissink, ed. (Leiden-New York-Copenhagen-Cologne 1990), pp. 90–2. (5) For a detailed and comprehensive analysis of Wylton’s question, see R.C. Dales, *Medieval Discussions of the Eternity of the World* (Leiden-New York-Copenhagen-Cologne 1990), pp. 208–18.

Content: Dales, *Medieval Discussions*, pp. 208–18.

Related Questions: (1) *An motus sit aeternus vel aliquid causatum* (QPhys, C, ff. 114vb–116vb). (2) *Supposito quod mundum fuisse ab aeterno sit possibile, utrum hoc sit necessarium, ipsum fuisse ab aeterno* (QPhys, C, ff. 116vb–118va).

Q 10 *An ista simul stent quod aliquid sit obiectum adaequatum per se et primum alicuius potentiae et tamen quod aliquid cognoscatur per se ab illa potentia quod non continetur per se sub obiecto adaequato.*

MSS: V, ff. 79vb–80rb; T, ff. 16rb–17rb.

⁴³ The edition is based on the Borghese manuscript alone.

Edition: Senko, "Tomasza Wiltona," pp. 131–3.⁴⁴

Bibliography: None.

Content: Most of the question is devoted to the case of common sensibles, which seem to provide a positive answer to the question. Suppose, e.g., that the coloured or the bright is the per se and primary object of sight. A common sensible, like shape or rest, is per se visible, although it is not per se a coloured or bright thing.

Wylton reports Averroes' discussion of common sensibles⁴⁵ and concludes from it that common sensibles are per se sensible. There are a number of reasons suggested by Averroes in favour of this conclusion. Quantity, which is a common sensible, is necessary to produce a modification in the senses. For example, if a colour existed separated from quantity, it would not produce a modification in sight. Common sensibles also account for the fact that a proper sensible can modify the senses in different ways (e.g., a coloured thing produces different modifications in sight when it is at rest and when it is in motion). Furthermore, common sensibles as such produce a modification in sight (a shape, e.g., impresses its species in the eye), although the modification produced by a common sensible depends on that produced by a proper sensible.

Wylton further specifies in which sense of "per se" common sensibles are per se sensible. He claims that this is neither the first mode of per se nor the second mode distinguished by Aristotle in the *Posterior Analytics*. The reason for this is that common sensibles like shape, number and quantity abstract from any sensible quality. In his view, the mode of per se appropriate to common sensibles is intermediate between the mode of per se appropriate to the proper sensibles (second mode of per se) and the *per accidens*.

Wylton's reply to the question is that it is impossible that something is known by a cognitive faculty per se in the second mode of per se and yet does not fall under the per se and primary object of that faculty. The case of common sensibles is not a counter-example to this principle because they are not sensible per se in the second mode of per se. He also remarks that if "per se" is taken as the second mode of per se, then the per se objects of sight all belong to the third spe-

⁴⁴ The edition is based on the Borghese manuscript only.

⁴⁵ *Averrois Cordubensis Commentarium Magnum in Aristotelis De Anima Libros*, ed. F.D. Crawford (Cambridge, MA 1953), book II, t.c. 65, pp. 227–9.

cies of quality, but if “per se” is taken as to include the way in which common sensibles are per se sensible, then the per se objects of sight do not all belong to one category but are one only by analogy. Finally, Wylton points out that, if “per se” is taken as the second mode of per se, there is not a primary and per se object of the intellect. In particular, being (*ens*) is not such an object. If it were, then “being” would be per se in the first mode of per se predicated of “one,” “good” and “true,” which is not the case.

Related Questions: *Utrum sensibilia communia sint sensibilia per se* (QdeAn, O, ff. 266rb–267rb).

Q 11 *Utrum, ubicumque excessus alicuius arguit excessum alterius ita quod excessus unius in duplo arguit excessum alterius in duplo et sic ulterius secundum proportionem, [sequatur] ex excessu unius in infinitum sequatur excessus alterius in infinitum.*

MSS: V, ff. 80rb–81ra; T, ff. 16rb–17rb.

Edition: See Appendix II.

Bibliography: None.

Content: Wylton remarks that this question mainly arises from the case of the beatific act. For Aristotle and Averroes a cognitive habit or a cognitive act is more perfect if its object is more perfect. On the other hand, the object of the beatific act is infinitely perfect. Therefore, if the principle stated in the title of the question is valid, it follows that the beatific act would be infinitely perfect, a conclusion that Wylton rejects.

Wylton first establishes whether the perfection of cognitive acts and habits is determined by the perfection of their objects. He introduces a distinction between the intrinsic and extrinsic perfection of habits and acts. The intrinsic perfection, which is the more formal and fundamental type of perfection, is determined by the perfection of the cognitive process in the case of a habit and by the perfection of the way in which it grasps its object in the case of an act. The extrinsic perfection of habits and acts is determined by the perfection of their objects. The intrinsic perfection is that on which the distinction of the species of habits and acts (e.g., science, faith, opinion) is based. Furthermore, Wylton argues that the intrinsic perfection of an act is completely independent of the perfection of its object. E.g., our science of a triangle is intrinsically more perfect than our science of God. In particular, one can concede that the beatific act is infinite (i.e., infinitely perfect), but only in the

sense that it represents an infinite object, and not also in the sense that it has an infinite intrinsic perfection.

As to the general principle formulated in the title of the question, Wylton maintains that it is valid when one argues from “effect to cause,” but it is not valid when one argues from “cause to effect.” That is, if an effect of double intensity is produced by a cause of double power and so on for any finite proportion, then an effect of infinite intensity is produced by a cause of infinite power. But if a cause of double power produces an effect of double intensity and so on for any finite proportion, it does not necessarily follow that a cause of infinite power produces an effect of infinite intensity. For example, although the first cause has an infinite power, it does not produce an instantaneous motion or another effect of infinite intensity. Similarly, in the case of the beatific act, even if the intrinsic perfection of the beatific act were determined by its object and even if this object were the total cause of this act (both of these premises are denied by Wylton), the beatific act would still be of finite perfection.

Related Questions: Cf. q. 2.

Q. 12 *An identitas realis in divinis suscipiat magis et minus.*

MS: V, f. 81ra–b.

Edition: See Appendix II.

Bibliography: None.

Content: The pro-argument of this question appeals to the real (i.e., formal *ex parte rei*) distinction between the perfections of God (e.g., goodness and wisdom). The contra-argument says that less unity also implies less entity and less goodness, given the convertibility of “one,” “being” and “good.”

In his reply to the question, Wylton resorts to a distinction between two senses of unity that he had introduced in the “quaestio de attributis,” i.e., in question 5 of the *Quodlibet*.⁴⁶ In the first sense, something is one if it lacks parts. In the second sense, something is one if it lacks not only parts but also any multiplicity and distinction of modes or perfections. God is absolutely one in the first sense, so that the unity or identity of God in the first sense does not admit of degrees. God is not absolutely

⁴⁶ Wylton often refers to q. 5 as to the “quaestio de attributis.” For the distinction of two senses of unity in the “quaestio de attributis,” see Nielsen-Noone-Trifogli, “Thomas Wylton’s,” p. 363.

one in the second sense. Indeed, in God there are many really distinct perfections. A multitude of perfections and hence lack of unity in the second sense do not posit any imperfection in God nor in any creature. The greater the number of perfections an entity has the more perfect it is. The contra-argument is valid in the case of God only if unity is understood in the first sense.

Related Questions: Cf. q. 5.

Q. 13 *Circa numerum an sit ens formaliter praeter animam.*

MS: V, ff. 81va–83rb.

Edition: C. Trifogli and L.O. Nielsen, “Thomas Wylton’s Questions on Number, the Instant, and Time,” *DSTFM* 16 (2005), pp. 74–87.⁴⁷

Bibliography: Ibid.

Content: Ibid., pp. 58–62.

Related Questions: *Utrum numerus qui oritur ex divisione continui addat aliquam rem super continuum* (B, f. 29rb–vb).

Q. 14 *An finis quo sit causa.*

MS: V, ff. 83rb–85rb.

Edition: Senko, “Tomasza Wiltona,” pp. 148–55.

Bibliography: For an analysis of Wylton’s position and his debate with Guy Terrena, see Maier, *Metaphysische Hintergründe*, pp. 290–5; C. Trifogli, “Thomas Wylton on Final Causality,” in *Erfahrung und Beweis. Die Wissenschaften von der Natur im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, A. Fidora and M. Lutz-Bachmann, eds. (Berlin 2007), pp. 249–64.

Content: Trifogli, “Thomas Wylton on Final Causality,” pp. 251–60.

Related Questions: *Utrum finis sit causa operationis efficienter* (QPhys, C, ff. 28vb–29va).

Q. 15 *An nunc secundum substantiam sit mensura propria rei generabilis et corruptibilis secundum esse permanens eius.*⁴⁸

⁴⁷ This paper contains also the edition of q. 15 of the *Quodlibet* (see below) and of two questions by Wylton on time and number respectively contained in the Beinecke manuscript. These are *Utrum tempus habeat esse reale distinctum a motu secundum suum esse formale* (pp. 106–12; B, ff. 28vb–29rb) and *Utrum numerus qui oritur ex divisione continui addat aliquam rem super continuum* (pp. 113–17; B, f. 29rb–vb).

⁴⁸ The title is not found at the beginning of the question but is specified in Wylton’s reply to the question: “Dico ergo ad formam quaestionis quod nunc secundum substantiam est mensura propria rei generabilis et corruptibilis secundum esse permanens eius, quae fuerit titulus quaestionis” (ed. Trifogli-Nielsen, p. 89, ll. 38–40). The *incipit*

MS: V, ff. 85rb–87va.

Edition: Trifogli-Nielsen, “Thomas Wylton’s Questions on Number,” pp. 88–105.

Bibliography: For an analysis of Wylton’s position and his polemic against Duns Scotus, see C. Trifogli, “Thomas Wylton on the Instant of Time,” in *Mensch und Natur im Mittelalter*, A. Zimmermann, ed. (Berlin-New York 1991), pp. 308–18.

Content: Trifogli-Nielsen, “Thomas Wylton’s Questions on Number,” pp. 63–8.

Related Questions: (1) *Utrum instans maneat unum et idem in toto tempore* (QPhys, C, ff. 68ra–69ra). (2) *Utrum instans causet tempus* (QPhys, C, ff. 69ra–70ra).

Q. 16 *An in materia generabilium praecedat aliqua dimensio formam substantialem inducendam.*

MS: V, ff. 87va–90vb.

Edition: Senko, “Tomasza Wiltona,” pp. 133–48.

Bibliography: For a reference to Wylton’s rejection of the position of Godfrey of Fontaines, see A. Maier, *Die Verläufer Galileis im 14. Jahrhundert* (Rome 1949), p. 47, n. 22.

Content: Wylton specifies that the question asks whether in the matter of things subject to generation there is a dimension such that it is a disposition that matter must have in order to receive form, and that it is inseparable from matter, and, like matter, it persists as numerically the same in generation and corruption. When the question is so specified, then the answer to it depends on the answer to a conceptually prior question, namely, whether quantity belongs to a composite substance (i) in virtue of its matter or (ii) in virtue of its form or (iii) one type of quantity belongs to a composite substance in virtue of its matter and another type of quantity belongs to it in virtue of its form. Wylton then presents three opinions about the latter question, which correspond to the three alternatives (i)–(iii).⁴⁹

The first opinion is that quantity belongs to a composite substance in virtue of its matter and thus posits that matter has a dimension inseparable from it and prior to any form induced in it. Wylton remarks that

of the question is: “Circa hanc quaestionem primo ponam opinionem quam credo esse veram...” (p. 88, l. 3).

⁴⁹ Cf. Senko, “Tomasza Wiltona,” pp. 134, l. 19–136, l. 37.

this opinion is common among the Artists, but he thinks that it must be rejected. This opinion is committed to posit the unity of substantial form in man. Furthermore, it does not account for the fact that matter under different forms assumes different quantities.

The second opinion is that quantity primarily belongs to a composite in virtue of its form. This is the opinion of Avicenna, who posits that every quantity is determined by the first form, namely, the form of the body (*forma corporeitatis*).⁵⁰

The third opinion is that one type of quantity belongs to a composite substance in virtue of its matter and another in virtue of its form. This is the opinion of Averroes. Averroes posits that indefinite dimension (*dimensio interminata*) precedes the form and persists even when the form no longer inheres in matter, whereas definite dimension (*dimensio terminata*) is posterior to and determined by the form. The rest of this quodlibetal question is devoted to the discussion of the position of Averroes.

First Wylton extensively reports Averroes' discussion of this problem in the *De substantia orbis*.⁵¹ Averroes argues that (i) indefinite dimensions are necessary to account for the divisibility of a substantial form, i.e., for the fact that there are many individuals with specifically the same substantial form; (ii) definite dimensions insofar as they are definite are posterior to the substantial form and determined by it; (iii) indefinite dimensions are inseparable from matter; (iv) the form of celestial bodies, unlike that of bodies subject to generation and corruption, is not received in matter by means of indefinite dimension, but is totally responsible for the quantity of the composite; (v) the position of Avicenna is not sound.

Wylton then presents a series of standard arguments against Averroes.⁵² Most of these arguments are against the position of indefinite dimension in matter prior to any substantial form. This position seems to imply that the first act of matter is indefinite dimension and not a substantial form. Similarly, it seems to imply that substantial form would be the act of matter not by itself but only by means of indefinite dimension, so that the accidental composite of matter and indefinite

⁵⁰ Cf. Avicenna, *Sufficientia* I, c. 2 (ed. Venice 1508; reprint Louvain 1961), f. 14ra-b.

⁵¹ Cf. Averroes Cordubensis, *De Substantia orbis*, c. 1 (Aristotelis Opera cum Averrois commentariis, 9) (ed. Venice 1562; reprint Frankfurt 1962), ff. 3vb-5ra.

⁵² Cf. Senko, "Tomasza Wiltona," pp. 136, l. 38-138, l. 25.

dimension would be prior to the essential composite. Other arguments are against the distinction of two types of quantity in a composite, since this would imply that two quantities exist simultaneously in the same subject. Other objections show that Averroes' arguments in favour of his position are not conclusive.

Wylton remarks that, notwithstanding these objections, there are people who want to support the opinion of Averroes. Wylton divides these people into two main groups: those who claim to follow Averroes but in fact follow Avicenna, the pseudo-Averroists, for short; those who really follow Averroes, the genuine Averroists.

The first pseudo-Averroist considered by Wylton is Godfrey of Fontaines.⁵³ Wylton claims that Godfrey does not actually follow Averroes' position because Godfrey denies that there is a quantity that persists as numerically the same in generation and corruption, so that as a matter of fact every quantity is determined by the substantial form, and this is the opinion of Avicenna. Another pseudo-Averroist position reported by Wylton ascribes to Averroes the view that indefinite dimension is not an accident and hence not a quantity, but some kind of diversity or extendibility proper to matter and prior to any form. Furthermore, according to this position, both matter and form, when they actually exist in the composite, have parts in virtue of their essence and not primarily in virtue of quantity. Wylton shows that Averroes actually posits that indefinite dimension is an accident and in particular a quantity. He also shows that a substance is actually extended only in virtue of quantity.

As to the genuine Averroists, Wylton reports two main arguments formulated by these people in favour of Averroes' doctrine of indefinite dimension and not present in Averroes. The first argument shows that indefinite dimension in matter is necessary to account for the increase of bodies. The second shows that indefinite dimension in matter is necessary to account for the fact that the locomotion concomitant to the transformation of air into fire is not instantaneous. Wylton, however, thinks that these two arguments are not conclusive.⁵⁴

⁵³ Ibid., pp. 138, l. 30–139, l. 34. Cf. Godfrey of Fontaines, *Quodlibet* XI, q. 3, ed. J. Hoffmans (Leuven 1932). On this question of Godfrey, see E.D. Sylla, "Godfrey of Fontaines on Motion with Respect to Quantity of the Eucharist," in *Studi sul xiv secolo in memoria di Anneliese Maier*, A. Maierù and A. Paravicini-Bagliani, eds. (Rome 1981), pp. 105–41.

⁵⁴ Cf. Senko, "Tomasza Wiltona," pp. 141, l. 20–143, l. 7.

In the last part of the question Wylton expresses his own view about Averroes' position.⁵⁵ He thinks that Averroes' position is true and defends it against the objections to it presented in other parts of the question. The most original aspects of Wylton's interpretation of Averroes' position appear in the extensive discussion that he devotes to the objection that two distinct quantities, namely, indefinite and definite quantities, would simultaneously exist in the same subject.⁵⁶ Wylton rejects the solution given by some people, who distinguish the primary recipients of these two quantities and claim that the primary recipient of indefinite quantity is matter whereas the primary recipient of definite quantity is form. He thinks that in Averroes' intention the primary recipient of quantity (either definite or indefinite) is matter alone, whereas form receives quantity only accidentally, namely insofar as it is received in extended matter.

Wylton clarifies three aspects of his own interpretation of Averroes. The first aspect is about how indefinite and definite quantity must be understood. Wylton maintains that a quantity existing in some matter can be said to be both definite and indefinite from different points of view. It is definite because there is a definite limit such that that matter cannot be expanded beyond that limit. It is indefinite because that same matter can vary in extension within that limit. For example, the quantity of a handful of earth cannot be extended beyond that of a thousand handfuls of fire, and in this sense it is definite. However, it can well be extended to the quantity of ten handfuls of water and of one hundred handfuls of air, and in this sense it is indefinite. The different termini that quantity assumes within the same matter are compared to the different degrees that whiteness assumes within the same white body. As to the type of unity of indefinite quantity, Wylton distinguishes two types of numerical unity of a form: a weaker type, which is determined by the numerical unity of the subject of that form, and a stronger type, which is determined by the unity of the terminus assumed by that form. Indefinite quantity has only the first type of numerical unity.

The second aspect is about the type of distinction between indefinite and definite quantity. The question is whether these two quantities are basically the same thing or definite quantity is an accident of indefinite quantity. In Wylton's view, the relation of definite quantity to indefinite

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 143, l. 8–148, l. 39.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 145, l. 13–148, l. 39.

quantity is analogous to the relation of different degrees of whiteness to whiteness. Degrees of whiteness are not properly speaking accidents of whiteness, but can be said to be accidents of whiteness in the sense that they can vary within the same white subject. Similarly, definite quantity and indefinite quantity are the same thing, and definite quantity can be said to be an accident of indefinite quantity in the sense that it can vary in matter informed by indefinite quantity.

The third aspect is about the relation between definite quantity and form. Wylton maintains that definite quantity precedes form by priority of origin and not of time, in the sense that it is presupposed by form as a necessary disposition in matter in virtue of which matter is proportionate to that form, but it actually exists as permanent only after the form has been introduced.

Related Questions: *Utrum in quolibet genere sint tria principia transmutationis naturalis, quae principia sunt eiusdem generis praedicabilis, sicut accidit in genere substantiae* (QPhys, C, ff. 18va–19vb).

Q. 17 *An aliqua relatio dicta de Deo ex tempore de novo sit relatio realis.*

MS: V, ff. 90vb–91vb.

Edition: Some passages from this question are edited by Mark Henninger in the footnotes of his paper “Thomas Wylton’s Theory of Relations,” *DSTFM* 1.2 (1990), pp. 457–90.

Bibliography: For an analysis of Wylton’s position and his debate with Henry of Harclay and Peter Auriol, see Henninger, “Thomas Wylton’s,” pp. 457–90.

Content: Ibid., pp. 468–79.

Related Questions: (1) *Utrum relationes respectivae quae dicuntur de Deo ex tempore sint reales* (edited in Henninger, “Thomas Wylton’s,” p. 464, n. 25). (2) *Determinatio contra Petrum Aureoli* (edited in F. Del Punta and C. Luna, *Aegidii Romani Opera Omnia, I: Catalogo dei Manoscritti (239–293) 1/3* Francia (Dipartimenti)* [Florence 1987], pp. 211–18); (3) *Utrum ad relationem realem requiratur (requiritur B) quod habeat fundamentum reale, ex quo oriatur ex natura rei, et terminum realem in actu et extrema realiter distincta* (B, ff. 25vb–26vb). (4) *Replicationes quaedam quod non quaelibet relatio in actu requirat terminum in actu* (T, ff. 43vb–46ra).⁵⁷

⁵⁷ For a discussion of Wylton’s authorship for items (3) and (4), see Dumont, “New Questions,” pp. 348–50, 362–6. An incomplete copy of the *Replicationes* is preserved in manuscript BAV, Borgh. lat. 171, f. 36r–v. See *ibid.*, pp. 362–6.

Q. 18 *An relatio originis in divinis secundum rationem eius formalem quae est ipsum “esse ad” sit perfectio aliqua simpliciter loquendo.*

MS: V, ff. 92ra–96va.

Edition: Cf. q. 17.

Bibliography: Cf. q. 17.

Content: Cf. q. 17.

Related Questions: Cf. q. 17.

Note on Appendix II: Appendix II is an edition of questions 11 and 12 of Wylton’s *Quodlibet*. Question 11 is preserved in two manuscripts: V (ff. 80rb–81ra) and T (ff. 16rb–17rb). In my edition I have essentially followed V and used to T to emend V. Question 12 is preserved only in V (f. 81ra–b). * = *lectio incerta*.

APPENDIX I

Glorieux's List⁵⁸

1. Utrum essentia divina sit infinita perfectione intensive
2. Utrum in visione beata requiratur lumen gloriae necessitate absoluta
3. Utrum actus beatificus sit simplex
4. Utrum actus voluntatis sit perfectior portio beatitudinis
5. Utrum rationes quae dicuntur de Deo sint eadem inter se omnibus modis ex parte rei
6. Utrum accidentia ejusdem speciei possint simul inesse eidem subjecto
7. Utrum intellectus noster possit intelligere singulare
8. Utrum cum unitate specifica speciei atomae alicujus qualitatis stet distinctio graduum infra illam naturam sic unam
9. Utrum qualitas eadem numero suscipiat magis et minus
10. Utrum minus calidum opponatur perfecte calido solum privative
11. Utrum gradus albedinis sint simpliciter indivisibiles
12. Utrum ista simul stent, videlicet quod mundus sit aeternaliter productus et quod fuerit sic productus quod potuerit non produci
13. Utrum ista simul stent, quod aliquid sit objectum alicujus potentiae adaequatum, et quod aliquid sit apprehensibile ab ista potentia quod non contineatur sub illo objecto
14. Utrum identitas realis in divinis suscipiat magis et minus
15. Utrum numerus formaliter sit ens praeter animam
16. Utrum finis quo sit causa
17. Utrum in materia generabilium praecedat aliqua dimensio formam quae inducitur
18. Utrum aliqua relatio dicta de Deo in tempore sit relatio realis
19. Utrum relatio originis in divinis dicat perfectionem simpliciter
20. Utrum illa quae sunt idem realiter, unum possit connotare unum quod aliud non connotet
21. Utrum quaelibet ratio attributalis in Deo sit infinita formaliter
22. Utrum in materia prima possit induci a Deo aliqua forma quae non possit per agens naturale educi de ea
23. Utrum demonstrative possit probari animam intellectivam esse formam corporis humani
24. Utrum substantia prius intelligatur quam accidens
25. Utrum universale et particulare intelligantur una intellectione in numero
26. Utrum animae Petri et Pauli differant solo numero
27. Utrum <natura> humana cum Verbo dicat absolutum
28. Utrum aliqua virtus moralis pertineat ad vitam contemplativam
29. Utrum expediat amplificare exemptiones personarum ecclesiasticarum
30. Utrum sit magis licitum magistro in theologia tenere plura beneficia quam alteri
31. Utrum expediat religionem instituere de puris laicis
32. Utrum aliquis sciens artem aliquam, in religione existens, debeat religionem exire et operari secundum artem illam
33. Utrum ars campsoria sit licita⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Glorieux's list comes from the table of contents at f. 46va–b of manuscript V. Cf. Glorieux II, pp. 278–279.

⁵⁹ The six questions following in the list at f. 46va–b, which, according to Glorieux

Maier's List⁶⁰

1. An essentia divina sit perfectio infinita intensive
2. Utrum necessario necessitate absoluta requiratur lumen gloriae in visione beata
3. Utrum actus beatificus sit simplex
4. Utrum actus voluntatis sit perfectior portio beatitudinis
5. An omnes rationes quae dicuntur de Deo secundum substantiam sint eadem [et] inter se omnibus modis ex parte rei
6. An accidentia eiusdem speciei possint inesse simul eidem subiecto
- 7–8. *The title of these two questions is missing. The text begins with: "Circa duas quaestiones de verbo singularium quae habent eandem difficultatem, sic procedam et brevissime..."*
9. An ista simul stent, quod motus sit aeternaliter a Deo productus et cum hoc, quod Deus sic produxit mundum libere quod potuit ipsum non produxisse
10. An ista simul stent, quod aliquid sit obiectum adaequatum per se et primum alicuius potentiae et tamen quod aliquid cognoscatur per se ab illa potentia quod non continetur per se sub obiecto adaequato
11. Utrum ubicumque excessus alicuius arguit excessum alterius ita quod excessus unius in duplo arguit excessum alterius in duplo et sic ulterius secundum proportionem, sequatur ex excessu unius in infinitum excessus alterius in infinitum
12. Quarta est quaestio in hoc quaternio an identitas realis in divinis suscipiat magis et minus
13. An numerus sit ens formaliter praeter animam
14. An finis quo sit causa
15. An nunc secundum substantiam sit mensura propria rei generabilis et corruptibilis secundum esse permanens eius
16. An in materia generabilium praecedat aliqua dimensio formam substantialem inducendam
17. An aliqua relatio dicta de Deo ex tempore de novo sit relatio realis
18. An relatio originis in divinis secundum rationem eius formalem, quae est ipsum esse ad, sit perfectio aliqua simpliciter loquendo

and Maier, do not belong to Wylton's *Quodlibet*, are: 34. Utrum in voluntate creata sit ponenda actio differens a voluntate et ab actu volendi. 35. Utrum Deus cognoscat alia a se distincte. 36. Utrum Deus habeat scientiam futurorum contingentium. 37. Utrum Deus cognoscat infinita. 38. Utrum virtutes intellectuales sint eminentiores moralibus. 39. Utrum virtutes theologicae sint homini necessariae.

⁶⁰ Maier's list is that of the questions actually contained in manuscript V. Cf. Maier, "Das Quodlibet," pp. 89–90.

APPENDIX II

THOMAE WYLTON QUAESTIO QUODLIBETALIS 11

Utrum, ubicumque excessus alicuius arguit excessum alterius ita quod excessus unius in duplo arguit excessum alterius in duplo et sic ulterius secundum proportionem, ex excessu unius in infinitum sequatur excessus alterius in infinitum.

- 5 Arguitur quod sic ex processu Philosophi, VIII *Physicorum*, ubi arguit: si virtus infinita esset in magnitudine moveret in non tempore. Ad istam conclusionem probandam supponit istum processum: virtus in magnitudine maior movet aequale mobile in minori tempore sic quod si in duplo maior movet in duplo in minori tempore, si in quad-
- 10 ruplo, in quadruplo; ergo si aliqua virtus esset infinita intensive in magnitudine moveret in non tempore omnino. Fundatur ergo argumentum Philosophi in hoc quod ubi excessus in uno arguit similem excessum in alio quod infinitas in uno arguit excessum in infinitum in alio.
- 15 Contra: actus intelligendi et habitus dicuntur perfectiores et imperfectiores proportionaliter secundum perfectionem et imperfectionem obiectorum; ergo cum actus beatificus in patria habeat obiectum in infinitum excedens omnia alia obiecta in perfectione, iam esset actus formaliter et intensive infinitus, quod falsum est.
- 20 Nec valet si dicatur quod infinitas in obiecto arguit infinitatem actus ubi potentia per actum comprehendit obiectum et non solum [V 80va] apprehendit quia, licet intellectus creatus in patria non comprehendat obiectum, tamen attingit obiectum secundum rationem infiniti. Aliter non beatificaretur nec attingeret aliquid quod est formaliter in
- 25 Deo. Nam nullum finitum est formaliter in Deo. Igitur si ex perfectione [T 16va] obiecti quod attingitur per potentiam sequitur proportionaliter perfectio in actu, sequetur quod actus beatificus sit intensive infinitus.

5 Aristoteles, *Physica*, VIII.10, 266a24-b6.

1 alicuius] unius T 2 excessum] excessus V 3 proportionem] sequatur *add.* V 5 Philosophi] Aristotelis T 9 in³ *om.* T 11 in non tempore omnino] omnino in non tempore T 11-12 argumentum Philosophi] ratio Aristotelis T 13 excessum²] excessus V 17 beatificus] beatitudinis V 18-19 iam... falsum est *om.* V 21 actus] in potentia sive *add.* T 25 finitum *corr. ex* infinitum V || formaliter *om.* V 26 attingitur] attingatur T || sequitur] sequatur T 26-27 proportionaliter] potentialiter T 27 sequetur] sequitur T || sit] formaliter *add.* T

Ista quaestio proponebatur principaliter propter rationem ad oppositum, quae difficultatem suam habet specialiter ex quodam dicto Philosophi et Commentatoris. Vult enim Philosophus, VI *Metaphysicae*, quod habitus, ut scientia, et eadem ratione actus est nobilior quia
 5 nobilioris subiecti vel obiecti. Et Commentator, VI *Metaphysicae*, commento 2, dicit quod hoc est manifestum per se. Ex illo videtur quod secundum proportionem perfectionis obiecti habitus et actus dicuntur perfectiores. Propter quod sic procedam: primo dicam quomodo actus et habitus capiunt perfectionem ab obiecto et qualiter non;
 10 secundo respondebo ad formam quaestionis et declarabo in quibus illa regula est bona et in quibus non; tertio ex his apparebit responsio ad argumenta.

<Articulus primus>

Circa primum sciendum quod, ut vult Philosophus, I *De anima*, notitia aliqua dicitur nobilior vel perfectior alia duplici de causa: vel quia
 15 certiori modo procedens, si sit habitus, vel perfectius obiectum attingens, si sit actus. Alio modo quia est circa obiectum perfectius cui actus vel habitus assimilatur intellectum vel coniungit. Primo modo dicitur actus vel habitus perfectior vel minus perfectus perfectione intrinseca sui generis. Et secundum maiorem perfectionem istam et
 20 minorem attenditur distinctio inter habitus et actus secundum speciem et genus proximum. Verbi gratia, sic scientia et opinio et fides distinguuntur specie circa idem obiectum. Similiter scientia tam secundum actum quam secundum habitum circa idem obiectum differt secundum magis et minus perfectum. Et in talibus habitus vel actus per quem
 25 maior evidentia habetur respectu cuiuscumque sic est perfectior. Secundo modo dicuntur actus et habitus perfectiores solum perfectione extrinseca. Non enim actus intelligendi quo intelligo substantiam dif-

3-4 Aristoteles, *Metaphysica*, VI.1, 1026a21-22. 5-6 Averroes, *In Metaphysicam*, VI, t. c. 2, f. 146vaH-I. 13 Aristoteles, *De Anima*, I.1, 402a1-4.

2 difficultatem suam habet] habet difficultatem suam T || habet] principaliter et add. T 3 VI] XI* T, II* V 5 vel] et T 6 per] ex T || illo videtur] quo sequitur T 8 dicuntur] erunt T 8-9 quomodo] qualiter T 9 actus et habitus] habitus et actus T || ab obiecto] ex obiectis T 11 in om. V || apparebit responsio] patebit T 13 primum] est add. T 15 certiori] perfectiori T || procedens] procedit T 15-16 attingens] attingit T 16 quia] ex hoc quod T 17 assimilatur] assimilant TV 19 perfectionem istam inv. T || et] vel T 20 habitus et actus] actus et habitus T 21 genus] etiam add. T 23 actum quam secundum habitum] habitum quam secundum actum T || differt] differunt T 24 habitus vel actus] actus vel habitus T 25 maior evidentia... perfectior] habetur maior evidentia est perfectior respectu cuiuscumque sic T 27-p.260.1 substantiam... intelligi om. hom. V

fert genere ab actu quo intelligo accidens, sed uterque actus est in eodem genere logico, et eodem modo de actu intelligendi quo intelligo Deum. Nam actus intelligendi qualitercumque assimilet potentiam obiecto vel representet obiectum vel coniungat potentiam obiecto eo ipso distinguitur ab obiecto essentialiter, sive isti actus vel habitus causentur ab obiecto solum effective sive ab intellectu solum sive ab obiecto et intellectu simul tamquam a duabus causis partialibus. Probo quia actus intelligendi secundum omnes vel est relatio essentialiter vel passio vel actio vel qualitas, et per eandem rationem qua actus intelligendi asinum est relatio vel passio vel aliquod aliorum per eandem rationem et actus intelligendi Deum, quia actus intelligendi Deum assimilatur intellectum Deo, sicut actus intelligendi asinum assimilatur intellectum asino.

Ex isto colligo talem rationem: illud quod respectu cuiuscumque obiecti [T 16vb] retinet naturam eiusdem generis essentialiter et etiam speciei non capit ab obiecto perfectionem essentialem intrinsecam generis vel speciei; sed habitus scientialis <et> actus intelligendi species intelligibiles respectu cuiuscumque obiecti, etiam respectu Dei, si Deus per speciem intelligatur, retinent et naturam eiusdem generis et speciei. Si enim sint relationes, ad eundem modum relationis, puta ad tertium, pertinent, si qualitates, ad primam speciem, et sic de aliis; ideo etc.

Loquendo de perfectione actuum et habituum primo modo dico quod illa perfectio in nullo variatur nec attenditur penes perfectionem vel imperfectionem obiecti. Immo, secundum hoc scientia quam habeo de triangulo est perfectior quam cognitio quam habeo de Deo. Et sic loquens Commentator, II *Metaphysicae*, commento 16, dicit quod demonstrationes mathematicae sunt in primo ordine certitudinis. Loquendo autem de perfectione actuum et habituum non intrinseca a quibus denominantur extrinsece, sic nobilitas actuum et habituum attenditur ex nobilitate et perfectione obiectorum, et ita absque inconvenienti potest concedi quod actus noster beatificus est infinitus, quia representat infinitum, finitus tamen formaliter.

27 Averroes, *In Metaphysicam*, II, t. c. 16, f. 35vbK.

1 est *om.* V 3 assimilet] assimilent T, assimiletur V 4 coniungat] coniunget V
5 habitus] actus V 7 obiecto et intellectu] intellectu et obiecto T || Probo] probatio T
9 passio vel actio] actio vel passio T 10 aliquod aliorum] qualitas T 11 Deum²] Dei V
19 retinent] retineret T || et¹ *om.* T 21 pertinent] pertineret T || primam] tertiam T || speciem *om.* T || aliis] et *add.* T 27 loquens] de aliis T || 16] 3* V

- Dubium tamen est quare habitus et actus dicuntur perfectiores et minus perfecti ab extrinseco, cum tamen alia entia, puta individua substantiae et qualitates, ut albedo, solum dicuntur magis perfecta vel minus perfecta [V 80vb] perfectione intrinseca. Similiter ex quo res
- 5 principalius videtur denominari ab intrinseco quam ab extrinseco, videretur sequi quod simpliciter loquendo non esset scientia nobilior quia nobilioris subiecti, cuius contrarium dicit Commentator, VI *Metaphysicae*, commento 2, ubi dicit quod manifestum est per se quod nobilior scientia est nobilioris subiecti.
- 10 Ad primum dicendum quod sicut in motibus corporalibus, qui sunt actus imperfecti, eo ipso quod sunt actus ordinati ad ulteriorem perfectionem, denominantur a terminis ad quos, qui sunt fines motus, finis autem est causa extrinseca rei, et ideo haec denominatio est extrinseca—propter quod motus denominatur perfectior vel imper-
- 15 fectionior non solum a perfectione intrinseca, sicut motus primus, qui dicitur perfectissimus quia in se simplicissimus, dicitur etiam motus aliquis perfectissimus perfectione extrinseca, et sic generatio est mutatio perfectissima, et motus localis imperfectissimus quia terminus eius est imperfectior substantia, qualitate vel quantitate—sic est in actibus
- 20 et habitibus intellectus, qui sunt quidam motus perfecti coniungentes intellectum nostrum cum fine ultimo nobis modo possibili et etiam cum his quae sunt ad finem, et ideo non solum tales actus vel habitus nati sunt denominari a perfectionibus intrinsecis, sed ab obiectis extrinsecis quae se habent ut fines cum quibus tales habitus et actus nos
- 25 copulant et coniungunt et assimilant.
- Ad secundum dicendum quod, licet principia intrinseca rei sint essentialiora [T 17ra] quam extrinseca, principia tamen extrinseca, saltem finis, principalior est omni causa intrinseca et maxime finis cuius, scilicet extrinsecus. Et ideo haec est causa quare simpliciter
- 30 dicunt Philosophus et Commentator quod nobilior est scientia nobilioris subiecti, quia subiectum se habet ut finis extrinsecus et ideo tam-

7-8 Cf. *supra*, p.259.5-6. 30 Cf. *supra*, p.259.2-3.

1 Dubium tamen est] Tamen est sciendum V 1-3 perfectiores... dicuntur *om. hom.* V 3 vel] et T 4 Similiter] alia dubitatio est quia T || res *om.* T 5 principalis videtur] videntur principaliter T || ab²] ex V 6 videretur] videtur T 12 quos] et *add.* V 14 vel] et T 15 sicut] ut T 16 simplicissimus *om.* V 16-17 motus aliquis *inv.* T 19 qualitate vel quantitate] quantitate et qualitate T || est²] etiam T 22 tales] talis TV 23 nati sunt] natus est T || sed] etiam *add.* T 24 nos] non V 25 et coniungunt *om.* T 26 dicendum] dico T 27 principia tamen extrinseca *om. hom.* T 29 scilicet] finis *add.* T

quam ab ultimo et optimo ab eo fit denominatio. Et sic habet intelligi illud Philosophi quod modicum scire de entibus perfectis et superioribus est perfectius quam plura scire de istis inferioribus, quod habet intelligi in eadem specie habitus, puta habere notitiam evidentem quae
 5 terminetur ad scientiam perfectionis maioris est quam cognitio perfecta de istis corporalibus. Tamen comparando habitum unum imperfectum secundum se ad entia perfecta, puta cognitionem opinionis vel fidei ad Deum, et habitum perfectum scientiae ad ista inferiora, non oportet concedere habitum simpliciter perfectiorem qui est respectu
 10 obiecti magis perfecti.

<Articulus secundus>

Secundo respondeo ad formam quaestionis quod illa regula in aliquibus est necessaria et in aliquibus non tenet. Ubi enim arguitur ex excessu in effectu proportionaliter similis excessus in causa sequitur necessario ex excessu omnino improporionali vel infinito in effectu
 15 infinitas perfectionis in causa, tamen econverso ubi ex excessu virtutis in causa arguitur excessus in effectu proportionaliter secundum virtutem finitam non sequitur quod ex excessu infinito in causa intensive sequatur infinitas huius in effectu.

Unde quod Aristoteles in VIII *Physicorum* infert ex hoc quod, si
 20 virtus infinita esset in magnitudine, moveret in non tempore, hoc sequitur ex antecedente quod implicat contradictionem, non ex antecedente possibili. Nam prima causa secundum veritatem est infinitae virtutis intensive, sed ex hoc non sequitur quod posset movere in non tempore vel causare aliquem effectum intensive infinitum. Nam
 25 utrumque implicat contradictionem.

<Articulus tertius>

Per istud patet ad rationem primae partis quomodo concludit et super quo fundatur demonstratio Philosophi, VIII *Physicorum*.

Ad rationem etiam pro alia parte patet, dato quod actus intelligendi suam perfectionem caperet intrinsecam ab obiecto, quod nego, similiter dato quod obiectum esset totalis causa effectiva actus beatifici sive
 30

3 Aristoteles, *De partibus animalium*, I.5, 644b31-35. 19 Cf. *supra*, p.258.5 26 Cf. *supra*, p.258.5-14. 28 Cf. *supra*, p.258.15-19.

3-4 quod habet... habitus *om.* T 5 terminetur] terminet V 15 ubi *om.* T 16 effectu] proportionaliter similis excessu in causa *add. et del.* V || in effectu proportionaliter] proportionaliter in effectu T 17 intensive *om.* T 18 sequatur] sequitur T 19 in *om.* T || si *om.* V 20 non tempore] instanti T 21 ex¹ antecedente] existente* T 26 rationem] argumentum T 27 quo] hoc T || Philosophi] Aristotelis T 28 etiam *om.* T 29 caperet intrinsecam *inv.* T 30 totalis causa *inv.* T || effectiva *om.* T

partialis, ita quod essentia divina ut essentia moveat ad cognitionem sui non per actum voluntatis, quod similiter nego, adhuc non tenet haec regula “si causa efficiens effectus alicuius a qua effectus suam perfectionem capit ita quod a perfectiori causa finita procedit perfectior effectus, ergo a causa perfectionis infinitae intensive procedit effectus infinitus,” quoniam, ut [V 81ra] dictum est, effectui repugnat infinitas, sive causa sua sit finita sive infinita. Si autem detur quod actus intelligendi sit totaliter effective ab intellectu et obiectum sit sine quo non, tunc certum est quod regula non valet, quia licet intellectus posset perficere perfectiorem actum circa perfectius obiectum, praesupposita in ipso specie et similitudine obiecti, tamen ex quo illa similitudo non tollit ab intellectu finitatem entitatis suae nec per consequens virtutis sequitur quod in nullum actum infinitae perfectionis possit. Et per hoc patet ad quaestionem et ad argumenta.

15 Sed adhuc arguitur quod actus intelligendi beatificus sit infinitus, quia actus qui in perfectione excedit omnem alium actum circa aliud obiectum datum vel dabile est infinitae perfectionis. Probatio huius statim quia excedit infinitos actus habentes ordinem secundum perfectionem. Sed actus quo beatus videt Deum est huiusmodi, quia excedit
20 actum circa quamcumque creaturam datam vel dabilem.

Dicendum primo quod creaturae datae et dabiles sunt finitae alterius et alterius speciei, quia sunt essentialiter ordinatae et ordini repugnat infinitas. Et ideo maior est falsa quod qui in perfectione excedit omnem alium actum circa aliud obiectum a Deo est infinitus. Si autem
25 antecedens accipiat quod actus excedens omnem actum finitum est infinitus, tunc maior est vera, sed minor falsa.

Sed contra: si actus beatificus sit finitus, a virtute finita posset causari.

Istud non valet, quia secundum hoc angelus, caelum et materia
30 prima possent in esse produci per creaturam. Similiter nihil potest

6 Cf. *supra*, p.262.25

1 partialis] sive totalis *add.* V 3 effectus alicuius *inv.* T 6 quoniam] quia T 9 sine quo] causa sine qua T || valet *om.* T || licet *rep.* V 10 posset *om.* T 13 virtutis] virtutem V 14 possit] poterit T 16 in perfectione *om.* T 17-18 huius statim *om.* T 18 quia] quod *add.* T 18-19 perfectionem] est intensive infinitum *add.* T 20 dabilem] dato quod infinite essent *add.* T 23 excedit *om.* V 25 antecedens] *lectio incerta* V, *fortasse scribendum aliter; om.* T || accipiat] sic *add.* T 26 minor] et minor *add.* V 27 beatificus] beatitudinis V 27-28 a virtute finita posset causari] igitur poterit causari a creatura et a virtute finita T 30 in esse produci] produci in esse T

- causare notitiam rei imprimendo propriam eius similitudinem intellectui vel sensui nisi ipsamet res cuius est illa notitia vel aliud quod virtualiter omnem perfectionem alterius rei contineat, quod soli Deo convenit, ut patet inductive. Licet enim homo sit perfectior species
- 5 musca vel ligno, tamen non potest causare in intellectu alicuius nec speciem muscae nec ligni. Sed perfectionem Dei nihil aliud continet virtualiter et ideo eius notitiam nihil aliud causare potest, nec mirum quia, licet sit formaliter finita, est tamen representative infinita. Sicut species maximae quantitatis in oculo habet esse indivisibile, ut patet
- 10 per Augustinum, *De quantitate animae*, 8 capitulo, et per consequens indivisibile formaliter et divisibile in representando, sic similitudo formaliter finita potest esse representative infinita.

THOMAE WYLTON QUAESTIO QUODLIBETALIS 12

- Quarta est quaestio in hoc quaternio an identitas realis in divinis
- 15 suscipiat magis et minus.

Quod sic probatur, quia bonitas in Deo est eadem sibi et realiter et formaliter et non est eadem sapientiae formaliter, et hoc ex natura rei, scilicet realiter; ergo in divinis est maior et minor identitas ex parte rei, et per consequens identitas realis in divinis recipit magis et minus.

- 20 Contra: ubi est minor unitas ex parte rei est defectus gradus alicuius unitatis ex parte rei; sed ens et unum et bonum convertuntur; ergo est ibi defectus gradus alicuius entitatis et bonitatis, et per consequens perfectionis.

- Dicendum, secundum quod dictum est ad primam principalem
- 25 rationem positam in quaestione de attributis, distinguendo de unitate. Cum ergo ratio unius sit ratio indivisi, esse tamen indivisum potest aliquid dici dupliciter. Uno modo ex privatione vel carentia partium quae natae sunt constituere aliquod totum unum unitate compositionis realis, alio modo ex privatione non solum huiusmodi partium, sed ex
- 30 privatione cuiuscumque multitudinis vel dis[V 81rb]tinctionis vel non identitatis modorum seu rationum perfectionalium, quae multitudo seu distinctio invenitur in aliquo ex natura rei. Loquendo de unitate primo modo ad perfectionem pertinet in substantiis seu formis separatis et in

10 Augustinus, *De quantitate animae*, fortasse XIV 24, CSEL 89, pp. 159.23-160.6. 24 Cf. Nielsen-Noone-Trifogli, "Thomas Wylton's," p. 363.670-691.

1 eius om. T 3 omnem...contineat] continet omnem perfectionem alterius rei T || rei] virtualiter add. V 6 speciem] ut add. et del. V || nec] vel T || Dei om. V 7 eius] enim T || notitiam] lectio incerta T 8 representative] representatione T 10 8 capitulo inv. T || et s.l. V 11 et] est T 12 representative infinita inv. T et etc. add.

corporibus simplicibus, puta elementis comparatis adinvicem, sed procedendo a simplicibus corporibus ad mixta et ulterius ad animata, quanto compositiora tanto perfectiora. Et causae istorum sunt dicendae. Et secundum istam unitatem non est ponere identitatem in Deo
 5 recipere magis et minus, quia minor identitas secundum istum modum unitatis aliquam compositionem poneret in Deo, quod est ultimae impietatis, per Damascenum, primo libro, nono capitulo.

Loquendo de unitate secundo modo, dico quod sic in Deo est identitas maior et minor ex parte rei et quod unitas opposita huic
 10 multitudini repugnat perfectioni, immo entitati, cuiuslibet creaturae. Nam <quod> in qualibet creatura ratio entis, boni et unius ex parte <rei> aliquam habent distinctionem in quaestione de attributis diffuse probavi. Argueret etiam in Deo imperfectionem quia, licet bonitas in Deo dicat totam perfectionem divinam realiter, tamen non dicit perfectionem Dei secundum omnem modum perfectionis, per hoc adicitur
 15 virtus partis.

Ad primam concedo quod ibi est maior et minor identitas secundo modo dicta, quia non arguit imperfectionem, sed perfectionem.

Et si dicatur: Deus non est verissime unus vel non omnibus modis
 20 unus.

Ad quod dicendum cum distinctione quod non est verissime unus secundo modo, nec hoc derogat perfectioni eius, sed quanto plures rationes perfectionales sunt ibi ex natura rei, tanto potest argui eius maior perfectio. Tamen verissime est unus primo modo. Concedo
 25 etiam quod non unus omni modo unitatis ex parte rei, tamen omnem modum identitatis in se habet cuius contrarium imperfectionem in ipso argueret.

Ad rationem in oppositum, cum dicitur: ens, unum, bonum convertuntur, ergo ubi defectus unitatis et entitatis, dico quod loquendo de
 30 unitate primo modo verum est quod ubicumque est defectus unitatis talis ibi est aliquis defectus gradus entitatis et bonitatis, et hoc est verum. In omni creatura est uterque defectus.

Sed dicatur: quantum aliquid habet de unitate tantum de entitate et e converso.

7 Johannes Damascenus, *De fide orthodoxa*, I.9, PG 94, col. 835. 13 Cf. Nielsen-Noone-Trifogli, "Thomas Wylton's," pp. 386-7.1470-1510. 17 Cf. *supra*, p.264.15-18 28 Cf. *supra*, p.264.19-22.

3 quanto] quanta V 5 modum] identitatis *add. et del.* V 10 multitudini] unitati V
 11 boni *corr.* ex poni V

Haec est falsa sive intelligatur de unitate prima sive secunda, quia secundum hoc ignis esset perfectior homine, quod est falsum.

Et notandum quod ex hoc quod haec propositio est falsa “quantum aliquid habet de unitate tantum de entitate,” sicut oportet concedere,
 5 sequitur quod unum et ens non sunt idem ex parte rei omnibus modis.

Ad argumentum in oppositum concedo quod in Deo est defectus, ut ita loquar, unitatis secundo modo dictae; sed deficere a tali unitate est deficere a defectu et non deficere, sicut possumus dicere quod Deo deficit compositio, quod similiter non arguit defectum, sed perfectio-
 10 nem, et habundantiam perfectionis.

6 *Ibid.*

10 perfectionis] Istud quod sequitur habetur superius in ista quaestione: distinguendum de unitate et indiviso eo quod aliquid dicitur indivisum ex privatione multitudinis partium quae natae sunt constituere unum unitate compositi vel ex privatione cuiuscumque multitudinis distinctionis vel non identitatis modorum vel rationum perfectionalium in eadem re simplici. Praeterea, divisio ad perfectionem pertinet in separatis incipiendo ab ultima substantia separata et in corporibus simplicibus ita quod maior *add.* V

THE *QUODLIBET* OF PETER AURIOL

Lauge Olaf Nielsen

The Franciscan Peter Auriol¹ served as regent master of theology in the University of Paris from 1318 to 1320. His appointment to the professorship was strongly supported by his mentor, Pope John XXII, who in a letter dated 14 July 1318 advised the chancellor of the University to promote Auriol, and in a document from 13 November the same year Auriol is listed as one of the regent masters in theology in the University. We also know with relative certainty when Auriol vacated this position, since he was elected by his confreres to the position of provincial of Aquitaine at the end of 1320 and succeeded Bertrand de la Tour, who had been appointed archbishop of Salerno at the start of September.²

As professor Auriol was, as a matter of course, eligible to preside over and determine disputations *de quolibet*, but we do not have any explicit information regarding Auriol's manner of discharging this part of his professional role. It would be natural to assume that the questions that Auriol gathered in his single *Quodlibet* derive from such occasions,³ but,

¹ With regard to Auriol's family name I adopt the vernacular spelling "Auriol"; see N. Valois, "Pierre Auriol, frère mineur," *Histoire littéraire de la France* 33 (Paris 1906), pp. 479–528. The Latin "Aureoli" is well documented in the medieval sources; cf. A. Teetaert, "Pierre Auriol ou Oriol," *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* XII.2 (Paris 1935), cols. 1810–81.

² For the relevant documents published in the "cartulary" of the University of Paris and their implications for Auriol's biography, see Teetaert, "Pierre Auriol," cols. 1813–14; cf. also E.M. Buytaert's "Introduction" to *Peter Aureoli Scriptum Super Primum Sententiarum. Prologue—Distinction I*, ed. E.M. Buytaert (Franciscan Institute Publications. Text Series, 3) (St. Bonaventure, NY 1952), pp. XVff.

³ In his pioneering study of Auriol's *Quodlibet*, Franz Pelster speculated on the various possible occasions on which Auriol could have presided over disputations *de quolibet*; see F. Pelster, "Zur Überlieferung des *Quodlibet* und anderer Schriften des Petrus Aureoli O.F.M.," *Franciscan Studies* 14 (1954), pp. 392–411. In the following year Pelster expanded his investigation into the reception of Auriol in the article "Zur ersten Polemik gegen Aureoli: Raymundus Bequini O.P., seine Quästionen und sein *Correctorium Petri Aureoli*, das *Quodlibet* des Jacobus de Apamiis O.E.S.A.," *Franciscan Studies* 15 (1955), pp. 30–47. Raymond Bequini was a personal opponent of Auriol and appears to have known Auriol's *Quodlibet*; I have touched on some of the points of contact between Auriol and Bequini in the article mentioned below, note 18; I anticipate publishing Bequini's two *Quodlibeta* in the not too distant future.

as will appear below, several of these questions point to a much more complex historical context. At any rate, it appears that Auriol's *Quodlibet* was finished and published in the year he gave up his professorship, since in one of the main manuscripts containing the work, *viz.*, Paris, BnF lat. 17485, f. 84vb, it is said:

Explicit Quodlibet Magistri Petri Aureoli, Ordinis Fratrum Minorum, editum et completum anno gratiae millesimo trecentesimo vicesimo. Deo gratias. Amen.

Moreover, this dating agrees with the fact that in February the following year Auriol was appointed archbishop of Aix-en-Provence in place of Peter of Prés, who had become cardinal.⁴

Manuscripts

In its entirety Auriol's *Quodlibet* is preserved in the following eleven manuscripts:⁵

- A Assisi, Biblioteca comunale 136, ff. 58r–111v⁶
- C Clermont-Ferrand, Bibliothèque Municipale 109, ff. 23va–91rb
- F Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 32 dextr., 12, ff. 95ra–138rb
- N Napoli, BN VII.B.31, ff. 1r–60v
- Y Paris, BnF, lat. 14566, ff. 7r–81v
- P Paris, BnF, lat. 15867, ff. 141r–208r⁷
- B Paris, BnF, lat. 17485, ff. 14r–84v
- Z Toulouse, Bibliothèque Municipale 180, ff. 127r–241v
- T Toulouse, Bibliothèque Municipale 739, ff. 189r–224v
- X Toulouse, Bibliothèque Municipale 744, ff. 193r–254v
- V Città del Vaticano, BAV, Borgh. 123, ff. 199r–268v⁸

⁴ See Teetaert, "Pierre Auriol," cols. 1815–16, and E.M. Buytaert, "Introduction," p. XVI.

⁵ Previous lists of manuscripts are found in Teetaert, "Pierre Auriol," col. 1838, and F. Pelster, "Zur Überlieferung," pp. 395ff.

⁶ At present kept in the Biblioteca e centro di documentazione Francescana in Assisi.

⁷ In Pelster, "Zur Überlieferung," p. 395, this manuscript is mistakenly listed as 15667.

⁸ This manuscript also contains Auriol's shorter—and later—commentary on the first book of the *Sentences*; for this work and the studies on it, see, e.g., my "Peter Auriol's Way with Words. The Genesis of Peter Auriol's Commentaries on Peter Lombard's First and Fourth Books of the *Sentences*," in *Mediaeval Commentaries on Peter Lombard's Sentences. Current Research*, vol. I, G.R. Evans, ed. (Leiden 2002), pp. 149–219.

Separately, the first question has been transmitted in one other witness:

Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. lat. 901, ff. 13r–15r

Two manuscripts contain abbreviations of selected questions:

M München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 26309, ff. 207r–218v
and ff. 220v–222v⁹

W Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. lat. 946, ff. 88r–91v

Early versions of some of Auriol's quodlibetal questions are contained in a highly interesting but also difficult manuscript:

O Oxford, Balliol College Library 63, ff. 19r–v, 20v–21v, and 86r–87r¹⁰

In 1605 Auriol's *Quodlibet* was printed together with his commentaries on Peter Lombard's last three books of the *Sentences*.¹¹ In the list of questions below the printed edition is referred to by way of the siglum 'E'.

Contents

In total, Auriol's single *Quodlibet* consists of a prologue, which includes a table of contents, and 16 questions:

Prologus: *Proposui in animo meo quaerere et investigare* (A 58ra; C 23va–vb; F 95ra; M deest; N 1ra; O deest; Y 7rb–va; P 141ra; B 14ra–rb; Z 127ra–rb; T 189ra; X 193ra; V 199ra; W deest; E cols. 1a–2a).

Q 1: *Utrum in aliqua re formalitas et realitas distinguantur* (A 58ra–60va; C 23vb–26rb; F 95ra–97ra; M 207ra–208vb; N 1ra–3rb; O deest; Y 7va–10va; P 141rb–143vb; B 14rb–17vb; Z 127rb–132rb; T 189ra–191va; X

⁹ In this manuscript the manner of abbreviation is rather peculiar, inasmuch as the degree to which the questions are abbreviated increases as the work progresses; i.e., the first questions are almost complete whereas later ones are severely shortened.

¹⁰ For this manuscript, see my "The Debate between Peter Auriol and Thomas Wylton on Theology and Virtue," *Vivarium* 38.1 (2000) (pp. 35–98), pp. 36ff., and the literature referred to there. I expect to publish editions of these questions together with their parallels in the *Quodlibet*.

¹¹ Auriol's commentaries on Peter Lombard's *Sentences* together with his *Quodlibet* were printed in two volumes in 1596 and 1605 at the initiative of the learned Cardinal Sarnano as *Petri Aureoli Commentariorum in Primum Librum Sententiarum pars prima et secunda* (Rome 1596) and *Petri Aureoli Commentariorum in Secundum, Tertium et Quartum Sententiarum et Quodlibeti tomus secundus* (Rome 1605). In the edition of the *Quodlibet* there is the curious mistake that each of the questions appears as a separate *quodlibet*; in actual fact, there is only a single *quodlibet* containing 16 questions.

- 193ra–195va; V 199ra–202ra; W 88r–88v; E cols. 2a–8b; Vat. lat. 901, 13r–15r).
- Q 2: *Utrum actio agentis differat realiter ab agente* (A 60va–63rb; C 26rb–29vb; F 97ra–99rb; M 208vb–210vb; N 3rb–6va; O 20va–20vb; Y 10va–14rb; P 143vb–147ra; B 17vb–21rb; Z 132rb–138rb; T 191va–193rb; X 195va–198va; V 202ra–205vb; W 88v–89r; E cols. 8b–16a).
- Q 3: *Utrum alius et alius modus unitatis seu indivisionis sufficienter tollat contradictiones, quae videntur occurrere in divinis* (A 63va–75va; C 29vb–43vb; F 99rb–108va; M 220va–222vb; N 6va–19va; O deest; Y 14rb–31ra; P 147ra–162ra; B 21rb–36ra; Z 138rb–162rb; T 193rb–201ra; X 198va–211rb; V 205vb–220vb; W 89r; E cols. 16a–44b).
- Q 4: *Utrum distinctio secundum quid inter essentiam et proprietates vel identitas inconvertibilitatis sufficienter tollat contradictiones, quae in divinis videntur occurrere absque alio modo unitatis vel indivisionis* (A 75va–77rb; C 43vb–46ra; F 108va–110ra; M deest; N 19va–21va; O deest; Y 31ra–33vb; P 162ra–164va; B 36ra–38va; Z 162rb–166va; T 201ra–202rb; X 211rb–213rb; V 220vb–223rb; W deest; E cols. 44b–53a).
- Q 5: *Utrum sola distinctio rationis sufficiat ad tollendum omnem contradictionem in divinis* (A 77rb–81ra; C 46ra–50va; F 110ra–113ra; M deest; N 21va–25vb; O 21va–21vb; Y 33vb–39ra; P 164va–169rb; B 38va–43va; Z 166va–175ra; T 202rb–204vb; X 213rb–217rb; V 223rb–228ra; W deest; E cols. 53b–64b).
- Q 6: *Utrum anima intellectiva sit immediate principium operationis suae* (A 81ra–83rb; C 50va–53va; F 113ra–115ra; M 210vb–212rb; N 25vb–28rb; O deest; Y 39ra–42va; P 169rb–172ra; B 43va–46vb; Z 175ra–180rb; T 204vb–206rb; X 217rb–220ra; V 228ra–231ra; W 89r–89v; E cols. 64b–71a).
- Q 7: *An anima constituta ex duabus realitatibus esse possit forma corporis* (A 83rb–86vb; C 53va–58rb; F 115ra–118ra; M 212rb–214va; N 28rb–32va; O deest; Y 42va–48rb; P 172ra–176vb; B 46vb–52ra; Z 180rb–188va; T 206rb–208va; X 220ra–224ra; V 231ra–237ra; W deest; E cols. 71b–80b).
- Q 8: *Utrum ad visionem beatificam requiratur aliqua similitudo creata* (A 86vb–89ra; C 58rb–61rb; F 118ra–119vb; M 216ra–217ra; N 32va–35rb; O 21vb; Y 48rb–52rb; P 176vb–179vb; B 52ra–55rb; Z 188va–193vb; T 208va–210ra; X 224ra–226vb; V 237ra–239rb; W 89v–90r; E cols. 80b–88a).
- Q 9: *Utrum ad visionem beatificam requiratur aliquis habitus vel lumen creatum* (A 89ra–92vb; C 61rb–66rb; F 119vb–122vb; M 217ra–218vb; N 35rb–39va; O 86va–87rb; Y 52rb–57ra; P 179vb–184ra; B 55rb–60rb; Z 194ra–202ra; T 210ra–212va; X 226vb–231rb; V 239rb–245ra; W deest; E cols. 88a–98b).
- Q 10: *Utrum videns divinam essentiam videat necessario quidquid repraesentatur per eam* (A 92vb–95va; C 66rb–70rb; F 122vb–125ra; M deest; N 39va–42va; O 86ra–86va; Y 57ra–61ra; P 184ra–187vb; B 60rb–64rb; Z 202ra–208va; T 212va–214rb; X 231rb–234va; V 245ra–247vb; W deest; E cols. 99a–107a).
- Q 11: *Utrum virtus in quantum virtus sit ens per accidens* (A 95va–96rb; C 70rb–74rb; F 125ra–127rb; M deest; N 42va–46ra; O 19ra–19va; Y 61ra–65ra; P 187vb–191rb; B 64rb–68rb; Z 208va–215ra; T 214rb–216rb; X 234va–238ra; V 247vb–251vb; W 90r–90v; E cols. 107a–116a).

- Q 12: *Utrum virtus moralis consistens circa unam materiam, habeat unitatem formae simplicis non constitutae ex multis* (A 96rb–100vb; C 74rb–77vb; F 127rb–129va; M deest; N 46ra–49ra; O deest; Y 65ra–68vb; P 191rb–194vb; B 68rb–71vb; Z 215ra–220va; T 216rb–218ra; X 238ra–241ra; V 251vb–255ra; W deest; E cols. 116a–123b).
- Q 13: *Utrum virtus moralis in appetitu sensitivo sit qualitas media essentialiter constituta ex habilitatibus, quae inclinant ad passiones extremas* (A 100vb–102vb; C 77vb–79vb; F 129va–130vb; M deest; N 49ra–50vb; O deest; Y 68vb–69ra; P 194vb–196vb; B 71vb–73va; Z 220va–223va; T 218ra–219ra; X 241ra–243ra; V 255ra–257ra; W deest; E cols. 123b–128a).
- Q 14: *Utrum virtus moralis dividatur in quattuor cardinales tamquam in species subalternas comprehendentes omnes virtutes* (A 102vb–105va; C 79vb–83vb; F 130vb–133va; M deest; N 50vb–54rb; O deest; Y 69ra–73va; P 196vb–200va; B 73va–77va; Z 223va–230ra; T 219ra–221ra; X 243ra–247ra; V 257ra–261rb; W deest; E cols. 128a–137b).
- Q 15: *Utrum speculativum et practicum distinguantur penes esse et non esse activum principium in agente respectu sui obiecti* (A 105va–109va; C 83vb–88vb; F 133va–136va; M deest; N 54rb–58va; O 21ra–21va; Y 73va–78vb; P 200va–205va; B 77va–82rb; Z 230ra–237vb; T 221ra–223va; X 247ra–251vb; V 261rb–266rb; W 90v–91r; E cols. 137b–149a).
- Q 16: *Utrum formae miscibilium qualitatum differant realiter a sua actualitate* (A 109va–111va; C 88vb–91rb; F 136va–138rb; M 214va–216ra; N 58va–60vb; O deest; Y 78vb–81vb; P 205va–208ra; B 82va–84vb; Z 237vb–241vb; T 223va–224vb; X 251vb–254va; V 266rb–268vb; W 91r–91v; E cols. 149a–155b).

The Historical Context

In order to appreciate the historical context of the questions that went into Auriol's *Quodlibet* it is necessary to take into account the short *reportationes* or drafts found in the Balliol College manuscript. In a previous publication¹² I argued that it is highly likely that some of Auriol's quodlibetal questions go back to the period while he was still a bachelor of the *Sentences* and engaged in heated debate with regent masters in theology such as the secular Thomas Wylton and Hervaeus Natalis, who was the Dominicans' leading representative in Paris until 1318.¹³

This is most certainly the case with questions such as the second quodlibetal question on the nature of action, where the underlying debate is richly documented throughout Auriol's Parisian career. In this

¹² See my "The Debate," pp. 46ff.

¹³ See A. de Guimaraes, "Hervé Noël (†1323). Étude biographique," *AFP* 8 (1938), pp. 5–81.

instance, Auriol's prime opponent was Hervaeus Natalis and the debate unfolded in successive stages and can be traced in both participants' writings starting from the end of 1316 or early in 1317. In fact, Auriol's last word seems to be the question included in the *Quodlibet*.¹⁴

In the following three questions on the divine Trinity, i.e., questions 3, 4 and 5, Auriol's opponents are both Thomas Wylton and Hervaeus Natalis. Some aspects of this exchange I have already described, showing that the quodlibetal questions result from the reworking of earlier material that dates from the academic year 1316–17 and in another form went into Auriol's commentary on the first book the *Sentences*.¹⁵ In the manuscript preserved in the Vatican Library, Borgh. 123, we find Auriol's treatment of the Trinitarian paralogisms in two closely related forms, i.e., both in his commentary on distinction 33 of the first book of the *Sentences* and in the third and fourth quodlibetal questions.¹⁶

Questions 8, 9 and 10 deal with human cognition with special reference to the blessed vision, and there is a distinct possibility that these questions reflect actual quodlibetal disputations conducted by Auriol during his Parisian regency as professor of theology. This does not imply, however, that they are without immediate links to the period when Auriol was a bachelor of the *Sentences*. In the years just prior to 1318 Thomas Wylton had been involved in a fierce debate about the nature of the beatific vision and one of his prime adversaries had been the Carmelite master, Sibert of Beek. The historical situation that occasioned this debate was the decree *Ad nostrum qui*, which was passed at the Council of Vienne and established the *lumen gloriae* as a condition for man's beatific vision of God and, by implication, transferred this kind of light from the realm of theological speculation and discussion to

¹⁴ There are numerous sources for this debate and in chronological order they are 1) Petrus Aureoli, *Commentarius brevior in I Sententiarum*, d. 27, pars 1, in a shorter and a longer version from the latter half of 1316 or beginning of 1317; 2) Hervaeus Natalis, *Quodlibet* IV, q. 4, from the end of 1316 or the start of 1317; 3) Petrus Aureoli, *Commentarius in IV Sententiarum*, d. 13, in a draft version and an edited version from 1317; 4) Hervaeus Natalis, *Quodlibet* IV, q. 8, dating from before the summer of 1318; 5) Petrus Aureoli, *Quodlibet*, q. 2, in both a draft and an edited version dating from 1318–19. I presented a sketch of this exchange and the opposing views of the two combatants at a conference in Boston in August 2001 at the kind invitation of Professor Stephen F. Brown and I expect to publish it in the very near future.

¹⁵ See my "Peter Auriol's Way with Words," pp. 196ff.

¹⁶ For the often verbatim correspondance between the twin versions see, e.g., my "Peter Auriol's Way with Words," pp. 199ff. Some aspects of this debate I have analyzed in "Logic and the Trinity: The Clash between Hervaeus Natalis and Peter Auriol at Paris," which will appear in a collection of articles on Trinitarian theology in the Middle Ages edited by Simo Knuuttila and Pekka Kärkkäinen.

that of ecclesiastical doctrine.¹⁷ It is immediately clear that this debate forms the historical backdrop to those of Auriol's quodlibetal questions that address human cognition and the state of bliss, and that Auriol is indebted to Wylton's rebuttal of Sibert of Beek and his party. From Auriol's questions, however, it also transpires that discussions in Paris on the beatific vision had lost much of the agitation that animated Wylton's and Sibert's exchange. Equally, it is apparent that the beatific vision as such was not a topic that engaged Auriol passionately; to him the nature of the *visio beata* had a claim to immediate interest first and foremost as an example that may serve to reveal essential features of man's cognitive apparatus and human cognition.¹⁸

On the other hand, there can be little doubt that questions 11 and 15 in Auriol's *Quodlibet* go back to Auriol's time as a bachelor of the *Sentences* and the debates in which he had been engaged during this time. The opponent is Thomas Wylton and, rather remarkably, in this case some of Wylton's contributions to the debate have also survived. On the basis of the available texts it seems that these two questions in Auriol's *Quodlibet* are also final summations of debates that claimed his attention in late 1316 and early 1317.¹⁹

Question 7

Below in an appendix, I present an edition of the seventh question in Auriol's *Quodlibet*. The immediate reason for choosing this question is the fact that in the 1605 edition this question was not printed in its entirety; the last part of Auriol's response as well as his replies to the opponent's initial counter-arguments were omitted. There are, however, also good reasons for considering this particular question as an illustrative example of the issues that Auriol's *Quodlibet* raises.

¹⁷ See H. Denzinger, ed., *Enchiridion symbolorum, definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum* (34th ed., Rome 1967), no. 895, p. 282.

¹⁸ The texts by Thomas Wylton and Sibert of Beek have been edited together with an introduction by Dr. Cecilia Trifogli and myself in "Questions on the Beatific Vision by Thomas Wylton and Sibert de Beka," *DSTEM* 17 (2006), pp. 511–84. I sketch this development and its salient features in the article "Parisian Discussions of the Beatific Vision after the Council of Vienne: Thomas Wylton, Sibert of Beka, Peter Auriol, and Raymundus Bequini," which will appear in *Philosophical Debates at Paris in the Early Fourteenth Century*, S.F. Brown and T. Kobusch, eds., Leiden: Brill forthcoming.

¹⁹ See my "The Debate," pp. 48ff.

In the first place, it transpires from this text that Auriol conceived of his *Quodlibet* as more than a random collection of questions. Thus in question 7 he explicitly refers to the preceding question, *viz.*, the sixth, which deals with the composition of an active and a passive principle in the intellective soul. Apart from the circumstance that the interrelationship between the topics treated in the two questions calls for such a reference, the fact of the matter is that cross-references to other questions are not infrequent in the work as a whole.²⁰ Some of these references, however, are implicit in the sense that Auriol may in one place take for granted what he has proved in a preceding question. In particular, this is obvious in the case of the first question where Auriol provides, *inter alia*, a forceful rebuttal of the formal distinction. According to Auriol's understanding, this opening question has the nature of a basic statement of ontological commitment, and in question 7 he relies—albeit implicitly—on what he proved there;²¹ in some of the other questions references to the same question are explicit.²²

The close connection between questions 6 and 7 consists in the circumstance that Auriol's answer in the former question exposes his doctrinal position to the objection that his view on the composite nature of the intellective soul would appear to prevent viewing the intellectual soul of man as the human body's form. If this were the case, however, it would create a very serious situation for Auriol, since a few years earlier the Council of Vienne had decided that the intellectual soul is the form of the human body in the sense that this belongs to the intellectual soul "per se" and essentially.²³ The main goal of Auriol's sixth quodlibetal question is to maintain and defend his conviction that there is a real composition in the intellective soul between the possible intellect and the agent intellect; while the former is pure potentiality, the latter is pure act and, consequently, they are two fundamentally different natures.²⁴ Subsequently, in question 7 Auriol undertakes to

²⁰ E.g., in q. 4 (E, col. 45b) Auriol refers to preceding question; in q. 6 (E, col. 69b) there is a reference to q. 9.

²¹ See below, Appendix I, Petrus Aureoli, *Quodlibet*, q. 7, §3.2.2. Some of the context as well as the philosophical implications of Auriol's first quodlibetal question have been treated by M. Pickavé, "Metaphysics as First Science: The Case of Peter Auriol," *DSTFM* 15 (2004), pp. 487–516.

²² See, e.g., q. 5 (E, col. 54a) and q. 16 (E, col. 154a).

²³ See Denzinger, *Enchiridion*, no. 902, p. 284.

²⁴ Auriol talks of the possible and the agent intellects as different natures or even different substances; see, e.g., *Quodlibet*, q. 6, prop. 1 (E, cols. 65a–b) and *ibid.*, prop. 2 (E, cols. 68b–69a); cf. below note 40.

establish that this composite nature of the intellectual soul does not prevent the human soul from being the form of man and that this is in agreement with what both Aristotle and Averroes thought.²⁵

Obviously, in this connection it is not possible to go into a detailed exposition of Auriol's rather complex doctrinal position. In order to gain a more accurate impression of the historical context of these two of Auriol's quodlibetal questions, however, it is necessary to look at Auriol's previous treatments of these issues. Auriol lectured on the second book of Lombard's *Sentences* in the second half of 1317,²⁶ and in his subsequent commentaries on distinctions 3 and 16 of that work there are treatments of the same topics that are up for discussion in his sixth and seventh quodlibetal questions.²⁷ In the first part of his commentary on distinction 3 Auriol asks the following four questions:²⁸

- Q 1: *Utrum in genere substantiarum intelligibilium sit necesse ponere naturam, quae sit purum potentiale in illo genere et principium quasi materiale* (E, cols. 56a–58a).
 Q 2: *Utrum omnes substantiae separatae sequendo principia et intentionem Philosophi sint compositae ex hac natura potentiali et aliquo pure actuali* (E, cols. 58a–b).
 Q 3: *Utrum loquendo absolute et secundum fidem substantiae separatae sint compositae ex materia et forma* (E, cols. 58b–59b).
 Q 4: *Utrum haec materia et haec forma in substantiis separatis sint res differentes in actu* (E, cols. 59a–60b).

Auriol's commentary on distinction 16 of the second book of Lombard's *Sentences* comprises the following three questions (the titles are listed according to the manuscript tradition):

- Q 1: *Utrum possit probari demonstrative, quod anima intellectiva est forma corporis* (E, cols. 218a–223a).
 Q 2: *Utrum secundum veritatem fidei oporteat tenere, quod anima sit forma corporis univoce, sicut aliae formae sunt formae suae materiae* (E, cols. 223b–227a).

²⁵ In question 7 Auriol also takes into consideration the theological authority of Augustine, but this is almost as an afterthought; see below Appendix I, Petrus Aureoli, *Quodlibet*, q. 7, §§3.3.5ff.

²⁶ The order and dating of Auriol's lectures on the four books of the *Sentences* were established by Teetaert, "Pierre Auriol," col. 1832.

²⁷ The close connection between Auriol's quodlibetal questions and their counterparts in his *Sentences* commentaries was already observed by Teetaert, "Pierre Auriol," col. 1839.

²⁸ In the printed edition the terminology is somewhat different, inasmuch as the first part is there called the first "question," just as the separate questions that make up this first part are called "articles." The rather unfortunate result of this mix-up in terminology is that the printed edition does not flag Auriol's division of his questions into articles. Furthermore, I provide the titles of the questions according to the manuscript tradition.

Q. 3: *Utrum eadem rationes, quae probant de aliis formis, quod sunt actuationes purae materiae, probent hoc ipsum de anima <rationali>* (E, cols. 227a–229b).

In the printed edition of 1605 the last question was not marked as a separate question but appeared as part of question 2. The reason for this is quite simply that Auriol's introduction to distinction 16 mentions only two questions.²⁹ Auriol's explicit purpose in adding a third question was to defend himself against the charge of contradicting himself. In the introduction to the third question he writes as follows:

Et quia in distinctione 12^a probavi generaliter, quod forma est pura actuatione et non est aliqua natura per se in actu, et hoc puto demonstrari posse, in praecedenti autem quaestione dixi, quod forte non potest demonstrari animam esse puram actuationem saltem apud Philosophum, cuius tamen rationes de aliis formis inducebantur ibi, ideo ne videatur contradictio in dictis, quaero istam quaestionem: utrum eadem rationes...³⁰

In his response to this question Auriol refuses to accept that the rational soul is the form of the human body in precisely the same sense as other corporeal forms are the forms of their substances; in fact, according to him—at least in this text—the rational soul is the body's form only in an equivocal sense.³¹ Precisely this stance was a potentially dangerous one for Auriol to adopt since it would seem to put him in jeopardy of offending ecclesiastical authority. In his commentary on distinction 16 in book II of the *Sentences* Auriol makes no attempt to obfuscate this danger, but he tries to sketch both a weak and a strong agreement with the decision of the Council of Vienne.³² Rather remarkably, Auriol does

²⁹ "...et ad evidentiam istius quaestionis circa fundamentum imaginis in homine, quod est in anima rationali sive intellectiva, quaero has duas quaestiones..." (E, col. 218a–b). This is not a unique instance of a discrepancy between the introduction and the actual questions comprised in a particular section of one of Auriol's *Sentences* commentaries; cf. my "Peter Auriol's Way with Words," pp. 189ff.

³⁰ Petrus Aureoli, *Comm. in II Sent.*, d. 16, q. 3 (E, col. 227a)

³¹ Petrus Aureoli, *Comm. in II Sent.*, d. 16, q. 3 (E, col. 227a): "Respondeo: sicut non est demonstrabile Philosopho animam esse formam corporis univoce cum formis aliis, sic nec rationes philosophorum, quae convincunt alias formas esse actuationem puram, convincunt hoc de anima."

³² Petrus Aureoli, *Comm. in II Sent.*, d. 16, q. 2 (E, col. 224b): "Et qui teneret illam viam <scil., Sanctorum>, diceret ad illud, quod allegatum est de Concilio, 'quod anima est forma corporis per essentiam sicut aliae animae', hoc est, quia ordinatur naturaliter ad corpus sicut animae ceterae ad sua corpora, non autem quod sit pura perfectio et actuatione corporis, sicut sunt aliae animae. Et quia melius est se tenere cum eo, ad quod vadit intentio Ecclesiae ex verbis elicita, licet non expresse verba sonent hoc vel illud, ideo pono propositionem secundam, quod licet demonstrari non possit animam esse formam corporis modo aliarum formarum, tamen tenendum est, secundum quod

nothing to hide his concern that this decision by the Church rests on a dire misunderstanding of the essence of faith and a flawed interpretation of the nature of articles of faith.³³

In his earlier treatment of the hylomorphic composition of angels and the intellectual soul Auriol reveals his awareness of sailing against the wind. In defending himself he resorts to drawing upon the Franciscan tradition inasmuch as he presents his own contribution as basically an elaboration of St Bonaventure's position.³⁴

Auriol's stance with regard to the composition of the rational soul and his, in the final analysis, less than wholehearted endorsement of viewing the intellectual soul as simply the form of the human body transpires also from other sources. One such testimony is from Guy Terrena, who in his question on the composition of the agent and possible intellects, *viz.*, question 14 in his fifth *Quodlibet*, argues against Auriol's position. According to Guy's admittedly brief exposition, Auriol stipulated a real composition between what is active and passive in the intellectual soul, since the agent and patient intellects are really diverse.³⁵ There can be no doubt that Guy has captured an essential feature of Auriol's stance, and it is telling that Guy could take for granted that a reference to Auriol would suffice to characterize the position that he opposed. In other words, Guy's manner of referring to Auriol seems to indicate that Auriol's position was, if not notorious, then at least well known among contemporaries.³⁶

mihi videtur, quod sicut figura est forma et pura perfectio cerae, sic anima est pura actuatō et formatio corporis eo modo, quo se habent ceterae formae. Et sicut non est quaerenda causa, quare ex cera et figura fiat unum, sic non est quaerenda causa, quare unum fiat ex anima et corpore. Et ideo est anima purus actus et perfectio materiae sicut figura cerae; et sicut ex materia et forma in naturalibus sit una res indivisa in actu, divisa autem solum in potentia, sic ex anima et corpore resultat unum indivisum in actu, plura autem in potentia, cum possit anima separari a corpore. Illam autem conclusionem teneo specialiter propter determinationem Concilii, quae ex verborum apparentia videtur ad intentionem illam."

³³ Petrus Aureoli, *Comm. in II Sent.*, d. 3, q. 2 (E, col. 223b). For Auriol's view on these topics, see my "The Intelligibility of Faith and the Nature of Theology—Peter Auriol's Theological Programme," *Studia Theologica* 53 (1999), pp. 26–39.

³⁴ Petrus Aureoli, *Comm. in II Sent.*, d. 3, q. 1 (E, col. 58a): "Hoc puto, intellexit Doctor antiquus Bonaventura, qui dicit, quod materia istorum sensibilibus et intelligibilibus non differt secundum quidditatem, tamen differt secundum esse, quia videlicet ista est semper sub trina dimensione, et illa non."

³⁵ See Guido Terreni, *Quodlibet* V, q. 14, §1.4.1, below in Appendix II. For Guy Terrena's *Quodlibet*, see Schabel's chapter on the Carmelites in the present volume.

³⁶ Guy Terrena was also a staunch opponent of Thomas Wylton, whose view of the human soul collided head-on with the decision of the Council of Vienne. Wylton's

But this raises the question of where Auriol would have had an opportunity to present his understanding of the intellective soul to a wider audience. One might, of course, assume that Auriol's Parisian lectures on the second book of the *Sentences* drew a huge audience or, at least, claimed the attention of professors in the theological faculty. However, it is not really necessary to embark on such speculation, since in his commentary on distinction 3 Auriol points explicitly to the historical circumstances in which he expounded the nature of intellectual souls. At one point Auriol remarks that he will forgo treating the problem whether the angels or the separate intelligences cognize objects different from themselves by receiving these cognitions from the objects as efficient causes, since he had already spoken his mind on this "in principio huius libri."³⁷ This phrase could be interpreted to mean that this topic had been broached at the start of Auriol's commentary on the second book of the *Sentences*. But this is not what Auriol intended to say, since at the beginning of his commentary on book II Auriol had not dealt with this topic but with the nature of time.³⁸ Consequently, the "principle" or "beginning" to which Auriol alludes in this passage must be something different, and this is presumably his and his fellow bachelors' *Principium* debate in the late summer of 1317, which, accordingly, must have concerned the separate intelligences' cognitive powers.³⁹ As is well known, such *Principium* debates were conducted with much publicity in the University, since they were one of the few

highly interesting and influential question on the intellective soul as the form of man was published by W. Senko in *Studia Mediewistyczne* 5 (1964), pp. 75–116. A new critical edition together with an English translation and a full introduction is currently being prepared by Cecilia Trifogli, Gail Trimble, and myself, and should appear in the very near future. An edition of Guy Terrena's question against Wylton is also being readied for publication. F. Pelster, "Zur Überlieferung des *Quodlibet*," p. 405, expressed doubt regarding the relative order of Wylton's and Auriol's questions on the topic of the intellective soul as the form of man. There cannot, however, be any doubt that Wylton's question antedates Auriol's, and it is highly likely that Auriol counters some of Wylton's arguments in his quodlibetal question.

³⁷ For this particular passage, see below, note 41.

³⁸ In some earlier articles on Auriol's thought I mistakenly assumed that the nature of time had been the topic for Auriol's *Principium* debate in connection with the start of the academic year in 1317; see my "Dictates of Faith versus Dictates of Reason: Peter Auriol on Divine Power, Creation, and Human Rationality," *DSTEM* 7 (1996), pp. 213–43, as well as my "The Intelligibility of Faith."

³⁹ For this kind of debate, see P. Glorieux, "L'enseignement au moyen âge. Techniques et méthodes en usage à la Faculté de Théologie de Paris, au XIII^e siècle," *AHDLM* 35 (1969), pp. 138ff., and Z. Kaluza, "La nature des écrits de Jean de Ripa," *Traditio* 43 (1987), pp. 257ff.

occasions where the whole faculty would gather. Furthermore, inasmuch as Auriol was convinced that the rational soul and the separate intelligences are capable of cognition precisely because they consist of a potential or "material" nature or "substance,"⁴⁰ he was obliged to defend the hylomorphic composition of intellectual souls on precisely this occasion.⁴¹

Conclusion

Based on what we know at present⁴² it seems safe to say that Auriol conceived of his *Quodlibet* as a statement of his personal convictions. On closer inspection, many of the questions turn out to be Auriol's final rejoinder to opponents such as Hervaeus Natalis and Thomas Wylton. This is incontestably true of questions 2 to 5 and of questions 11 and 15. On the other hand, Auriol's quodlibetal questions on the human soul and man's cognition, i.e., questions 6 to 10, are less narrowly tied to debates with named contemporaries. Nevertheless, we know that Auriol's theory of cognition was closely scrutinized and criticized in his own time,⁴³ just as it is apparent that the decisions of the Council of Vienne regarding the human soul and the light of glory sparked heated debates precisely during the years when Auriol was a bachelor

⁴⁰ According to Auriol, the agent intellect, the possible intellect and the composite human intellect are three different "realitates" which are "really diverse." Moreover, Auriol does not shrink from classifying the agent and possible intellects as two "substantiae"; see Petrus Aureoli, *Comm. in II Sent.*, d. 3, q. 3 (E, col. 59a). Obviously, it is necessary to distinguish between Auriol's attempt to reach a congenial interpretation of Aristotle and Averroes, on the one hand, and his presentation of his own position, on the other; however, this is something that requires a much fuller and separate treatment.

⁴¹ See Petrus Aureoli, *Comm. in II Sent.*, d. 3, q. 2 (E, cols. 58a–b): "Et ideo vel huiusmodi substantiae aliae a primo <scil. substantiae separatae> essent miserrimae nihil intelligendo extra se, vel necessario habent in se naturam pure possibilem denudatam ab omni actualitate intellectuali, per quam recipiunt intellectiones aliorum a se, cum se non intelligant per suam essentiam. Utrum autem omnes tales intellectiones aliorum a se recipiant effective ab obiectis et sicut accidentia recepta in eis, de hoc dixi intentionem meam in principio huius secundi."

⁴² As far as I know, research into the historical background of questions 12 to 14 and the final question 16 is still outstanding.

⁴³ Already from Raymond Bequini we know of forceful opposition to Auriol's theory of cognition and his positing of an intentional object; see Raymond Bequini's *Quodlibet* and so-called "*Correctorium*," which were described by F. Pelster, "Zur ersten Polemik," pp. 34ff.

of the *Sentences* at Paris. This does not in any way rule out the possibility that some of these questions may reflect actual disputations *de quolibet* presided over by Auriol. However, it is only when these questions are read in connection with Auriol's corresponding treatments in the *Sentences* commentaries that they reveal their full potential as sources for their author's intellectual development as well as for the philosophical and theological debates at Paris.

Ratio edendi

The edition of Auriol's seventh quodlibetal question in Appendix I is strictly preliminary. Four manuscripts—ABNT—have been singled out for use because of their age and the obvious qualities of the text they carry as compared to the remaining seven manuscripts. I have not had an opportunity to examine more than half the manuscripts *in situ* and for several of the manuscripts a detailed examination and description of their provenance and composition still remains to be done. It cannot be taken for granted that Auriol's *Quodlibet* was transmitted as a unitary work and the single questions may have different stemmata. I have chosen to follow A as the basic text⁴⁴ while the—often helpful—corrections in T are presumably the work of an intelligent scribe who strove to improve on the text that reached him.⁴⁵

Appendix II offers Guy Terrena's question on the composition of the human soul. It is transmitted in a single manuscript, BAV, Borgh. 39, and presents only a few problems.*

⁴⁴ Already F. Pelster, "Zur Überlieferung," p. 396, drew attention to the qualities of A; but it is clearly not flawless. In the edition a "<...>" inserted in a quotation serves to mark that Auriol leaves out one or several words.

⁴⁵ It is curious to note that Auriol mistook Augustine's *De vera religione* for the *Confessiones* (i.e., in §3.3.5), since his references to and quotations from Averroes are so precise. Whether this is a unique case or it indicates something generally true of the *Quodlibet* is a question that can only be answered on the basis of the critical edition of the whole work.

* I am grateful to my friend Prof. Fritz S. Pedersen, SDU, for his judicious comments on the editions included in the appendices.

PETRI AUREOLI
QUAESTIO 7 QUODLIBETI

**Utrum anima constituta ex duabus realitatibus
esse possit forma corporis**

- 5 <1.0> Septimo quaerebatur, utrum ponens, quod in anima
intellectiva sint duae realitates intrinsece, quarum una est pure
potentialis in genere intelligibilium, et reliqua actualis, possit
salvare, quod sit per se et essentialiter forma corporis.
- 10 <1.1> Et videtur, quod non, quia quod per se et essentiali-
ter inest alicui, inest sibi per totam rationem et totum illud,
quod pertinet ad essentiam illius. Sed si anima intellectiva
est constituta ex aliquo potenciali et ex aliquo actuali, non
se tota et ex omni eo, quod ad eius essentiam pertinet,
15 potest esse forma, quia non per illud pure potentiale, cum
potentia non possit esse alterius actus et forma, nec materia
possit informare. Igitur ponens animam intellectivam ex
his duobus constitui salvare non potest, quod sit per se et es-
sentialiter forma corporis.
- 20 <1.2> Sed in oppositum est, quia *Extra, De summa Trinitate*
et fide catholica, libro 7, in capitulo “Fidei catholicae fun-
damento” definitur, quod quicumque “asserere <...>

3 A' = Assisi, Bibl. comm. 136, fol. 83rb; B' = Paris, Bibl. nat., lat. 17.485, fol. 46vb; N' = Napoli, Bibl. comm. VII B 31, fol. 28rb; T' = Toulouse, Bibl. mun. 739, fol. 206rb; E' = editio 1605, col. 71b

3–4 Utrum... corporis] Utrum ponens, quod (in *add.* T') anima intellectiva sint duae realitates intrinsece, quarum una est pure potentialis in genere intelligibilium, et reliqua actualis, possit salvare, quod sit per se et essentialiter forma corporis B'T' *om.* N' 5 in] *om.* B' 12 constituta] constitutiva A' 14 pure] purum B'N'T' 15 nec] i *add. et del.* T' 16 informare] infore B' 19 quia] quod N'

21 *Conc. oecum. XV Viennense, Constitutio “Fidei catholicae” (6. Maii 1312)*, in Henricus Denzinger et Adolfus Schönmetzer (edd.), *Enchiridion Symbolorum, definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum*, editio XXXIV (Romae, 1967), p. 284, no. 902

praesumpserit, quod anima rationalis seu intellectiva non sit forma corporis humani per se et essentialiter, tamquam haereticus sit censendus.” Sed constat, quod multi doctores catholici, immo etiam ipse Augustinus posuerit in anima
 5 rationali aliquid potentiale et materiam. Igitur ex ista ratione non tollitur ratio formae per se et essentialiter perfectius ab anima intellectiva.

Responsio ad quaestionem

<1.3> Ad quaestionem istam respondendo hoc ordine proceditur: primo namque inquiretur, an fuerit de mente Philosophi et Commentatoris, scilicet quod anima | intellectiva esset constituta ex aliquo potenciali et aliquo actuali in genere intelligibilium. Secundo inquiretur, an hoc possit poni catholice. Tertio respondebitur ad quaesitum de veritate, perseitate et de essentialitate formae, an possit competere intellectivae animae, si ponatur taliter constituta. |
 10
 15

Articulus primus

Et primo ponuntur rationes, quibus videtur, quod Philosophus et Commentator non intellexerunt animam constitui ex aliquo possibili et ex aliquo actuali in genere intelligibilium
 20

<2.0> Circa primum procedetur hoc ordine, quod primo rationes ponuntur, quibus videtur, quod Philosophus et Commentator non fuerunt istius intentionis. Deinde ostenditur ex eorum clara intentione, quod immo sic intellexerunt. Deinde vero respondebitur ad inducta.
 25

11 B' fol. 47ra 16 E' col. 72a

1 quod] et *add. et del.* A' 2 corporis] *corr. i.m.* ex originis A' 2 tamquam] tam N' 4 posuerit] posuit T' 6 et] *om.* AB' 9 Ad] V *sic!* T' 9 respondendo] respondeo N' 9–10 proceditur] procedetur B'N'T' 11 scilicet] secundum B'N' *fortasse scribendum* sui 11–12 intellectiva] *add. i.m.* T' 12 esset] esse N' 15 essentialitate] senlitate *sic!* N' 16 intellectivae animae] *inv.* N' 18 *Et!* *om.* B' 19 *possibili*] potenciali B'N'T' 20 ex] *om.* T' 21 quod] quia T' 22 ponuntur] ponentur T' 22 videtur] videretur B' 23 intentionis] opinionis T' 23–24 ostenditur] ostendetur B'N'T' 25 Deinde vero] Tertio T'

<Rationes quod non>

- <2.1.1> Videtur ergo alicui non fuisse de mente Philosophi et Commentatoris sui, quod anima rationalis sit constituta ex intellectu possibili et agente tamquam ex re possibili et actuali in genere intelligibilium. Impossibile est enim, quod actus habeat materiam partem sui. Sed in definitione animae, quam asserit Philosophus competere etiam animae intellectivae, dicitur, quod anima est actus corporis physici etc. Igitur non potest habere materiam partem sui.
- 10 <2.1.1.1> Confirmatur, quia principii non est principium. Anima est hominis principium tamquam forma, sicut patet ex II *De anima*.
- <2.1.2> Praeterea, Philosophus dicit de intellectu agente, quod est substantia actu ens et quod est sua actio. Sed
- 15 hoc non esset verum, nisi esset substantia separata non informans possibilem. Forma tamen non est ens actu, sed actus. Igitur secundum Aristotelem intellectus agens non est forma possibilis.
- <2.1.3> Praeterea, Commentator dicit, III *De anima*, com-
 20 mento 32, loquens de intellectu possibili, quod “opinandum est secundum Aristotelem, quod intellectus iste ultimus est in ordine intellectuum abstractorum sive intelligentiarum.” Igitur videtur secundum intentionem Philosophi et Commentatoris, quod intellectus possibilis sit quaedam
- 25 substantia separata per se subsistens infimior inter omnes intelligentias, et per consequens ex ipso et agente non fit una anima nec una substantia secundum mentem ipsorum.

2 Videtur] Videretur B'T' 2 ergo] igitur B'N' 4 intellectu] et Commentatoris add. N' 6 habeat] habeant T' 6 definitione] materiae add. et del. T' 7 asserit Philosophus] inv. T' 8 actus] coi add. et del. T' 9 partem] om. N' 11 Anima] Sed anima T' 15 esset²] verum nisi esset add. N' 16 informans] in formam N' 16 Formam A'B' 16 tamen] autem N' 16 sed] ens add. et del. T' 18 possibilis] potentialis N' 20 opinandum] opiniandum N' 21 ultimus est] inv. N' 23 intentionem] Aristotelis add. et del. T' 26 et²] add. i.m. T' om. A'B'N'

7 Arist., II *De anima*, cap. 1 (412a); cf. *id.*, VIII *Metaph.*, cap. 3 (1043a) 12 Arist., II *De anima*, cap. 4 (415b) 13 Arist., XII *Metaph.*, cap. 7 (1072a) 20 Aver., *In III De anima Arist.*, comm. 19 (ed. Crawford, p. 442, ll. 63–64)

- <2.1.4> Praeterea, secundum Commentatorem ibidem, “pro-
 portio intellectus agentis ad intellectum patientem est sicut
 proportio principii moventis <...> ad materiam motam.” Sed
 constat, quod nulla forma agat in suam materiam, cum
 5 movens et motum debeant esse distincta | loco et subiecto,
 ut patet ex VIII *Physicorum*. Igitur agens non potest esse
 forma intellectus possibilis.
- <2.1.4.1> Et confirmatur, quia in III *De anima* dicit Philoso-
 phus, quod sicut in omni natura necesse est dare duas has
 10 differentias, agens scilicet et recipiens, | similiter etiam in
 anima, quod “ars ad materiam sustinuit,” per hoc innuens,
 quod intellectus agens se habet ad possibilem sicut ars ad
 materiam, et per consequens ut efficiens, non ut forma.
- <2.1.5> Praeterea, si agens et possibilis constituerunt
 15 intrinsece animam, sequeretur, quod in homine essent duo
 principia intellectiva, et quod homo intelligeret duplici
 intellectu. Constat enim, quod agens est intelligens secun-
 dum opinionem Philosophi, immo est sua intellectio, nec
 intelligit aliquid eorum, quae sunt hic, ut Commentator
 20 dicit. | Similiter et intellectus possibilis est intelligens, nec
 est in eo aliud intelligere et comprehendere quam recipere
 intellectiones intellectas, ut patet per totum III | *De anima*.
 Unde Commentator ait, commento 32, quod “possumus
 scire intellectum immaterialem esse non-mixtum ex iudicio
 25 ac comprehensione eius, quod iudicamus per ipsum res

5 N' fol. 28va 10 A' fol. 83va 20 E' col. 72b 22 B' fol. 47rb

2 intellectus] *om.* N' 3 materiam] naturam B'N'T' 4 agat] agit N'T' 9 duas
 has] *inv.* N'T' 10 differentias] indifferentias N' 10 agens] gens N' 11 quod]
 quia T' 14 constituerunt] constituerent T' *fortasse scribendum* constituerent 16 et]
 aut N' 17 intelligens] intellectus N' intellecta *lectio incerta* T' 19 dicit] *add. i.m.*
 T' 20 intelligens] intellectus B'N' 22 ut patet] *add. et del.* T' 23 commento]
om. A' 23 possumus] possumus T' 24 immaterialem] materialem T' 25 ac]
 et B'N'T'

1 Aver., *In III De anima Arist.*, comm. 19 (ed. Crawford, p. 442, ll. 59–61) 6 Arist.,
 VIII *Phys.*, cap. 5 (256a) 9 Arist., III *De anima.*, cap. 5 (430a) 19 Aver., *In III De*
anima Arist., comm. 19 (ed. Crawford, p. 442, ll. 57–58 et p. 442, ll. 72 sqq.) 22
 Cf. Aver., *In III De anima Arist.*, comm. 18 (ed. Crawford, p. 439, ll. 76–78) 23
 Aver., *In III De anima Arist.*, comm. 19 (ed. Crawford, p. 441, ll. 35–37)

infinitas numero.” Igitur si ponere in homine duo principia absonum est, non est igitur anima rationalis constituta ex possibili et agente.

- <2.1.6> Praeterea, Commentator III *De anima*, commento 17, deducens demonstrationem Aristotelis, “omne recipiens necesse est, ut sit denudatum a natura recepti, igitur etc.,” dicit, quod haec propositio intelligitur de natura speciei receptae, non autem de “natura sui generis et maxime remoti.” Et ideo, licet sit declaratum, quod intellectus
 10 possibilis non habet aliquam formam materialem, nondum tamen declaratur ex hoc sermone, utrum habeat diversam formam in esse a formis materialibus.

- <2.1.6.1> Et ideo commento 18, in definitione intellectus materialis, dicit, quod “non habet aliquam formam materia-
 15 lium.” Igitur non est mens sua, quin sit quaedam substantia actualis | et forma spiritualis, quamvis nullam formam materialem habeat.

- <2.1.7> Praeterea, Commentator XII *Metaphysicae*, commento 17, dicit, quod intellectus, qui est in potentia, est
 20 quasi locus intellectus agentis, et non quasi materia. Hoc dicit se declarasse in III *De anima*—commento 21, ubi etiam ait, quod intelligentiae abstractae mutuo se recipiunt et perficiunt, quod non potest intelligi de receptione per modum formae inhaerentis, alioquin omnes intelligentiae
 25 constituerent unum ens. Sed debet intelligi de receptione, quae fit per modum cuiusdam assistentiae. Unde agens tangit

16 T' fol. 206va

1 principia] intellectiva *add.* T' 4 III] certo N' 4 commento] *om.* A'B' 5 17] 16 N' 6 igitur] *om.* T' 10 aliquam formam] *inv.* B' 10 aliquam] substantialem *add. et del.* B' 11 ex] de A' 12 in] *aliquid illegibile add. et del.* T' 13 intellectus] possibilis *add. et del.* T' 18 XII] 11° B' 19 est²] *om.* T' 20 quasi] qui N' 20 intellectus] *om.* N' 20 Hoc] Hic T' 21 21] 37 B' 27 N'T' 22 intelligentiae] intellectus A' 22 se] *add. s.l.* A' 26 fit] sit N'

4 Aver., *In III De anima Arist.*, comm. 4 (ed. Crawford, p. 385, ll. 67 sqq.) 6 Aver., *In III De anima Arist.*, comm. 4 (ed. Crawford, p. 386, ll. 92–95) 13 Aver., *In III De anima Arist.*, comm. 5 (ed. Crawford, p. 387, ll. 7–8) 19 Aver., *In XII Metaphys. Arist.*, comm. 17 (VIII, col. 303ra) 21 Aver., *In III De anima Arist.*, comm. 14 (ed. Crawford, p. 429, l. 37)

virtualiter possibilem et sibi coassistit secundum mentem ipsius. Non est igitur anima constituta tamquam unum ens ex possibili et agente.

- <2.1.8> Praeterea, III *De anima*, Commentator, commento
 5 8, dicit, quod intellectus materialis et intentio intellecta in actu sic se habent, quod non fit ex eis aliquod tertium, sicut de aliis compositis ex materia et forma. Igitur ex intellectu agente et possibili non potest fieri tertium constitutum, scilicet anima rationalis.
- 10 <2.1.9> Praeterea, constat secundum mentem Philosophi et Commentatoris intellectum possibilem esse aeternum. Sed XII *Metaphysicae*, commento 43, dicit Commentator, quod in substantiis abstractis non est agens, quia non est potentia. Igitur intellectus possibilis non est realitas pure potentialis.
- 15 <2.1.10> Praeterea, eodem XII, commento 38, dicit, quod omne compositum est novum, ubi agens exiret per se de potentia in actum. Sed non posuit partem intellectivam novam, sed unam potius et aeternam. Igitur non intellexit eam componi ex realitate potentiali et actuali.
- 20 <2.1.11> Ex his igitur visum est aliquibus, quod fuerit de mente Philosophi et Commentatoris intellectum possibilem et agentem esse duas substantias seorsum subsistentes, quarum quaelibet esset actualis, sed differebant in hoc, quod agens erat purus actus et in nulla potentia ad aliquid recipiendum; possibilis autem, etsi esset substantia actualis in se,
 25 tamen erat in potentia ad recipiendum formas universales rerum materialium. Erat autem proportio inter agentem et possibilem tamquam inter substantiam activam respectu intentionum | universalium et passivam seu receptivam. Et

29 E' col. 73a

5 et] *corr. s.l. ex e A'* 6 non] *add. s.l. A'* 12 43] dicit quod *add. et del. N'* 15 commento] 3 *add. et del. T'* 15 38] *fortasse scribendum* 18 16 omne] esse N' 16 ubi] nisi B'N'T' 18 unam] *corr. i.m. ex veram T'* 18 non] *add. i.m. A' om. B'* 18 intellexit] intellexerit A' 22-23 quarum] quantum B'N' 24 nulla] *corr. i.m. ex natura T'* 26 in] *om. N'*

5 Aver., *In III De anima Arist.*, comm. 5 (ed. Crawford, p. 404, ll. 505-508)
 12 Aver., *In XII Metaphys. Arist.*, comm. 44 (VIII, col. 328rb) 15 Aver., *In XII Metaphys. Arist.*, comm. 18 (VIII, coll. 304va-vb)

- si quaeretur de intellectu agente aut possibili, quomodo
intelligebant substantias abstractas secundum mentem Phi-
losophi, responderent isti, quod per essentiam suam, quae
erat similitudo quaedam omnium substantiarum abstracta-
rum, non autem per receptionem similitudinis | aut actus
ab huiusmodi substantiis separatis.

*Quod manifeste fuit de mente Philosophi et Commentatoris intellec-
tum possibilem nullam habere materiam in sua essentia, | sed esse
substantiam pure possibilem*

- 10 <2.2> Sed his non obstantibus concluditur ex verbis
Philosophi et Commentatoris triplex conclusio, quae fuit
de mente eorum.

<Prima conclusio>

- <2.2.1> Prima quidem, quod intellectus esset realitas pure
15 potentialis, nullam omnino habens naturam in actu nec
existens de numero entium in actu, sed solum in potentia.
Quod patet, quia si esset in potentia tantum ad intentiones
omnium entium, et tamen cum hoc esset in se et in sui
essentia aliqua spiritualis substantia actualis, sequeretur,
20 quod illa verba Philosophi “intellectus possibilis nihil est
eorum, quae sunt actu, ante intelligere,” et illa “necesse est
ipsum esse immixtum cum omnibus, ut iudicet omnia,” et
illa “neque ullam habet naturam nisi eam | tantum, quod
‘possibilis’ sit vocatus,” et illa demonstratio eiusdem “omne
25 recipiens necesse est esse denudatum a natura recepti;

5 B' fol. 47va 8 N' fol. 28vb 23 A' fol. 83vb

1 quaeretur] quaeretur N' 1 possibili] potentiali T' 3 responderent] respondent
B'N'T' 3 isti] *om.* N' 7 Philosophi] *add. i.m.* A' 8 materiam] naturam B'N'T' 8
esse] essentia B'N'T' 9 possibilem] potentialem B'T' 10 obstantibus] manifeste
add. B'N'T' 10 concluditur] concludetur T' 14 esset] *fortasse scribendum est* 16
actu] *sol add. et del.* T' 18 in²] *om.* A' 21 ante] *om.* N' illa] ita T' 22 et] *om.*
N' 23 ullam] ulla N' 23 habet] habent A'B' *om.* N' habens T' 23 naturam]
nec B' 24 omne] esse B'N' 25 est] eius *add. et del.* T' 287,25–288,2 a...de-
nudatum] *om.* N'

20 Arist., III *De anima*, cap. 4 (429a) 21 Arist., *ibid.* 24 Arist., *ibid.*

intellectus autem possibilis potest recipere omne ens actuale;
igitur est denudatum ab omni ente actuali”—sequeretur
utique, quod haec omnia referrentur ad praeparationem sive
ad aptitudinem, quae est in intellectu possibili, et non ad
5 essentiam praeparati sive ad substantiam deferentem prae-
parationem seu aptitudinem ad recipiendum. Et hoc patet
manifeste, nam de substantia deferente aptitudinem, quae
est in intellectu possibili, ad intentiones omnium entium,
non esset tunc verum dicere, quod nullam habet naturam,
10 aut quod nihil est actu, aut quod est denudata a natura
specifica vel generis omnium rerum, quae recipit, immo
esset quaedam determinata natura, et per consequens haec
omnia referrentur ad praeparationem et aptitudinem.

<2.2.1.1> Sed hoc est absonum, quia tunc verba illa non
15 essent magis vera de intellectu possibili quam de quolibet
alio recipiente. Verum est enim dicere de cera, quod nullam
habet naturam, id est figuram, quam sit apta nata recipere,
quamvis in se sit quaedam res actualis. Unde aequae veri-
ficarentur omnes propositiones, quas Philosophus dicit de
20 pariete aut de superficie respectu colorum et <de> cera
respectu figurarum, sicut de intellectu possibili. Et posset
dici, quod superficies nihil est eorum, quae sunt actu, et
quod nullam habet naturam, nisi quod ‘possibilis’ sit vocata,
et sic de aliis.

<2.2.1.2> Haec autem omnia tamquam absona reprobat Com-
25 mentator, III *De anima*, commento 18, dicens contra Alexan-
dram, quod hoc dicere “nihil est. Si enim non intendebat
Aristoteles demonstrare nobis substantiam praeparati, sed
substantiam praeparationis,” quare ergo appropriavit hoc
30 intellectui inter alias praeparationes, “cum impossibile sit

1 autem] *corr. i.m. ex est* A' 5 deferentem] referentem N' 6 seu] sive T' 6
aptitudinem] aptitudine N' 10 denudata] denudatum T' 11 quae] quas
corr. i.m. ex quae T' *fortasse scribendum* quas 14 verba illa] *inv. B'* 15 quolibet]
quocumque N'T' 18 sit] *iter. T'* 20 de!] *om. T'* 21 sicut] sint B' 22 est] in
N' 26 dicens] *iter. et corr. A'* 26 contra] *Alen add. et del. N'*

21 Arist., V *Metaphys.*, cap. 18 (1022a) 26 Aver., In III *De anima* Arist., comm. 5
(ed. Crawford, p. 395, ll. 246 sqq.)

dicere, quod aliqua praeparatio sit substantia.” Et subdit, quod hoc “manifestum est ex demonstratione Aristotelis. Propositio enim dicens, quod omne recipiens aliquid necesse est, ut in eo non existat in actu aliquid ex natura
 5 recepti, intelligitur de substantia praeparati, natura enim eius quaerit habere hoc praedicatum. Praeparatio enim non est recipiens, sed” est sicut accidens proprium ipsius recipientis. Et commento 27 dicit se confundi et admirari de hac mirabili expositione: “quomodo | enim possumus
 10 exponere illud, quod Aristoteles intendebat hic non demonstrare de natura intellectus materialis, sed illud, quod est commune omnibus | recipientibus, in quibus est praeparatio <...> et non ad demonstrandum naturam praeparati per cognitionem propriae praeparationis, nisi forte intellectus
 15 materialis esset solummodo praeparatio sine aliquo subiecto, quod est impossibile <...> Unde Aristoteles, cum invenit praeparationem, quae est in intellectu, esse diversam ab aliis,” praeparatio autem ostendit praeparatum, “iudicavit praecise, quod natura subiecta differt ab aliis materiis praeparatis, et quod est proprium isti subiecto praeparationis,
 20 est, quod non est in ea aliqua intentionum intellectuum in potentia aut in actu.” Igitur manifestum est ex verbis propriis Philosophi et expositione Commentatoris, quod in substantia et essentia intellectus possibilis non potest esse
 25 aliqua determinata natura aut actualitas, sed est possibile purum.
 <2.2.1.3.1> Ex quo patet, quam ridiculosa est vulgaris expositio, quae dicit, quod Philosophus intelligit possibilem

9 E' col. 73b 12 B' fol. 47vb

2 hoc] *add. s.l. A'* 6 praedicatum] *lectio incerta, fortasse legendum praedispositum*
 T' 7 sicut] *om. T'* 7 accidens] *actus N'* 8 commento] 28 *add. T'* 11 intellectus materialis] *iter. T'* 11 sed] *est add. T'* 11 illud] *id B'* 12 quibus] *quo T'* 17 in] *om. T'* 18 iudicavit] *corr. i.m. ex dicavit A'* 19 natura] *non B'* 20 quod] *quia N'* 24 substantia] *subiecto T'* 24 potest] *fieri add. et del. T'* 25 aut] *ut N'* 25 est possibile] *im. N'*

1 Aver., *ibid.* 8 Aver., *In III De anima Arist.*, comm. 14 (ed. Crawford, p. 431, ll. 104 sqq.)

- intellectum non habere aliquam naturam, hoc est aliquam speciem intelligibilem, aut non esse aliquid actu eorum, quae sunt per species et similitudines eorum. Hoc enim esset dicere unum, quod est commune omni praeparationi
 5 et omni recipienti, quod nullam habet naturam, nec aliquid est actu eorum, quae recipit in se, tamen est aliquid actu. Cum ergo Philosophus aliquid proprium intelligat de intellectu possibili, manifestum est, quod loquitur de ipso in se, scilicet quod non est aliqua natura in actu aut
 10 | aliquid de numero actualium entium.
 <2.2.1.3.2> Praeterea, si intellectus possibilis in sua substantia esset aliquid actuale, actus ille posset dici forma vel materialis vel immaterialis seu intelligibilis; posset etiam dici quaedam intentio intellecta vel in potentia vel in actu.
 15 Sed III *De anima*, commento 18, expresse Commentator ait, quod “intellectus materialis nullam habet naturam et essentiam, qua constituatur, secundum quod est materialis, nisi naturam possibilitatis, cum denudetur ab omnibus formis, et materialibus et intelligibilibus.” Et per consequens
 20 nec habet formam materiale nec intelligibilem, nec potest istud exponi “secundum quod est materialis, hoc est sub isto respectu,” non intelligendo de substantia, quae defert respectum, quia contra hanc expositionem ipse vehementer innititur. Dicit etiam, commento 27, quod “in intellectu
 25 materiali non est aliqua formarum intellectarum <...> nec actu nec potentia.” Constat autem, quod si haberet aliquam naturam actualem, quod illa esset intellecta in potentia, omnis enim actus per se intelligibilis est. Igitur in sua essentia non est aliquid actuale.

9 N' fol. 29ra

2 esse] est N' 5 quod] quia B'N'T' 6 est^{1]} iter. N' om. T' 6 in se] inde T' 7 intelligat] de intellectu *add. et del.* N' 9 aut] nec T' 12 vel] *om.* N' 13 vel immaterialis] *om.* N' 15 Sed] Licet B' 16 nullam] ullam A' 21 secundum] scilicet A' sed N' isto] illo N' 22 defert] differt A'N' dicit B' defert T' 23 respectum] respectui N' 29 non] ubi B'

15 Aver., *In III De anima Arist.*, comm. 5 (ed. Crawford, p. 387, ll. 12–16) 24 Aver., *In III De anima Arist.*, comm. 14 (ed. Crawford, p. 430, ll. 62–65)

<2.2.1.3.3> Praeterea, si ita esset, | nulla esset differentia quantum ad hoc inter virtutem sensitivam et virtutem intellectivam. Sicut enim virtus sensitiva nihil est in actu eorum, quae recipit, sed est in potentia ad positivam perfectionem in se, tamen est aliquid in actu et prima perfectio, sic intellectus possibilis esset in potentia respectu postremae perfectionis, in se tamen esset aliquid in actu. Sed ex intentione Commentator, III *De anima*, commento 27, imaginationem hanc reprobat, cuius verba sunt haec, “voco
 5 potentiam propinquam actui dispositionem mediam inter remotam potentiam et postremam perfectionem.” Et secundum hoc in intellectu materiali non est aliqua formarum intellectarum in actu nec potentia propinqua actui. “Et hoc est, ut non sit in eo intentio, quae sit in potentia intellecta.
 10 Et hoc est proprium soli | intellectui. Perfectio enim prima sentientis est aliquid in actu et respectu potentiae remotae, et aliquid | in potentia respectu postremae perfectionis. Et ideo assimilavit Aristoteles primam perfectionem sensus geometrae, quando non utitur geometria, scimus enim certe, quod habemus virtutem sensibilem existentem in actu, licet tunc nihil sentiamus.” Haec Commentator. Ubi manifeste negat intellectum possibilem habere aliquam actualem naturam, tunc enim esset sicut prima perfectio sentientis, quae est aliquid in actu in se, quamvis sit in potentia respectu perfectionis postremae. Cum igitur sit differentia in hoc
 25 inter intellectum possibilem et virtutem sentientem, mani-

1 A' fol. 84ra T' fol. 206vb 15 E' col. 74a 17 B' fol. 48ra

4 positivam] passivam N' corr. i.m. in postremam T' fortasse scribendum postremam
 8 ex intentione] in extensione A' sic! 8 Commentator] Commentatoris B'N'T' 8
 III] II A' 2° B'N' in 2° T' 8 27] 21 T' qui add. i.m. T' 9 reprobat] improbat
 N' 13 nec] est add. T' fortasse add. in 16 sentientis] corr. s.l. ex sentientes A' 16
 et] in B'N'T' 19 geometrae] geometriae T' 21 Ubi] Non N' 23 enim esset]
 inv. B' 24 quae] a add. et del. N' 24 est] add. i.m. A' 25 in hoc] om. T'

8 Aver., In III *De anima* Arist., comm. 14 (ed. Crawford, p. 430, ll. 65–67) 13
 Aver., In III *De anima* Arist., comm. 14 (ed. Crawford, p. 430, ll. 67–75) 18 Arist.,
 II *De generatione animalium*, cap. 1 (735a)

festum est, quod secundum ipsum intellectus possibilis non est aliquid actu in se.

- <2.2.1.3.4> Praeterea, si intellectus possibilis esset natura aliqua actualis, Philosophus et Commentator valde male
 5 definissent intellectum possibilem, quia eorum definitio non explicaret intellectus quidditatem, sed potius proprium accidens, scilicet praeparationem et potentiam, cum dicunt definiendo, quod intellectus possibilis nec unam habet naturam, sed hanc tantum, quod ‘possibilis’ sit vocatus. Et
 10 cum dicat Commentator, quod haec est definitio intellectus materialis, manifestum est, quod haec est quidditas substantiae eius et non praeparationis seu aptitudinis, quae est in eo. Unde si haberet actum in se, oportuisset definisse per aliquid exprimens illum actum, alioquin non fuisset bene
 15 notificata natura intellectus. Rursum male comparasset Commentator hoc genus entis materiae, dicens ipsum esse quartum genus entis, III *De anima*, commento 18, ubi dicit, quod “sicut esse sensibile dividitur in formam et materiam, sic esse intelligibile oportet dividi in consimilia his duobus,
 20 scilicet in aliquo simile formae et in aliquo simile materiae.” Male etiam assignasset in eodem commento differentiam inter istam materiam et materiam primam. Debuisset enim dixisse, quod haec materia est aliquid in actu, prima vero non, et cum multas differentias assignet, numquam tangit
 25 istam, quin potius supponat, quod nec prima materia nec ista in actu sunt, sed in pura potentia. Dicit, quod differunt,

1 secundum...possibilis] intellectus possibilis secundum ipsum T' 1 possibilis] om. N' 9 hanc] habeat N' 11 materialis] sit vocatus add. et del. N' 11 haec est] inv. N' 11 est²] add. s.l. A' om. B' 11–12 substantiae] sub add. et del. B' 14 non] iter. N' 15 comparasset] compasset B' 17 anima] add. s.l. A' 18 esse] ens add. N' 19 esse] omne N' 20 aliquo] fortasse scribendum aliquod 20 aliquo] genere add. et del. T' 20 aliquo] fortasse scribendum aliquod 21 Male] add. i.m. A' 23 haec] in add. N' 24 cum] tamen N'T' 24 assignet] assignasset A' 25 supponat] supponit A' 26 Dicit] tamen add. i.m. A'

17 Aver., In III *De anima Arist.*, comm. 5 (ed. Crawford, p. 409, ll. 658–661)

26 Aver., In III *De anima Arist.*, comm. 5 (ed. Crawford, p. 388, ll. 35–37)

quia ista est in potentia ad formas simpliciter et universales,
prima autem materia ad formas istas et particulares.

*Quod fuit de mente eorum intellectum agentem et possibilem constituere
rationalem animam*

5 <Secunda conclusio>

<2.2.2> Secunda conclusio eorum fuit, quod agens esset forma in possibili, sic quod | ex his duabus realitatibus, una actuali et altera pure potentiali, constabat humanus intellectus et anima rationalis. Et quod hoc sit de mente eorum,
10 patet. De nullo enim potest dici, quod se habeat ad intellectum possibilem, sicut se habet lux ad diaphanum, aut quod sit perfectio possibilis sicut lux diaphani, aut quod habeat idem subiectum cum intellectis speculativis, quae sunt in intellectu potentiali subiective—de nullo, inquam,
15 talia possunt dici nisi de illo, quod se habet ad intellectum possibilem sicut forma inhaerens et perficiens. Sed III *De anima*, commento 18, dicit Averroes, quod “respectus intellectus agentis ad intellectum possibilem est respectus lucis ad diaphanum <...> Quemadmodum enim | lux est perfectio diaphani, sic intellectus agens est perfectio materialis;
20 quemadmodum diaphanum non movetur a colore nec recipit eum, nisi quando lucet, ita iste intellectus non recipit intellecta, quae sunt hic, nisi secundum quod perficitur per totum intellectum illum et illuminatur per ipsum.” In commento vero 49 dicit, quod manifestum est, quod “subiectum
25

7 N' fol. 29rb 19 E' col. 74b

2 istas] suas B' secundum quid N' 2 et] *om.* T' 4 *rationalem*] materialem B'N' 7 realitatibus] realibus A' 8 et] *om.* A' 9 anima] omnino N' 10–11 habeat...diaphanum] *om.* N' 12 diaphani] possibilem sicut se habet lux ad diaphanum *add.* N' 15 intellectum] *fi add. et del.* N' 16 perficiens] ipsum *add.* B'N'T' 17 18] 28 *lectio incerta* T' 17 respectus] *corr. i.m. ex respectus sic!* T' 20 est] *om.* T' 24 totum] *om.* B'T' vero] quinto T' 25 49] *om.* T'

17 Aver., *In III De anima Arist.*, comm. 5 (ed. Crawford, p. 410, l. 689—p. 411, l. 697) 25 Aver., *In III De anima Arist.*, comm. 36 (ed. Crawford, p. 499, ll. 563–566)

- intellectorum speculativorum et intellectus agentis | <...>
 est unum et idem, scilicet intellectus materialis, et simile est
 diaphanum, quod recipit colorem et lucem insimul.” Ergo
 intellectus agens secundum mentem eorum est in intellectu
 5 possibili sicut forma inhaerens.
 <2.2.2.1> Si dicatur, quod huiusmodi perfectio intelligi non
 debet per inhaerentiam, sed magis per assistentiam et con-
 tactum virtutis, sicut dicimus, quod lux perficit colorem, non
 valet, quia istud est destruere textum. Non est enim verum
 10 dicere, quod illud, quod assistit et non insistit, respiciat |
 aliud non subiectum. Hic autem dicitur, quod intellectus
 agens et intellecta speculativa habent idem subiectum.
 <2.2.2.2> Si etiam diceretur, quod lux perficit diaphanum,
 non sicut forma substantialis, sed sicut accidens, et ita non
 15 probatur, quod intellectus agens constituat unam substan-
 tiam cum possibili, sed inest sibi tamquam accidens, non
 valet, quia quod vere est, nulli accidit, I *Physicorum*. In-
 tellectus autem agens est substantia actu ens, et ideo in
 nullo potest esse forma accidentalis. Et iterum intellectus
 20 possibilis est substantia pure potentialis, ut declaratum est
 fuisse de mente istorum; quare necesse est, quod fiat in actu
 substantiali vel per intellectum agentem, quem recipit, vel
 per alia intellecta. Dignius autem est, quod per intellectum
 agentem, quia illum per prius recipit, ut Commentator ait,
 25 commento 18.
 <2.2.2.3> Praeterea, nisi agens et possibilis essent duae reali-
 tates intrinsece existentes in anima, non esset verum, quod
 essent duae differentiae et duae virtutes in anima, et quod

1 B' fol. 48rb 10 A' fol. 84rb

4 agens] agentis N' 8 dicimus] dicitur N' 9 textum] testum N' 9 enim]
add. i.m. A' om. T' 11 aliud] ad N' 11 non] nisi A' nec N' *corr. i.m. in* sicut T'
fortasse scribendum ut 14 sicut²] sicus T' et *add. et del. T'* 16 accidens] *corr. i.m. ex*
 actus T' 17 vere est] videtur esse B' 22 quem] quam N' 24 per] *om. T'* 26
 possibilis] potentialis N' 26-27 duae...esset] *om. N'*

11 Aver., *ibid.* 17 Arist., I *Phys.*, cap. 3 (186b) 20 Cf. supra <2.2.1> 25 Aver.,
In III De anima Arist., comm. 5 (ed. Crawford, p. 411, ll. 701 sqq.)

- anima reciperet ratione quasi materiae et ageret ratione quasi formae, et quod anima esset intelligendo activa et passiva. Sed Commentator, III *De anima*, commento 17, dicit, quod anima rationalis, “secundum quod movent eam
 5 intellecta, est passiva; secundum vero quod moventur ab ea, est activa. Et ideo dicit Aristoteles, quod necesse est ponere in anima rationali has duas differentias <...> et dicit aperte, quod utraque eius pars est.” Et commento 33 dicit, quod “universaliter, quando quis intuebitur intellectum materiale
 10 cum intellectu agente, apparebunt esse duo uno modo, et unum alio modo: duo per diversitatem actionis eorum <...> unum, quia intellectus materialis perficitur per agentem.” Et commento 31 ait, quod “necesse est attribuere animae, quae est in nobis, has duas actiones, scilicet recipere intellectum
 15 et facere eum, quamvis agens et recipiens sint substantiae <...> Cum enim invenimus nos agere per has duas virtutes, cum volumus, et nihil agat nisi per suam formam, ideo fuit necesse attribuere nobis has virtutes intellectus.” Similiter XII *Metaphysicae*, commento 17, commendans opinionem
 20 Theophrasti et Themistii et aliorum Peripateticorum ait, quod ipsi reputabant, quod “intelligentia agens est quasi forma in intellectu materiali ut compositum ex materia et forma, et quod ipsa causat intellecta uno modo et recipit alio modo. Agit enim ea, in quantum est forma, et reci-
 25 pit secundum intellectum materiale.” Approbans autem istam opinionem | subdit, quod “nos perscrutati sumus de

26 E' col. 75a

1 quasi] *iter. et corr.* T' 2 formae] forma B' 2 anima esset] *inv.* B' 5 moventur] *corr. i.m. ex movetur* T' 6 est] passivus *add. et del.* T' 6 est] *add. s.l.* A' 7 in...rationali] *om.* N' 8 commento] *add. i.m.* T' 10 et] *om.* A' 13 commento] 13 *add. et del.* N' 13 31] 32 B' 15 sint] sunt B'N' 17 nihil] nec B' non N' 17 agat] aliquis *add.* N' nisi] quod *add.* A' 17 per] *add. i.m.* A' 19 opinionem] theolo *add. et del.* N' 26 perscrutati] perscrubati N'

3 Aver., *In III De anima Arist.*, comm. 4 (ed. Crawford, p. 385, ll. 52–57) 6 Arist., III *De anima*, cap. 4 (429a) 8 Aver., *In III De anima Arist.*, comm. 20 (ed. Crawford, p. 450, l. 213—p. 451, l. 219) 13 Aver., *In III De anima Arist.*, comm. 18 (ed. Crawford, p. 439, l. 72—p. 440, l. 85) 19 Aver., *In XII Metaphys. Arist.*, comm. 17 (VIII, coll. 302vb–303ra) 26 Aver., *In XII Metaphys. Arist.*, comm. 17 (VIII, col. 303ra)

- istis opinionibus in libro *De anima*, et diximus, quod intelligentia agens est quasi forma in intellectu materiali, et quod ipsa agit intellecta et recipit ea secundum intellectum materiale[m].” Sed constat, quod praedicta non esset | vera,
- 5 nec modus loquendi esset proprius, nisi eorum mens foret, quod anima rationalis constitueretur intrinsece ex intellectu possibili | et agente tamquam ex substantia potentiali et substantia actuali. Non esset verum enim, quod essent duae differentiae animae, nec duae partes eius, nec quod
- 10 essent duae virtutes illius formae, per quam agimus, nec quod anima reciperet | intellecta uno modo et ageret alio modo. Sed potius deberet dici, quod una substantia ageret, et alia reciperet, non autem quod unum et idem uno modo reciperet, alio modo ageret.
- 15 <2.2.2.4> Cum igitur propositionibus istis Commentator et ceteri Peripatetici utantur, patet, quod fuit de mente eorum, quod anima rationalis constitueretur ex agente et possibili tamquam ex actuali et potentiali.
- <2.2.2.5> Praeterea, anima non est magis simplex quam
- 20 ceterae substantiae separatae. Sed secundum mentem eorum omnis substantia praeter primam intrinsece est composita. Unde III *De anima*, commento 18, dicit Commentator, quod in omni intellectu abstracto oportet recipere consimilia his duobus, aliquid scilicet simile formae et aliquid simile mate-
- 25 riae. Et ideo declaratum est in prima philosophia, quod nulla forma liberata est a potentia simpliciter nisi prima, quae nihil intelligit extra se. Aliae autem formae diversantur

4 N' fol. 29va 7 B' fol. 48va 11 T' fol. 207ra

2 est] a *add. et del.* A' 3 agit] congit N' 3 intellecta] intelligente N' 4 esset] essent B'N'T' 5 foret] ut alia *add. et del.* N' 7 agente] in nobis *add. et del.* N' 8 verum] est *add.* N' 9 quod] *iter.* N' 17 possibili] potentiali N' 20 separatae] separata N' 23 abstracto] abstracta B' 23 recipere] reperire B'N'T' 24 aliquid²] quid N' 24 simile²] formae *add. et del.* A'

22 Aver., In III *De anima Arist.*, comm. 5 (ed. Crawford, p. 409, ll. 660–662)

- in quidditate et essentia quoquo modo. Et XII *Metaphysicae*,
 commento 50, dicit loquens de prima forma et primo intel-
 lectu, quod ipsum est simplex et indivisibile et singulare
 et per se extra compositum, scilicet quod eius substantia
 5 non est in compositione, per hoc expresse ostendens, quod
 substantia omnis alterius intellectus est in quadam compo-
 sitione. Igitur secundum ista in omni substantia intellectuali
 necesse est ponere aliquid simile materiae et aliquid simile
 formae. Si igitur intellectus agens esset substantia per se
 10 et possibilis per se, oporteret utrumque constitui ex aliquo
 simile materiae et aliquo simile formae et ita | ex possibili
 et agente. Quare standum est statim in principio, scilicet
 quod agens et possibilis constituunt primo animam quasi
 per modum similem materiae et formae.
 15 <2.2.2.6> Unde III *De anima*, commento 27, dicit Commenta-
 tor, quod “illud solum, quod est liberatum ab hac natura,” et
 loquitur ibi de intellectu possibili, “est primum intelligens.”
 Et subdit, quod “ponendo istam materiam in formis abstrac-
 tis dissolvitur quaestio, quomodo intelligitur multitudo, et
 20 quomodo intelligantur multa ab eis.”

*Quod intellectus abstractus non intelligit alias a se per essentiam
 suam, immo recipiendo intellectionem ab eis, receptione tamen aeterna
 secundum mentem Philosophi et Commentatoris*

11 A fol. 84va

1 essentia] esse N' 2 prima] iter. N' 9 esset] est N' 10–11 aliquo...et¹] iter.
 N' 11 simile] sic! AB'N'T' fortasse scribendum simili 11 simile] sic! AB'N'T' fortasse
 scribendum simili 17 primum] principium N'T' 17 intelligens] intellectus N'T'
 20 intelligantur] fortasse scribendum intelliguntur 21 intellectus abstractus] intelligen-
 tiae abstractae B'N'T' 21 intelligit] intelligant B' in se stant N' intelligunt T'
 21 a] extra B'N'T' 21 se] sed add. B' 22 intellectionem] intentionem T' etiam
 add. B'N' 22 receptione] iter. N' 22 tamen] om. B'

2 Aver., *In XII Metaphys. Arist.*, comm. 51 (VIII, coll. 335rb sqq.) 15 Aver., *In
 III De anima Arist.*, comm. 14 (ed. Crawford, p. 429, ll. 39–40) 18 Aver., *In III
 De anima Arist.*, comm. 14 (ed. Crawford, p. 429, ll. 41–43)

<Tertia conclusio>

<2.2.3> Tertia vero conclusio eorum fuit, quod intelligentiae separatae, etsi intelligerent se ipsas per | essentiam suam, sic quod intellectio et intellectum essent unum et idem, tamen
 5 alia extra se non intelligebant per essentiam suam, sed potius per intentionem seu intellectionem receptam quamvis ab aeterno. Et hoc patet per illud, quod Commentator dicit XII *Metaphysicae*, commento 43. Dicit enim, quod “tantum est illic”—loquitur de intelligentiis separatis—“causa et
 10 causatum, secundum quod dicimus, quod intellectus est causa intelligentis, et cum ita sit, non est impossibile, ut illud, quod est per se intelligentia et intellectum, sit causa plurium entium, secundum quod ex eo intelliguntur multi modi.” Et sequitur, quod “tantum est illic intellectus et
 15 intellectum, perfectum et perficiens, quemadmodum artificia perficiuntur ab invicem in hoc, quod accipiunt principia ad invicem.”

<2.2.3.1> Similiter III *De anima*, commento | 27, dicit, quod fuit possibile, quod intelligentiae abstractae perficerentur
 20 ad invicem et intelligerent se ad invicem ratione illius materiae, quae ponitur in eis, quia alias non esset possibile, ut intelligeretur in eis recipiens nec etiam receptibile.

<2.2.3.2> Et idem dicit commento 18, quod “nisi esset hoc genus entis, quod scivimus in scientia animae”—et loquitur
 25 de intellectu possibili, quae est quasi materia in genere

3 E' col. 75b 18 B' fol. 48vb

3 etsi] *om.* A' 3 suam] *om.* B'N'T' 3 sic] *add. s.l.* A' ergo N' 4 intellectio] intelligendum N' intentio T' 4 tamen] cum B' 9–11 et...causa] *iter.* N' 10 intellectus] *fortasse scribendum* intellectum 11 intelligentis] separatis N' 12 intellectum] intellectus T' 15 quemadmodum] *Arl add. et del.* T' 16–17 in...invicem] *om.* N' 16 ad] *sic!* A'B'N'T' *fortasse scribendum* ab 19 perficerentur] perficientur A' 20 ad] *sic!* A'B'N'T' *fortasse scribendum* ab 22 etiam] *om.* B'N' et T' 23 esset] hic etiam T' 24 scivimus] scimus T' 25 quae] *sic!* A'B'N' qui T' *fortasse scribendum* qui

8 Aver., *In XII Metaphys. Arist.*, comm. 44 (VIII, coll. 327va–vb) 14 Aver., *In XII Metaphys. Arist.*, comm. 44 (VIII, col. 328rb) 18 Aver., *In III De anima Arist.*, comm. 14 (ed. Crawford, p. 429, ll. 34–39) 23 Aver., *In III De anima Arist.*, comm. 5 (ed. Crawford, p. 410, ll. 668–670)

- intelligibilium, quem vocat ‘quartum genus entis’—“non possemus intelligere multitudinem in substantiis abstractis.” Vult enim dicere, quod nisi quaelibet intelligentia esset constituta ex aliquo potenciali, per quod reciperet intentiones
- 5 rerum extra se, nulla intelligentia posset intelligere multa.
- <2.2.3.3> Igitur secundum mentem philosophorum | intelligentiae abstractae non intelligunt alias extra se per essentiam suam aut per hoc, quod sunt similitudo eorum.
- <2.2.3.3.1> Praeterea, si intelligentiae abstractae intelligerent
- 10 alias extra se per essentiam suam, utpote quia earum essentia repraesentaret omnia, tunc sequeretur, quod multitudo intellectuum non faceret compositionem realem in eis nec etiam alietatem intellectus et intellecti. Sed secundum Philosophum et Commentatorem, XII *Metaphysicae*, omnes
- 15 intelligentiae, quae intelligunt extra se aliud, habent alietatem intellectus et intellecti et multitudinem intellectuum ponentem compositionem in eis, et deficiunt in simplicitate a prima intelligentia, quae nihil intelligit extra se. Igitur huiusmodi intelligentiae intelligunt recipiendo et tunc non
- 20 per essentiam suam, quia ea, quae sunt extra se.
- <2.2.3.3.2> Nec valet, si dicatur, quod intelligunt recipiendo alias intelligentias, quae sunt extra se, per assistentiam, non autem per inhaerentiam, sicut videtur esse mens Commentatoris. Dicit enim, quod in intelligentiis abstractis idem est
- 25 intellectus et intellectum, et quod suum esse reale est idem cum esse in intellectu. Non valet utique, quia numquam aliqua intelligentia intelligit nisi intellectione sibi formaliter inhaerente vel secum realiter eadem existente. Nunc autem

6 N° fol. 29vb

2 abstractis] ul *add. et del.* T° 7 alias] *om.* A° 15 aliud] ad N° 17 in²] a B° 18 prima] causa *add. et del.* T° 19 tunc] *om.* B°N°T° et *add. et del.* A° 20 quia] per *add. s.l.* A° 24 in] *add. s.l.* A° *add. i.m.* T° *fortasse omittendum* 28 realiter eadem] *iter.* B°N°T°

14 Arist., XII *Metaphys.*, cap. 9 (1074b) 14 Aver., *In XII Metaphys. Arist.*, comm. 51 (VIII, coll. 336va–vb) 24 Aver., *In XII Metaphys. Arist.*, comm. 51 (VIII, col. 336rb)

- intelligentia extrinseca, quae intelligitur ab alia, quamvis sit formaliter intellectio et intellectus in actu, non tamen est id ipsum realiter, nec etiam inhaeret cum illa intelligentia, quae ipsam intelligit. Non igitur potest esse intellectio ipsa, qua intelligentiam extrinsecam intelligit. Quare oportet, quod vel illa intellectio sit recepta, et sic habetur propositum, vel quod sit id ipsum quod essentia | intelligentiae, quae exteriorem intelligit, quod non potest esse de mente eorum, sicut probatum est.
- 10 *Modus ponendi compositionem ex actuali et potentiali secundum philosophos*
- <2.2.4> Est igitur considerandum [quod] secundum mentem Philosophi et Commentatoris, quod omnis intelligentia quantumcumque abstracta praeter primam, quae Deus est et nihil intelligit extra se, habet in se intrinsece duas realitates et est composita, non quidem ex forma et materia, sed ex aliquo simili formae et aliquo simili materiae sive ex quodam actuali et quodam potentiali. Et hoc expresse Commentator dicit XII *Metaphysicae*, commento 17 et 50, et III *De anima*, commento 18 et 27.
- <2.2.4.1> Non concesserunt autem illas proprie componi ex materia et forma, sed ex aliquo simili, quoniam inter formam et materiam, ex quibus corpora componuntur, et actuale et potentiale, ex quibus intelligentiae | constituuntur, est multiplex differentia.

7 E' col. 76a 24 B' fol. 49ra

1 quamvis] quam B'N'T' 1 sit] *add. i.m.* A' 2 intellectio] intellectus *corr. ex intellecta* N' 2 actu] *aliquid illegibile add. et del.* T' 2 est] *iter. et corr.* T' 3 inhaeret] inhaeret B'N'T' 8 esse] esset N' 10 actuali] *corr. s.l. ex actuale* T' 12 considerandum] considerandum T' 12 quod] *del.* A' 14 Deus est] *iter.* B'T' 16 et²] forma *add. et exp.* B' 18 quodam²] *om.* N' 21 concesserunt] consenserunt T' 22 materia...forma] forma et materia B'N'T' 24 quibus] quo N'

9 Cf. supra <2.2.2.1> 19 Aver., *In XII Metaphys. Arist.*, comm. 17 (VIII, coll. 302vb–303ra) 19 Aver., *In XII Metaphys. Arist.*, comm. 51 (VIII, coll. 336va–vb) 20 Aver., *In III De anima Arist.*, comm. 5 (ed. Crawford, p. 409, ll. 658–661) 20 Aver., *In III De anima Arist.*, comm. 14 (ed. Crawford, p. 429, ll. 23 sqq.)

- <2.2.4.2> Inter materiam quidem et illud potentiale hoc interest, quod materia est principium receptionis transmutabilis. Unde est illud, quo res potest esse et non esse, ut Philosophus dicit VII *Metaphysicae*. Unde salvatur in materia tota ratio potentiae passivae, quae est esse principium transmutandi ab alio secundum quod aliud, ut dicitur in IX <*Metaphysicae*>. Illud autem potentiale, quod est in abstractis substantiis, non habet de ratione potentiae, nisi quod |
 5 est principium receptionis tantum, non autem receptionis transmutabilis, et per consequens caret ratione potentiae passivae proprie dictae, qualis est potentia materiae, quia non est principium transmutandi ab alio secundum quod aliud. Et ideo Commentator dicit III *De anima*, commento 27, quod non est bona consequentia: si aliquid est principium receptionis, quod propter hoc habeat rationem materiae, nam potentia receptiva in plus se habet quam potentia transmutativa, quae est propria ipsi materiae.
 10 <2.2.4.2.1> Unde considerandum est, quod potentia materiae est potentia physica, potentia vero huius realitatis est metaphysica. Est autem quadruplex differentia inter istam
 20 et illam: prima, quod physica est principium transmutationis; metaphysica simpliciter et intransmutabilis receptionis. Secunda, quod metaphysica est indistans ab actu secundum illud Philosophi, III *Physicorum*, “in perpetuis non distat esse et posse;” physica vero potentia distat nec determinat
 25 necessario sibi actum. Tertia, quod physica indiget extrahente et reducete ipsam ad actum; metaphysica non. Ideo

8 A' fol. 84vb

1 potentiale] possibile T' 4 in] et N' 5 esse] naturae *add. et del. A' om.* T' 6 in] *om.* N' 7 *Metaphysicae*] *om. A'B'N'* Metaphysicorum *add. i.m.* T' *aliquid illegibile add. i.m.* B' 11 quia] quae T' 17 transmutativa] transmutiva N' 18 considerandum] considerandum T' 23 quod] quia B'

4 Arist., VII *Metaphys.*, cap. 7 (1032a) 9 Arist., IX *Metaphys.*, cap. 1 (1046a)
 14 Aver., *In III De anima Arist.*, comm. 14 (ed. Crawford, p. 429, ll. 25 sqq.)
 24 Arist., III *Phys.*, cap. 4 (203b)

illa necessario concludit novitatem, haec vero non. | Quarta, quod physica | est potentia contradictionis, ut patet IX *Metaphysicae*; haec autem est determinata ad unum actuale intrinsecum.

- 5 <2.2.4.3> Inter formam vero proprie dictam et illud actuale, quod intelligentias abstractas constituit, hoc interest, quod forma perficit materiam contingenter, potest enim adesse et abesse materiae. Unde auctor *Sex principiorum* dicit, quod “forma est compositioni contingens” et indiget necessario
 10 extrahente eam de potentia ad actum, propter quod omne tale compositum est contingens. Unde XII | *Metaphysicae*, commento 38, Commentator ait, quod “esse compositum est esse novum, nisi dicantur aliqua componi per se. Et si aliqua essent, quae componerentur per se, tunc exirent de
 15 potentia in actum per se et moverentur sine motore per se.” Illud autem actuale non respicit suum potentiale contingenter, sed per modum necesse esse, sicut figura aut quantitas et cetera accidentia, quae sunt in caelo et stellis, recipiunt substantia propria non contingenter, sed per modum neces-
 20 sario esse secundum mentem philosophorum, et tamen ab eis differunt realiter et ad ipsa se habent per modum perfectionis non contingens, sed necessario inexistentis. Et ideo XII *Metaphysicae*, commento 43, Commentator dicit, quod “cum ab agente nihil proveniat nisi extrahere illud,
 25 quod est in potentia, ad actum, illic autem,” scilicet in sub-

1 N' fol. 30ra 2 T' fol. 207rb 11 E' col. 76b

1 concludit] includit B' 2 quod] quia N' 5 vero] vere T' 5 actuale] *corr. ex* actus animae N' 8 abesse] adesse B' 9 compositioni] componi A'N'T' 11 compositum est] *inv. T'* 12 esse] omne T' *fortasse scribendum* omne 16 respicit] recipit N' 17 necesse] est in *add. N'* 17 esse] *corr. i.m. ex* est T' 19–20 necessario] necessarie B' 20 esse] inesse N' 23 43] 42 A' 25 actum] *spatium vacans add. et explet symbolo fluctus maris A'* 25 illic] illud N'

3 Arist., IX *Metaphys.*, cap. 8 (1050b) 8 *Liber de sex principiis Gilberto Porretae ascriptus*, edd. Albanus Heyse O.F.M. et Damianus van den Eynde O.F.M., *Opuscula et textus historiam ecclesiae eiusque vitam atque doctrinam illustrantia, Series scholastica*, fasc. VII, editio altera (Monasterii Westfalorum, 1953), cap. 1, p. 8 12 Aver., In XII *Metaphys. Arist.*, comm. 39 (VIII, col. 322vb) 23 Aver., In XII *Metaphys. Arist.*, comm. 44 (VIII, col. 328rb)

- stantiis abstractis, “non sit potentia,” sequitur, quod “nec agens, tantum enim est illic <...> perficiens et perfectum.”
- <2.2.4.4.1> Proportio vero materiae proprie dictae ad formam multum refert a proportionem illa, quae est inter potentiale illud et suum actuale. Sicut enim inter potentiam passivam et activam reperitur duplex proportio: prima quidem, secundum quam quodlibet individuum potentiae passivae respicit quodlibet individuum potentiae activae—verbi gratia, stuppa haec combustibilis pati potest a quolibet comburente, unde non appropriat sibi aliquam combustivam potentiam numeralem, immo quodlibet individuum contentum sub combustiva | potentia potest in ipsam agere. Alia vero reperitur proportio, secundum quam quodlibet individuum potentiae passivae appropriat sibi determinatum individuum potentiae activae, nec potest pati a quolibet eiusdem rationis—verbi gratia, secundum ponentes, quod voluntas movetur ab intellectu, non est verum dicere, quod haec numeralis voluntas possit moveri a quolibet intellectu, sed ab isto sibi appropriato. Similiter nec intellectus meus possibilis pati potest a quolibet intellectu agente aut quolibet phantasmate omnium hominum, quamvis intellectus agens et possibilis et phantasma sint eiusdem rationis in omnibus hominibus.
- <2.2.4.4.2> Sicut, inquam, haec duplex proportio reperitur in potentia transmutativa inter activum et passivum, sic etiam in potentia receptiva simpliciter reperitur haec duplex proportio: prima quidem, secundum quam quodlibet individuum potentiae receptivae potest indifferenter recipere quodlibet individuum naturae receptibilis, sicut cera vel superficies potest recipere omnem figuram successive, unam post aliam. Quaedam vero est, secundum quam quodlibet

12 B' fol. 49rb

4 refert] *fortasse scribendum* differt 5–6 potentiam passivam] *inv.* B'N'T' 6 duplex] dupliciter N' 10 unde] vel N' 10 appropriat] approprians N' 12 contentum] contemptum B' 15 potest] dari *add.* T' 19 meus] *om.* T' 25–26 transmutativa...potentia] *om.* N' 26 receptiva] receptivam N' 29 naturae] nec N' 29 receptibilis] recepit N' 31 Quaedam] Quendam N'

determinatum individuum receptivae potentiae appropriat sibi determinatum individuum naturae receptibilis, sicut patet in pluribus exemplis. Secundum Philosophum quidem quodlibet caelum determinat sibi propria accidentia, ut sit
 5 impossibile recipere alia eiusdem speciei vel alterius. Secundum ponentes vero, quod esse realiter differt ab essentia, quaelibet essentia determinat sibi suum proprium esse. Secundum ponentes vero, quod genus et differentia important diversas realitates, quarum una est potentialis et reliqua
 10 actualis, ita quod in hac determinata albedine alia est realitas coloris et alia disgregativi, realitas huius coloris determinat sibi realitatem huius disgregativi, ut sit impossibile transmutari.

<2.2.4.4.3> Nunc ad propositum. Inter formam et materiam proprie | dictam est prima proportio, quia materia eadem numero manens transit de forma in formam et est in potentia ad quodlibet individuum formae receptibilis | indifferenter. Inter potentiale autem illud et suum actuale est secunda proportio, nam illud potentiale, quod est in
 20 Michaeli, ita parum potest induere actuale ipsius Gabrielis, sicut nec corpus Martis induere potest accidentia Solis secundum philosophos; aut sicut essentia lapidis non potest induere esse ipsius hominis secundum ponentes, quod esse differt ab essentia; aut sicut color albedinis non potest induere realitatem congregativi | secundum ponentes diversas realitates per genus et differentiam importari.
 25

<2.2.4.5> Si ergo dicatur, quod illud potentiale est eiusdem rationis in omnibus substantiis abstractis, et per consequens videtur, quod sit in potentia ad actuale omnium earum,
 30 dicendum, quod non valet, sicut nec tenet argumentum in potentia passiva voluntatis, quod possit moveri ab omni

15 A' fol. 85ra 17 E' col. 77a 25 N' fol. 30rb

2 individuum] et *add.* B'T' 6 esse] essentia B'T' 6 essentia] esse N' 7 suum proprium] *inv.* N' 10 alia] *om.* T' 12 sit] *add. i.m.* A' 15–16 materia eadem] *inv.* N' 21 Solis] solum T' 22 essentia] esse A' 25 congregativi] aggregativi N'

3 Cf. supra <2.2.4.3>

- intellectu, aut de intellectu possibili, quod possit moveri
ab intellectu omni agente, ut superius dicebatur. Unde ali-
quam potentiam passivam et transmutabilem aut absolute
receptivam contingit esse eiusdem rationis vel secundum
5 quandam proportionalitatem, quia scilicet determinat sibi
actus eiusdem rationis numeraliter distinctos, sic quod pro-
portionaliter correspondet potentiae numerali actus nume-
ralis, vel secundum indifferentiam omnium individuorum
eiusdem rationis, ut dictum est.
- 10 <2.2.4.6.1> Si vero instetur ulterius, quod | purum potentiale
non potest actuale sibi determinare, cum in se sit penitus in-
determinatum, et per consequens non magis respicit unum
actuale quam aliud; nec est simile in praedictis exemplis,
quia non est ibi purum potentiale et simpliciter indeter-
15 minatum, nam essentia est aliquid determinatum et ideo
appropriare potest sibi esse simpliciter; et realitas generis
respectu realitatis differentiae, et corpus Martis respectu
accidentium Solis—haec enim omnia sunt aliquid in actu
et non pura potentia; potentiale vero, quod ponitur in sub-
20 stantiis separatis, nihil est penitus in actu.
- <2.2.4.6.2> Dicendum ad hoc, quod immo portiones primae
materiae sub quantitate interminata appropriant sibi diversas
quantitates indeterminatas, quibus ad invicem distingu-
untur, secundum quod consuetum est dici, quod plus est de
25 materia in uno pugillo terrae quam in uno pugillo aquae.
Unde impossibile est, quod una portio materiae recipiat
quantitatem interminatam alterius portionis, alioquin una
fieret alia, nec haberent, unde distinguerentur, et genera-
retur et corrumperetur dimensio simpliciter, ut haec omnia

10 B' fol. 49va

1 aut...intellectu²] *om.* N' 2–3 aliquam] aliqua N' 5 scilicet] si N' 16 esse]
iter. N' 16 simpliciter] similiter T' 17 corpus] *corr. i.m. ex* corpus mar corpus
T' 18 Solis] solum T' 18 aliquid] *om.* N' 22 quantitate] *spatium vacans add.*
A' 22 appropriant] approprians N'T' 22 diversas] *om.* T' 23 indeterminatas]
corr. s.l. ex et determinatas A' 23 invicem] *add. s.l. A' 23–24* distinguuntur]
distinguunt N' 28 et] *om.* T' 28–29 generaretur] generatur N' 29 ut] et T'

2 Cf. supra <2.2.4.4.1> 9 Cf. supra <2.2.4.3>

- patent in *De substantia orbis* et in IV *Caeli et mundi*, commento 41, ubi Commentator ait, quod tres dimensiones sunt primae formarum existentium in prima materia et accipiuntur quodam modo in eius definitione, sicut qualitates activae et
- 5 passivae in definitione formarum elementarium. Appropriat igitur sibi quaelibet portio materiae portionem quantitatis interminatae, per quam distinguitur ab alia portione, et tota ratio appropriationis est distinctio, quia non haberet, unde distingueretur. Consimiliter in proposito appropriat sibi
- 10 potentiale cuiuslibet substantiae separatae suum actuale, quia non habet, unde distinguatur, nisi per illud a potentiā alterius substantiae separatae, et ideo mutuo se appropriant tamquam proprium distinctivum et proprium distinguibile. |

- Responsio ad motiva, quibus videbatur probari, quod de mente philosophorum esset oppositum*
- 15

<2.3> Ad ea igitur, quae inducebantur superius ad probandum, quod mens Philosophi et Commentatoris fuerit ad oppositum, dicendum est.

- <2.3.1> Ad primum quidem, quod anima rationalis, etsi
- 20 sit actus corporis, est tamen separabilis, et de qua probat Philosophus, quod habet duas differentias: unam, qua est omnia fieri, per quam anima est omnia in potentia, et illa est res in potentia; altera vero, qua est omnia facere, et illa est res in actu. Et ideo non est contra mentem eius, quod

13 E' col. 77b

1 in¹] *corr. s.l. ex* et A' 4 eius] eiusdem N' 5 Appropriat] Appropriatur T' 7 alia] alio N' 8 appropriationis] propriationis A' 12 alterius] po *add. et del.* T' 13 distinctivum] distinctum T' 14–15 *Responsio...oppositum]* *add. i.m.* N' 14 *quibus videbatur]* *deest per mutilationem ms.* N' 15 *quibus]* qui videlicet T' 14 *probari]* probare T' 14–15 *mente philosophorum]* *deest per mutilationem ms.* N' 19 quidem] *om.* A' 19 *etsi]* non N' 21 *qua]* quae N' 22 *omnia²]* *om.* T' 23 *est¹]* *om.* N' 23–24 in...res] *add. i.m.* T' 23 altera] *fortasse scribendum* alteram 23 qua] quae N'

1 Aver., *De substantia orbis*, cap. 2 (IX, coll. 7rb sqq.) 2 Aver., *In IV De caelo Arist.*, comm. 41 (V, coll. 269ra sqq.) 16 Cf. supra <2.1.1> et seqq. 19 Cf. supra, <2.1.1>

- anima ex aliquo potenciali constituatur, quamvis sit actus corporis. Et cum dicitur, quod | actus non habet potentiam partem sui, verum est <quod non habet> potentiam materiae proprie dictae. Sed quin actus omnis praeter primum, qui
 5 solus est purus actus, immixtum habeat potentiale aliquod, non est verum, praecipue de actu, qui potest separari et habet operationem per se, cuiusmodi est rationalis anima. <2.3.1.1> Et quod additur, quod principii non est principium, verum est in illo genere principii et causae. Unde forma non
 10 habet formam, nec materia materiam. Sed quin forma possit constitui ex duabus realitatibus, quarum una potentialis sit, et reliqua actualis, ut dictum est, non est verum. Immo <quod> plus est, Commentator, I *Physicorum*, commento 1, hanc propositionem “principii non est principium” inter-
 15 mendo dicit, quod “quae sunt praeter primam materiam et | ultimam formam, quarumlibet rerum naturalium sunt materiae compositae et formae compositae.”
 <2.3.2> Ad secundum dicendum, quod aliquando Aristoteles vocat formam actum, aliquando vero substantiam in actu
 20 abstractive et concretive, cuius ratio est, quia forma est in composito causa, ut sit in actu, et | propter quod unumquodque tale, illud magis. Unde et Augustinus, VII De *Trinitate*, dicit candorem esse candidum. Est igitur illud actuale per hunc modum substantia | in actu et est sua actio, cum sit
 25 intellectio actualis, ut supra dictum est in quaestione, qua quaerebatur, utrum anima sit principium suae operationis. <2.3.3> Ad tertium dicendum, quod Commentator pro tanto dicit intellectum possibilem esse substantiam abstractam,

2 T' fol. 207va 16 B' fol. 49vb 21 A' fol. 85rb 24 N' fol. 30va

3 potentiam materiae] materiam B' 4 dictae] dictam B' 7 habet] *add. i.m.* T' 7 cuiusmodi] non *add. et del.* T' 11 duabus] duobus B' 11 potentialis] possibilis T' 13 quod] *om.* A'B'N' *add. i.m.* T' 13 plus] *corr. in* Philosophus A' 13 est] *corr. s.l. in* et A' 13 I] *om.* N' 19 vero] potentiam *add. et del.* B' 20 et concretive] *om.* A' 21 actu] et potentia *add. et del.* T' 22 tale] et *add.* T' 24 hunc] habens N' 25 qua] *add. i.m.* A' 28 dicit] quod *add. et del.* A' *add.* B'N'

8 Cf. supra <2.1.1.1> 13 Aver., *In I Phys. Arist.*, comm. 1 (IV, col. 6rb) 18 Cf. supra <2.1.2> 22 August., VII De *Trinitate*, I,1 (PL 42, col. 933) 26 I.e., quaestio sexta *Quodlibeti* Petri Aureoli 27 Cf. supra <2.1.3>

- quia non est corpus nec virtus in corpore. Unde abstrahitur a quantitate, non autem ab animae constitutione, cum ponatur secundum eum virtus et pars et differentia rationalis animae, et secundum hoc est infimior inter realitates,
- 5 quae pertinent ad intellectus abstractos, tamquam res pure potentialis. Agens vero, cum sit res actualis, est quidem praestantius et perfectius.
- <2.3.4> Ad quantum dicendum, quod movens et motum, agens et patiens non oportet esse distincta subiecto semper,
- 10 sed sufficit, quod sint distincta realiter, ut expresse Commentator dicit, VIII *Physicorum*, commento 30. Ait enim, quod “necesse est illa, quae moventur per principium in eis, dividi in motorem et motum secundum definitionem et essentiam, et ut non sint idem, quia motor debet esse distinctus a moto,
- 15 aut secundum definitionem et esse sicut in his, quae moventur ab extrinseco, aut secundum definitionem” et essentiam “tantum, sicut est dispositio in habentibus animas. Anima enim, quae est motor in eis, distinguitur a corpore, quod est motum, secundum definitionem, licet non distinguatur
- 20 secundum esse, quia impossibile est animam esse sine corpore.” Patet igitur | ex his, quod anima, licet sit forma corporis, agit tamen et movet ipsum. Et idem dicit Philosophus in libro suo *De causa motus animalium*. Constat etiam, quod intellecta speculativa quantum ad primas propositiones sunt
- 25 causae instrumentales, et intellectus agens causa principalis respectu notitiae conclusionum, et tamen sunt subiective in materiali intellectu, ut Commentator dicit III *De anima*, commento 49. Videmus etiam ad sensum, quod lux solaris

21 E' col. 78a

2 animae] hominis N' 3 differentia] differentiam A' 12 per] *add. s.l.* A' 12 dividi] *aliquid illegibile add. et del.* T' 13 definitionem] distinctionem N' 16 definitionem] distinctionem N' 18 eis] eas N' 19 definitionem] distinctionem B' N' 24 speculativa] speculata N' 25 et] *add. i.m.* A' 25 intellectus] *iter i.m. et del.* A' 27 in] et N' voli *add. et del.* N' 27 materiali] rationali N' 28 etiam] autem A' 308,28–309,1 solaris radii] *inv.* B'

8 Cf. supra <2.1.4> 11 Aver., *In VIII Phys. Arist.*, comm. 30 (IV, col. 367rb) 23 Arist., *De motu animalium*, cap. 4 (VI, coll. 40va sqq.) 28 Aver., *In III De anima Arist.*, comm. 36 (ed. Crawford, p. 498, ll. 539–546)

radii existens subiective in aere inducit in ipso calorem, et ita non est universaliter vera haec propositio “nulla forma agit in suum subiectum vel in suam materiam.” Cum hoc etiam intellectus agens coagit phantasmatis ad educationem intentionis de intellectu possibili, non agit autem sicut causa totalis.

<2.3.4.1> Et quod additur, quod agens se habet ad possibilem sicut ars ad materiam, dicendum secundum Philosophum in II *Physicorum*, quod si ars navifactiva esset in lignis, adhuc moveret ea ad formam navis. Et ita quamvis agens habeat modum artis, non ex hoc tollitur, quin sit in materiali intellectu quasi actus. Praesertim quia III *De anima*, commento 31, dicit Commentator, quod intellectus agens magis habet rationem lucis in agendo quam artis. Ars enim ponit totam formam in materia, lux vero existens in diaphano dat diaphano, ut moveatur a coloribus. Et sic est de intellectu agente, non enim ponit totam intentionem in intellectu possibili, sed dat sibi, ut moveatur ab intentione imaginata.

<2.3.5> Ad quantum dicendum, quod si agens et possibilis sint duae realitates inseparabiles in una anima, non sequitur, quod sint duo principia intelligentia susceptive in uno homine, sed est unum susceptivum, scilicet realitas potentialis, et aliud, quae est formaliter intellectio in ipso potenciali et activum respectu omnium accidentalium intellectionum, et illud est agens.

<2.3.5.1> Ex positione autem alia expresse sequitur, quod sint duo principia intelligentia in homine, ex quo ponerentur agens et possibilis duae substantiae unam animam non constituentes. Expresse enim dicit Commentator, III *De*

17 B' fol. 50ra

15–16 dat diaphano] *om.* N' 16 coloribus] caloribus N' 16 intellectu] a *add.* N' 20 realitates] naturalitates B'N' 20 una] unam B' 21 susceptive] susceptione N'T' 22 realitas] et *add. et del.* T' 24 intellectionum] intellectionem A' intellectivum N' 27 ponerentur] poneretur T' 28 possibilis] potentialis T' 29 dicit Commentator] *inv.* T'

7 Cf. supra <2.1.4.1> 9 Arist., II *Phys.*, cap. 8 (199b) 13 Aver., *In III De anima Arist.*, comm. 18 (ed. Crawford, p. 438, ll. 34 sqq.) 19 Cf. supra <2.1.5>

- anima*, commento 31, quod “cum nos invenimus agere per has duas virtutes,” scilicet per agens et possibile, “et nihil agat nisi per suam formam, necesse est has duas virtutes attribuire nobis,” et per consequens haberemus duas formas
- 5 intellectivas. Et idem patet ex commento 49.
- <2.3.6> Ad sextum dicendum, quod significanter Commentator ait nondum esse declaratum, utrum habeat intellectus possibilis aliquam formam diversam in esse a formis materialibus, per hoc innuens, quod hoc erat postea declarandum, cum scilicet declaratum esset, quod non solum
- 10 recipit formas materiales, immo et immateriales et omnes naturas existentes in actu, quo declarato | conclusum est, quod nihil est in actu eorum, quae sunt. Et hoc patet per demonstrationem illam, quam inducit. Si enim recipiens
- 15 debet esse denudatum a natura recepti secundum speciem specialissimam vel saltem secundum genus propinquum, oportebit dicere, quod vel intellectus possibilis non intelligit nec recipit formas abstractas; aut si recipit, quod non sit eiusdem generis cum eis, quod est impossibile, si sit substantia abstracta actualis; vel quod in sua substantia et essentia
- 20 denudetur in actu ab omni natura abstracta actuali.
- <2.3.6.1> Quod vero additur de definitione | intellectus materialis, quod solum ibi dicitur, quod non est aliqua formarum materialium, | dicendum, quod statim ibidem Commentator
- 25 subiungit ‘nec etiam intelligibilium,’ per hoc innuens, quod

12 N° fol. 30vb 22 E° col. 78b 24 A° fol. 85va

1 commento 31] *inv.* T° 2–3 scilicet...virtutes] *om.* N° 2 possibile] possibilem T° 3 duas] *om.* T° 4–5 et...49] *add. i.m.* A° 7 ait] *no add. et del.* T° 10 cum] *om.* B° 11 immo...imateriales] *om.* N° 16 propinquum] *oportet add. et del.* N° quando *add.* T° 19 impossibile] *corr. ex possibile* T° 20 in] *om.* N° 22 Quod] *natura add. et del.* T° 22 de] *add. s.l.* A° 23 solum] *aliquid illegibile add. et del.* T°

1 Aver., *In III De anima Arist.*, comm. 18 (ed. Crawford, p. 439, l. 83—p. 440, l. 85) 5 Aver., *In III De anima Arist.*, comm. 36 (ed. Crawford, p. 493, ll. 388 sqq.) 6 Cf. supra <2.1.6> 22 Cf. supra <2.1.6.1> 24 Aver., *In III De anima Arist.*, comm. 5 (ed. Crawford, p. 387, ll. 15–16) 25 Cf. Aver., *In III De anima Arist.*, comm. 5 (ed. Crawford, p. 387, ll. 15–16)

non est natura aliqua in actu, nec materialis sive corporea nec intellectualis sive incorporea.

- <2.3.7> Ad septimum dicendum, quod pro tanto Commentator dicit, quod non se habet agens ad possibile sicut forma
 5 ad materiam, quia secundum rei veritatem non habent rationem formae et materiae proprie dictae, ut declaratum est supra. Et ideo ubique, dum agit de constitutione animae ex his duabus realitatibus, semper addit ibi ‘quasi,’ dicens commento 18, III *De anima*, quod agens se habet ad possibilem quasi forma de materia, et quod omnem substantiam
 10 abstractam oportet dividi in duo, quorum unum est simile materiae et reliquum simile formae. Unde, quia receptio materiae proprie dictae est cum transmutatione, ideo magis assimilatur possibile loco quam materiae respectu agentis
 15 pro eo, quod locus recipit absque intrinseca transmutatione. Unde in III *De anima* dicit Philosophus, quod bene dixerunt antiqui philosophi animam locum specierum non totam, sed intellectum, magis volens dicere intellectum locum specierum quam materiam vel subiectum, cum tamen
 20 secundum veritatem subiective sibi insint. Non intendit ergo Commentator XII *Metaphysicae* agens non uniri possibili per modum intrinsecum, sed pro tanto dicit, quod se habet sicut ad locum et non sicut ad materiam, quia cum | uniatur sibi inseparabiliter et modo intransmutabili, non unitur sibi ut |
 25 materiae proprie dictae.

<2.3.7.1> Nec illud de assistentia mutua intelligentiarum

23 B' fol. 50rb 24 T' fol. 207vb

2 nec intellectualis] *om.* A' 2 incorporea] *corr. s.l. ex corporea* A' 8 quasi] quod N' 9–10 possibilem] *fortasse scribendum* possibile 12 et] *om.* B' 17 locum esse] *inv.* B'N'T' 17 locum] *add. i.m.* T' 19 subiectum] *corr. ex substantiam* A' 19 cum] *enim add.* B'T' 19 cum] *om.* B' *add. i.m.* T' 22 intrinsecum] intrinsecum T' 24 non] *iter.* N' 26 assistentia] intelligentia T'

3 Cf. supra <2.1.7> 4 Aver., *In XII Metaphys. Arist.*, comm. 17 (VIII, col. 303ra) 7 Cf. supra <2.2.4.1> et sqq. 9 Aver., *In III De anima Arist.*, comm. 5 (ed. Crawford, p. 404, ll. 510 sqq., et p. 409, ll. 654 sqq.) 16 Arist., *De anima*, cap. 4 (429a) 21 Aver., *In XII Metaphys. Arist.*, comm. 17 (VIII, col. 303ra) 26 Cf. supra <2.1.7>

- abstractarum ad invicem potest stare, quod solum intelligitur, quod perficiant se per assistentiam solam sine aliquo reali formaliter perficiente, quia nullo modo essent formalis ratio se mutuo intelligendi sive formalis intellectio, cum
- 5 necessario intellectio sit subiective in intelligente.
- <2.3.8.1> Ad octavum dicendum, quod licet substantia composita sit tertia constituta ex forma et materia, tamen ad differentiam formae mixtae, quae est tertia conflata ex miscibilibus non remanentibus, sed corruptis, consuevit dicere
- 10 Commentator, quod ex forma et materia non fit tertium, ut intelligatur eo modo, quo ex miscibilibus fit mixtum; et sic ex agente et intentione intellecta et intellectu possibili non fit tertium. Et per hunc modum potest responderi, si referatur dictum Commentatoris ad hoc, quod ex forma et
- 15 materia non fit aliquod tertium.
- <2.3.8.2> Si vero intelligatur affirmative, quod ex forma et materia fit tertium, et tamen de intellectu agente et possibili negetur, quod ex eis non fiat tertium, tunc hoc dicit, quia constitutum ex materia et forma, cum sit generabile
- 20 et corruptibile, videtur esse quoddam accidens partibus, quia eorum coniunctio est contingens et transmutabilis. In coniunctione autem inseparabilium rerum, quarum una est potentialis et reliqua actualis, qualis est coniunctio in anima rationali, constitutum ipsum non accedit constituentibus.
- 25 Et ideo non habet sic rationem differentis et tertii sicut constitutum ex forma et materia proprie dicta.
- <2.3.9> Ad nonum dicendum, quod Commentator non negat potentiam universaliter acceptam utpote mere receptivam

1 abstractarum] *om.* B' 1 ad] ab B' 1 quod] quasi N'T' 1 intelligitur] intelligatur B'N'T' 3 formaliter] *om.* B' 4 intelligendi] intelligenda B'N' 5 in] *om.* B'N' 10 forma...materia] materia et forma B' 11 intelligatur] intelligetur N' 12 et¹] *om.* N' 12 possibili] potentiali N' 14 ex] est N' 16 quod] *om.* A' 18 tunc] *om.* T' 18 hoc] *aliquid illegibile add. et del.* T' 19 quia] *add. i.m.* A' quod N' 19 materia...forma] forma et materia B'N'T' 19 generabile] generale N' 21 transmutabilis] et *add.* N' 23 est coniunctio] *inv.* B'N'T' 24 rationali] *add. et del.* A' 25 sicut] *corr. i.m. ex ad* T' 28 universaliter] et *add.* N' 28 mere] materia est N'

6 Cf. supra <2.1.8> 27 Cf. supra <2.1.9>

- absque transmutatione a substantiis separatis, alioquin contradiceret ei, quod dicit III *De | anima*, commento 18, quod nulla substantia est separata a | potentia excepta prima. Sed intendit negare ibi potentiam proprie dictam, quae est
- 5 principium transmutandi ab alio secundum quod aliud, cui correspondet agens, quod est proprie agens, scilicet transmutans et non perficiens solum, sicut intellectum perficit intelligentem. Tale enim agens concedit ipse in substantiis separatis, ut patet in illo commento, XII *Metaphysicae*,
- 10 quod arguendo inducitur, et per consequens concedit ibi potentiam proportionalem, scilicet mere receptivum.
- <2.3.10> Ad ultimum dicendum, quod omne compositum ex actu et potentia ad se mutuo se habentibus contingenter, et per consequens separabiliter, oportet esse novum et non
- 15 aeternum et per consequens factum ab aliquo extrahente. Sed ubi eorum coniunctio est immutabilis et quoddam necesse esse, tale compositum non est novum nec indiget extrahente. Talis autem est coniunctio rei potentialis et actualis in anima rationali et in ceteris abstractis substantiis.
- 20 Et ideo ratio non procedit.

Articulus secundus

Quid circa hoc dicendum theologice, et ponuntur rationes, quibus videtur, quod hoc non possit teneri

- <3.0> Nunc secundo inquirendum, utrum theologice et catholice procedendo haec positio vera sit.
- 25

2 E' col. 79a 3 N' fol. 31ra

2 ei] eius B' eiusdem N' 5 cui] *aliquid illegibile add. et del. T'* 9 illo] primo T' 10 ibi] *om. N'* 11 receptivum] receptivam T' *fortasse scribendum* receptivam 13 ad se] *add. et del. A'* 13 contingenter] attingenter N' 14 separabiliter] inseparabiliter T' 17 esse] est N' 17 compositum] componi N' 18 est] *add. i.m. A'* 20 ratio] *om. B'T'* 22–23 *Quid... teneri]* Utrum theologice et catholice procedendo haec propositio vera sit N' 22 *circa]* hic *add. et del. T'* 22 *hoc]* sit *add. B'T'* 22 *ponuntur]* ponentur T' 22 *quibus]* in quibus T'

2 Aver., *In III De anima Arist.*, comm. 5 (ed. Crawford, p. 410, ll. 664–665)
 10 Aver., *In XII Metaphys. Arist.*, comm. 44 (VIII, col. 328rb) 12 Cf. supra (2.1.10)

- <3.1.1.1> Et videtur, quod non, per articulum excommunicatum Parisius, qui ponitur 25 in 8 capitulo. Dicit enim articulus ille sic: quod intellectus possibilis nihil est in actu, antequam intelligat, quia in natura intelligibili esse aliquid
 5 in | actu est ipsum esse actu intelligens, error.
 <3.1.1.2> Similiter sequens articulus dicit sic: quod ex intelligente et intellecto fiat una substantia eo, quod intellectio sit ipsa intellecta formaliter, error.
 <3.1.1.3> Sed iuxta praedictam positionem intellectus possi-
 10 bilis nihil est in actu, antequam | intelligat.
 <3.1.1.4> Et iterum, intellectus agens eo, quod ponitur aliquid esse in actu in natura intelligibili, ponitur esse intellectio actualis.
 <3.1.1.5> Et iterum, ex ipso possibili dicitur fieri una sub-
 15 stantia tamquam ex primo intelligente et primo intellecto.
 <3.1.1.6> Igitur praedicta positio videtur esse contra articulos, et per consequens catholice non videtur posse teneri.
 <3.1.2> Praeterea, si intellectio, qua anima se intelligit, est quaedam realitas actualis constituens essentiam eius, pari
 20 ratione et volitio, qua se ipsum vult et diligit, tum quia non magis est intima animae sua intellectio quam volitio; tum quia omnem intellectionem sequitur aliqua complacentia et voluptas, ut Philosophus dicit XII *Metaphysicae*,

5 B' fol. 50va 10 A' fol. 85vb

1–2 excommunicatum] extricatum N' extresicatum T' *lectio incerta* 3 ille] iste N' 5 error] est *add.* B' 6 ex] *om.* N' 7 intellecto] intellectio N' 7 una] vita N' 7 intellectio] intellecto N' *fortasse scribendum* intellectus 11 ponitur] ponit B' 14 ex] et ex A' 14 possibili] potenciali N' 15 intellecto] intellecto N' 17 catholice] theologice B'N'T' 19 realitas] acciden *add. et del.* N' 20 ipsum] *fortasse scribendum* ipsam 21 est] *om.* A' 23 voluptas] voluntas B'T'

2 *Collectio errorum in Anglia et Parisiis condemnatorum* in C. du Plessis d'Argentré, *Collectio iudiciorum de novis erroribus* (Paris, 1724), pp. 188 sqq.; cf. Roland Hissette, *Enquête sur les 219 articles condamnés à Paris le 7 mars 1277*, Philosophes médiévaux, tom. XII (Louvain, 1977), p. 220 6 *Collectio errorum in Anglia et Parisiis condemnatorum* in C. du Plessis d'Argentré, *Collectio iudiciorum de novis erroribus* (Paris, 1724), pp. 188 sqq.; cf. Roland Hissette, *Enquête sur les 219 articles condamnés à Paris le 7 mars 1277*, Philosophes médiévaux, tom. XII (Louvain, 1977), p. 224 23 Arist., XII *Metaphys.*, cap. 7 (1072b)

- et Commentator, ibidem, commento 39; tum quia sicut oportet intelligentem denudari ab eo, quod suscipit, ita et principium volitivum oportet esse denudatum, et per consequens sicut principium intellectivum est purum potentiale et actuatur per primam intellectionem, similiter et volitivum actuabitur per primam volitionem. Sed theologicè dici non potest, quod dilectio, qua anima diligit se ipsam et vult, sit aliqua substantialis res constituens ipsam, quia secundum hoc non posset peccare anima amando se. Sed neque angeli apostatae se dilexissent etiam inordinate, alioquin substantia eorum esset mala, et redit error | Manichaei. Igitur poni non potest, quod vel intellectio, qua anima se intelligat, vel dilectio, qua se amat, sint res essentiam eius constituentes.
- <3.1.2.1> Et confirmatur, quia vel essent duae res, et sic essent duo actus essentiales disparati in eadem potentia, quod est impossibile, vel essent una res, et sic in anima sua volitio esset sua intellectio.
- <3.1.3> Praeterea, si intellectus agens esset intellectio actualis ingrediens substantiam animae, sequeretur, quod intellectio illa, qua anima se intelligit, esset nobilior quam intellectio beatifica, qua intelligit Deum, quia ista esset accidens et illa substantia. Sed hoc est inconveniens et absurdum, cum hoc habeat rationem finis, finis autem est melior et perfectior his, quae sunt ad finem, ut patet ex I *Ethnicorum*. Igitur illud quod prius.
- <3.1.4> Praeterea, aut actualis illa realitas importata per agens totum potentiale intellectus possibilis satiare aut non

11 E' col. 79b

1 et] *om.* A' 1 tum] *add. i.m.* A' 4-5 sicut...primam] *om.* N' 5 similiter] sic B'T' 6 per primam] *om.* B' 8 substantialis] specialis B' 10 etiam] *om.* N' 13 sint] sicut B' 20 se] *om.* N' 21 esset] est N' 22 absurdum] absonum T' 22 hoc²] *scil.* accidens 23 est] *om.* T' 23 et perfectior] *om.* B' est *add. i.m.* T' 24 I] Physicorum *add. et del.* T' 24 illud] *om.* N'

1 Aver., *In XII Metaphys. Arist.*, comm. 39 (VIII, col. 322ra) 24 Arist., I *Ethic. Nic.*, cap. 1 (1094a)

satiaret. Sed non potest dari primum, tum quia non posset aliquam aliam actualitatem intelligibilem recipere, et per consequens non intelligeret aliquid aliud extra se; tum quia vel anima numquam esset beata per aliquam | intellectionem vel esset beata per illam essentialem, et per consequens per essentiam, quod tamquam erroneum reprobatur *Extra, De haereticis*, capitulo “Ad nostrum,” libro 7; tum quia sequeretur, quod animae essent alterius speciei, quia potentiale earum est alterius rationis, alioquin si eisdem, non satiaretur per actuale unius animae, sed esset in potentia indifferenter ad omnia actualia eiusdem rationis. Nec potest dari secundum, quia si non satiaretur potentiale unius animae per proprium suum actuale, esset in potentia et sub privatione alterius, et per consequens esset anima corruptibilis. Ergo impossibile est, quod tale actuale et tale potentiale in anima ponatur. |

Quid tenendum theologicè

<3.2> Sed his non obstantibus dicendum, quod theologicè et secundum veritatem teneri potest via Philosophi, scilicet
 20 quod intellectus possibilis et agens sunt duae realitates differentes in ipsa anima, quarum una est potentialis et alia actualis, et intrinsece concurrunt ad ipsam animam, non quod eam constituent sicut materia et forma, quae sunt res ab invicem separabiles per transmutationem, sed quod

4 N' fol. 31rb 16 B' fol. 50vb

1 Sed...primum] Si sic, non valeat N' 1 non...primum] *om.* B' 1 dari] poni T' 1 tum quia] sequeretur quod *add.* T' 1 tum quia] quod B' 1 potest...non] *add. i.m.* A' 3 aliud] aliquid N' ad T' 5 illam] essentiam *add.* N' 7 libro 7] lig sic! N' 13 proprium...actuale] actuale suum proprium B' 17 *Quid...theologicè*] Quid theologicè sit tenendum et secundum veritatem B' *om.* N' 18 dicendum] est *add.* B' 24 ab] ad A' 316,24-317,1 per...inseparabiles] *om.* N'

7 *Conc. oecum. XV Viennense, Constitutio “Ad nostrum qui”* (6. Maii 1312), in Henricus Denzinger et Adolfus Schönmetzer (ed.), *Enchiridion Symbolorum, definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum*, editio XXXIV (Romae, 1967), p. 282, no. 895

ad eam concurrant sicut duae realitates inseparabiles, ut declaratum est supra.

<3.2.1> Hoc autem patet primo quidem secundum scholam,
 quae tenet, quod impossibile est, quod eadem res moveat
 5 se ipsam. Si enim intellectus possibilis est aliqua realitas in
 actu, necessario est intelligibilis. Quaero ergo, an intelligat
 se per essentiam suam, sic quod sua realitas | sit sua intel-
 lectio, aut intelligat se recipiendo intellectionem sui a se
 ipsa, sicut et recipit a ceteris obiectis. Sed non potest dari
 10 secundum, quia tunc moveretur idem a se et reciperet a se,
 quod est impossibile secundum istam scholam. Nec potest
 dari primum, quia illud, quod per essentiam suam est intel-
 lectio, impossibile est, quod sit susceptivum intellectionis
 alterius, quia recipiens non potest esse de natura specifica
 15 aut generis propinqui rei receptae, sicut patet, quod nulla
 figura potest esse principium recipiendi alias figuras, nec
 albedo alios colores. Cum igitur intellectus possibilis sit illud,
 quo anima suscipit omnem intellectionem, impossibile est,
 quod intellectus | iste sit essentialiter intellectio. Igitur nullo
 20 modo intelligit se, | quod est absonum dicere, si sit realitas
 in actu utpote qualitas vel aliquid aliud.

<3.2.1.1> Et si dicatur, quod pari ratione idem sequitur, si sit
 realitas in potentia, dicendum, quod non, quia sicut est
 essentialiter realitas in potentia, sic est intellectio in potentia,
 25 et ideo adveniente quocumque, quo fiat in actu, fit intellec-
 tio in actu, et ideo necessario intelligit se intelligendo alia;
 cum enim intelligit se intelligere, necessario intelligit se. Et
 haec est mens Augustini, VII *Super Genesim*, capitulo 17. Ait

7 T' fol. 208ra 19 E' col. 80a 20 A' fol. 86ra

3 Hoc] Hic N' 3 autem] etiam B'T' 3 primo] quod N' 3 scholam] quod
add. et del. N' 6 est] *add. s.l.* A' 8 intellectionem] intencionem N' 9 obiectis]
 subiectis T' 10 quia] *iter.* N' 10 et...se²] *om.* N' 10 reciperet] reciperetur
 B' 14 non potest] *iter.* N' 21 aliquid] aliud N' 23 in] a *add.* A' 25 quo] alio
 T' 26-27 intelligendo...se²] *om.* T'

2 Cf. supra <2.3.5> et <2.3.8.2> 28 August., VII *De Genesi ad litteram*, XXI, 28
 (PL 34, coll. 365-66)

- enim, quod anima se nescire non potest [esse], cum “se, ut cognoscat, inquit; cum enim se quaerit, novit, quod se quaerat, quod noscere non posset, si se non nosceret <...> neque enim si nesciret se, posset quaerentem se scire se.”
- 5 Haec est etiam mens Philosophi in III *De anima*, cum ait, quod anima intelligit se sicut et alia. Unde considerandum, quod cum anima suam intellectionem intelligit, necessario intellectum possibilem cointelligit, et ideo possibilis intellectus intelligit se per reflexionem.
- 10 <3.2.2> Secundo idem patet secundum scholam, quae ponit intellectum possibilem et agentem distinguere formaliter in anima. Licet enim secundum sic ponentes in divinis distinctio formalis non sit realis propter infinitatem divinae essentiae, tamen in creaturis, ubicumque sunt distinctae
- 15 formalitates secundum eos, sunt distinctae realitates; unde genus et differentia dicunt distinctas realitates, etiam in albedine et ceteris formis, et distinctas formalitates. Cum ergo intellectus agens et possibilis importent distinctas quidditates et formalitates secundum istos, necessario erunt distinctae realitates. Aut ergo erunt extrinsece ipsi essentiae
- 20 animae, et per consequens erunt realitates accidentales, quamvis inseparabiles, et sic redit opinio illa, quae dicit eas qualitates. Aut erunt intrinsece, et sic habetur propositum, scilicet quod essentia animae habet intrinsece duas
- 25 realitates, | quarum una est pure potentialis, et alia pure actualis.

25 B' fol. 51ra

1 se²] *add. s.l. A'* 2 cum enim] *corr. s.l. ex* enim cum A' enim cum B'T' 2 cum] *om. N'* 2 se¹] *om. B'T'* 6 considerandum] *consciderandum T'* 7 anima] *et add. et del. N'* 10 patet] *debent B'* 11 formaliter] *om. N'* 14 distinctae] *iter. et corr. T'* 15 formalitates] *sunt add. N'* 15–16 secundum eos...realitates] *add. i.m. A'* 15 secundum] *add. et del. B'* eos] *om. B'* eas N' 15 sunt] *om. A'B'N'* 15 unde] *dum T'* 18–19 quidditates] *quemditates sic! N'* 19 necessario] *om. N'* 19 erunt] *essent A'* 20 ipsi] *ipsius T'*

5 Arist., III *De anima*, cap. 4 (429b) 15 Sicut demonstratum est in prima quaestione *Quodlibeti* Petri Aureoli, ubi quaeritur “Utrum in aliqua re formalitas et realitas distinguantur”

<3.2.3> Tertio vero idem patet absolute. Constat enim, quod
vero omnia consonant. Fides autem verorum est, nec potest
sibi subesse falsum, et ideo sibi consonat esse demonstra-
tive conclusum. Ratio autem Philosophi et Commentatoris
5 videtur esse in hac materia demonstratio, quae est talis: |
illud, quo recipiens per se primo recipit, necesse est in na-
tura sua quidditative esse denudatum a natura specifica aut
generis propinqui rei receptae, sic quod non est eiusdem
speciei aut eiusdem generis propinqui cum illo, quod reci-
10 pitur. Et hoc patet, sive receptio sit realis sive intentionalis.
Unde capio propositionem istam de receptione intentionali
sic: nulla realitas potest esse ratio recipiendi speciem vel
similitudinem alicuius, quod sit eiusdem speciei vel generis
propinqui, immo oportet, quod illa realitas sit in illa specie
15 vel genere potentialiter, non in actu. Non enim illud, quo
oculus recipit speciem coloris, est aliquis color, sed diapha-
nitas; nec illud, quo auris recipit sonum, est fractio aeris,
sed potius aer frangibilis. Et ratio huius est, quia oportet
illud, quo recipiens recipit, esse potentiale et receptum esse
20 actuale. Unum autem individuum infra eandem speciem
non se habet ad aliud sicut potentiale ad actuale, nec etiam
una species ad aliam infra idem genus, cum sint contrariae.
Sed constat, quod anima recipit per intellectum possibilem
omnem entitatem existentem in actu, receptione, dico,
25 intentionali. Igitur non potest esse in actu eiusdem generis
propinqui, aut eiusdem | speciei cum aliquo ente actuali.
Oportet igitur dare unum de duobus, scilicet vel quod
differat genere et specie intellectus possibilis ab omni alio—
quod est erroneum—vel quod in se non sit alicuius speciei
30 in actu, et per consequens erit pure potentialis.

5 N° fol. 31va 26 E° col. 80b

1 enim] autem B' 2 vero] super B' vera N' 2-3 potest sibi] *inv.* B'N°T' 3
esse] *fortasse scribendum* omne 5 esse...material] in hac materia esse T' 6
necesse] esse *add.* B' 9 propinqui] qui *add. et del.* A' 12 vel] simile *add. et del.*
T' 14-15 specie...genere] genere vel specie B' 15 in] *add. i.m.* T' 24 recep-
tione] receptiue B' 24 dico] non reali sed *add.* B' 25 intentionali] intelligibili
B' 27 vel quod] *inv.* B'T'

- <3.2.4.1> Sed forte dicetur, quod secundum hoc non poterit intellectus possibilis recipere similitudinem materiae primae, cum sit eiusdem rationis cum ea, est enim ens in potentia; sed nec similitudinem alterius possibilis intellectus; sed nec similitudinem sui ipsius. Et cum intellectio sit
 5 assimilatio, sequetur secundum hoc, quod intellectus possibilis non cognoscit materiam primam nec alium intellectum possibilem nec se ipsum.
- <3.2.4.2> Praeterea, forte dicetur, quod illa propositio bene
 10 est vera de receptione reali, sed de receptione speciei vel similitudinis non est verum, quin illud, quod est eiusdem speciei aut eiusdem generis propinqui cum aliquo, possit recipere speciem aut similitudinem eius, alioquin unus angelus non potest recipere similitudinem alterius angeli
 15 eiusdem speciei vel generis propinqui. Et ratio huius videtur esse, quia similitudo rei et res non sunt eiusdem speciei. Immo contingit unum esse substantiam et reliquum accidens. Licet igitur recipiens aliud realiter non possit esse eiusdem speciei cum illo aut generis propinqui, similitudinem tamen
 20 recipiens poterit esse.
- <3.2.5.1.1> Sed si ista dicantur, non obviat. Primum siquidem non, quia prima materia numquam intelligitur nisi vel per modum cuiusdam pure formabilis aut per modum cuiusdam actus formati, et per consequens non intelligitur
 25 nisi per formam et analogiam ad ipsam. Unde per similitudinem propriam non intelligitur, quod Commentator dicit XII *Metaphysicae*. Ait | enim, quod materia non habet intentionem intellectam de ea. Dato etiam, quod materia prima intelligeretur per propriam similitudinem et intentionem

27 A' fol. 86rb

3 rationis] rationes N' 4-5 possibilis intellectus] *inv.* B'N'T' 6-7 possibilis] potentialis N' 9 illa propositio] *inv.* B'N'T' 9 illa] ista N' 10 de receptione¹⁾ *corr. s.l. ex* deceptione A' 14 similitudinem] *corr. ex* similitudinem *sic!* T' 18 aliud] *add. i.m.* T' 23 per¹⁾ *om.* A' 23 formabilis] formalis B'N' 25 ipsam] primam B' 26 quod] ut B'N' unde T'

21 Cf. supra <3.2.4.1> 27 Aver., *In XII Metaphys. Arist.*, comm. 14 (VIII, coll. 300va-vb)

intellectam de | se, adhuc non obstaret, quia intellectus possibilis et materia prima non sunt eiusdem generis, ut ex superioribus patet.

<3.2.5.1.2> Quod vero dicitur de alio intellectu possibili,
 5 dicendum etiam, quod non intelligitur nisi per illud, quod est actuale in eo, quia vel intelligitur ut purum possibile in genere intelligibilium aut ut possibile actuatum, et ita semper per actum. Similitudo autem actus illius recipi potest in alio intellectu possibili pro eo, quod est realitas denudata
 10 in actu ab illo.

<3.2.5.1.3> Quomodo autem intelligit se ipsum, dicendum, quod obiective non intelligitur, sed cointelligitur, quia res in potentia, sicut non est res actu distincta, sed partialis et unum faciens per indivisionem | cum actu, sic nec intelligitur
 15 per se, sed cointelligitur ipsi actui. Est autem duplex actus in intellectu possibili: unus quidem essentialis, videlicet realitas intellectus | agentis, et alius accidentalis, scilicet realitas intellectionum omnium aliarum. Et secundum hoc dupliciter cointelligitur possibilis intellectus: primo quidem cointelli-
 20 gendo ipsum actui essentiali, et ille est proprius intellectus, quem habet anima separata et angelus de suo intellectu possibili; secundo vero cointelligendo ipsum actui accidentali, scilicet intellectionibus aliis. Et sic anima coniuncta intelligit per reflexionem suum intellectum possibilem, in quantum
 25 possibilis cointelligit se intelligere. In nullo autem istorum modorum intellectus possibilis cointelligit se recipiendo intellectionem | sui aut suam similitudinem, sed potius per essentiam suam realem et potentialem. Et ita remanet propositio vera, quod numquam aliquid recipit similitudinem

1 B' fol. 51rb 14 in E' continuatio quaestionis deest 17 N' fol. 31vb 27 T' fol. 208rb

1 intellectam] ntellectam *sic!* A' 1 quia] quod B'T' 2 possibilis] potentialis T' 4 possibili] potenciali T' 5 illud] id N' 6 possibile] potentiale T' 8 autem] *iter.* N' 8 actus] *om.* T' 8 recipi potest] recipit N' 12 quod] se B' 13 potentia] in *add. et del.* N'

3 Cf. supra <2.2.4.2> 4 Cf. supra <3.2.4.1>

sui nec alicuius, quod sit eiusdem generis propinqui aut speciei cum eo.

- <3.2.5.2> Secundum etiam non obviat, quia aequae est impossibile de receptione similitudinis rei sicut de receptione
 5 ipsius rei. Et hoc apparet inductive in omnibus. Et ratio huius est, quia species seu similitudo obiecti propinquissima est ipsi obiecto, immo non est nisi forma ipsius obiecti diminuto modo. Et ideo Philosophus dicit in II *De anima*, quod sensus recipit formas sine materia, id est rerum similitudines
 10 sine earum realitate. Et ideo si recipiens rem est potentiale in toto genere propinquo et in tota specie illius rei, sic recipiens similitudinem oportet esse potentiale. Unde videmus, quod sicut diaphanitas est ratio recipiendi extremitatem lucis in perspicuo, qui est color, sic est ratio recipiendi simi-
 15 litudinem et speciem coloris, et sic est potentiale respectu similitudinis sicut respectu coloris. Quare propositio tenet de receptione similitudinis, quae est intentionalis sicut et de receptione reali.

<Ad rationes positas in initio articuli>

- 20 <3.3.1.1> Non procedunt ergo rationes superius inductae. Prima siquidem non, quia loquitur contra illum errorem, qui dicebat intellectum possibilem nihil esse in actu in nobis, antequam intelligeremus, et secundum hoc anima non esset in nobis in actu a puero, sed in potentia. Unde error ille non
 25 ponebat possibilem actuari per agentem, ut fieret anima una in actu. Contra hoc ergo dicit articulus: quod intellectum possibilem nihil esse, antequam actu intelligat, error est. Est enim in actu per agentem et pars ipsius animae. Sed

1 alicuius] actus A' 3 etiam...obviat] obviat non etiam N' 5 omnibus] esse *add. et del.* T' 6 seu] sive T' 10 realitate] realitates N' 14 perspicuo] *corr. i.m.* ex speculo A' sperspicuo *sic!* B'N' 14 recipiendi] similem *add. et del.* T' 20 procedunt] praecedunt B' 24 nobis] ens *add.* B'N' existens T' 25 anima] omnia B' 26 ergo] *corr. i.m.* ex quod A' *om.* T' 27 error est] errorem B'N'

3 <Cf. supra 3.2.4.2> 8 Arist., II *De anima.*, cap. 12 (424a) 21 Cf. supra <3.1.1.1> et sqq.

non intelligit articulus, quod sit error dicere intellectum possibilem nihil esse in actu, quantum est ex se.

<3.3.1.2> Quod vero subnectitur: quicquid in natura intelligibili est aliquid in actu, esse actu intelligens, est etiam error,
 5 quia habitus intellectuales et caritas et actus voluntatis sunt aliquid in actu in genere intelligibilium, nec tamen sunt intelligentes in actu.

<3.3.1.3> Sequens vero articulus loquitur contra illum | errorem, qui posuit ex omni intellectione et intelligente fieri
 10 unam substantiam, et qui dicebat, quod substantia intelligitur per substantiam, immo quod omnis intellectio dabat intellectui possibili esse substantiale. Non loquitur autem de intellectu possibili et agente, quin possint esse realitates intrinsece constitutivae ipsius animae.

<3.3.2> Secunda etiam non procedit, non est enim simile de volitione et intellectione respectu sui, quia volitio contingenter elicitur propter indeterminationem voluntatis respectu actus. Intellectus vero sui in angelo vel anima separata contingenter non inest, et idcirco dici potest, quod
 20 essentia animae vel angeli est sua intellectio intuitiva, non tamen est sua volitio libera et contingens. Dato etiam, quod aliqua complacentia sui ipsius esset sua essentia, non differret realiter ab illo actuali, quod poneretur | intellectio; nec in illa complacentia aut intellectione naturali, quae
 25 recta est, potuit esse peccatum, sed in aliis volitionibus et intellectionibus, quae potuerunt esse falsae et deordinatae.

<3.3.3> Tertia etiam non procedit, nihil enim prohibet aliquam intellectionem esse nobiliorem quantum ad suum

8 B' fol. 51va 23 N' fol. 32ra

3 subnectitur] subvertitur N' 4 etiam] *om.* T' 5 caritas] *corr. i.m. ex* causalitas T' 10 dicebat] dicebant N' 10 substantia] intellectus *add. et del.* N' 11 per] essentiam *add.* N' 12 substantiale] et *add. et del.* A' 13 possibili] esse substantiale non loquitur *add. et del.* B' 13 et] de *add.* T' 13 esse] essentia N' 15 non¹] *om.* N' 15 est] *om.* N' 16 intellectione] et *add.* T' 18 sui] *om.* A' 18 vel] in *add.* T' 22 sua] *add. i.m.* A' 24 in] *om.* T' 27 etiam] vero T'

3 Cf. supra <3.1.1.1> 8 Cf. supra <3.1.1.2> 15 Cf. supra <3.1.2> 27 Cf. supra <3.1.3>

- esse, utpote quia est substantia, et tamen erit ignobilior quantum ad coniungere cum obiecto. Unde nulla est consequentia: est nobilius, igitur beatificat. Constat enim, quod essentia animae, cum sit imago trinitatis, nobilior est | quam
 5 actus beatificus, quod est accidens, et tamen anima per essentiam non potest esse beata, sed per accidens superadditum. Et attendendum, quod intellectio non beatificat, nisi quatenus coniungit cum obiecto beatifico, et ideo semper nobilior est in coniungendo quam intellectio sui ipsius, quia
 10 coniungit nobiliori, nec aliquid refert, si non sit nobilior in subsistendo.
- <3.3.4> Ultima etiam non procedit, nam satietas illa non habet locum nisi in potentia physica habente habitudinem ad actum, quae est potentia transmutativa materiae proprie dictae. Est igitur inter realitatem intellectus possibilis et agentis
 15 connexio necessaria sicut inter actum et potentiam metaphysicam et appropriatio mutua, sicut declaratum est supra. Et quod additur, quod non poterit recipere secundum hoc aliam intellectionem, utique verum est sibi essentialem, sed
 20 actualem poterit, sicut et caelum recipit lumen et tenebram. Unde appropriatio ista debet intelligi quantum ad esse substantiale, non autem quo ad esse accidentale. Omnis autem intellectio praeter illam, qua intelligit se, accidens quoddam est, etiam intellectio beatifica.
- 25 <3.3.5> Et si dicatur, quod secundum regulas Dionysii infima superiorum excedunt suprema inferiorum; intellectus autem possibilis est infimum in genere intellectorum abstractorum; et per consequens excedit omnia entia corporalia,

4 A' fol. 86va

3 est] *om.* T' 4 quam] sit *add.* A' 5 beatificus] *om.* N' 5 quod] *fortasse scribendum* qui 7 non] beati *add. et del.* N' 10 nobiliori] nobilior N' 12 satietas] societas N' 13 locum] *corr. i.m. ex locus* T' 15 Est] *om.* N' 20 actualem] *actuale* B' 20 recipit] *et add.* B' 20 tenebram] *sic!* 22 autem²⁷] ista *add. et del.* T' 23 intellectio] intentio T' 27 genere] gloriae N'

12 Cf. supra <3.1.4> 17 Cf. supra <2.2.4.2.1> 26 Ps.-Dionysii Areopagita, *De divinis nominibus*, cap. 7, 3, 324, secundum expositionem S. Thomae Aquinatis in *In librum Beati Dionysii de divinis nominibus*, VII, l. IV, 733 (ed. C. Pera (Romae, 1950), p. 275)

et ita erit realitas actualis, immo et actualior quam formae corporales, dicendum, quod regula illa Dyonisii tenet in subsistentibus, non autem in realitatibus constituentibus potentialibus. Unde manifesta est instantia de habitibus et
 5 actibus, qui, quamvis sint spirituales, non tamen excedunt formas substantiales corporum. Potest etiam dici, quod intellectus possibilis nobilior est formis corporum eo modo, quo habet esse, scilicet in potentia, quia potest induere nobilius esse, et talis nobilitas ponenda est in entibus poten-
 10 tialibus iuxta illud Augustini XII *Confessionum* dicentis, quod capacitas formae nonnullum bonum est. |

Articulus tertius

Ubi directe respondetur ad formam quaestionis

<4.0> Nunc tertio inquirendum est, utrum ponens realitates
 15 intellectus possibilis et agentis constituere animam salvare possit ipsam esse essentialiter et per se corporis formam.

<4.1.1> Videretur enim, quod non, quia vel per suum actuale praecise corpus informabit aut per actuale simul et potentiale aut per suam totalitatem, ita quod illi totalitati, quasi
 20 formae totius, competat ratio informandi. Sed non potest dici, quod per suum actuale sit forma corporis, quia tunc unus actus perficeret duas potentias, videlicet potentiam corporis et potentiam intellectus possibilis. Nec potest dari secundum, quia pura potentia nullius est actus. Nec potest
 25 dari tertium, quia pari ratione dici posset, quod quodlibet compositum ex materia et forma posset esse per suam formam totius actus et perfectio alterius, quod est impossibile.

11 B' fol. 51vb

1 erit] *iter.* N' 5 sint] sicut N' 11 formae] *add. i.m.* T' 14 ponens] pones B' 16 esse] *om.* T' 16 corporis formam] *inv.* B' 17 suum] esse *add.* T' 18 informabit] *corr. s.l. ex* et formabit A' informalis B' informaret T' 18–19 potentiale] potentialem N' 21 dici] *iter.* N' 21 suum] esse *add.* T' 26 posset] quod quodlibet compositum *add. et del.* N'

10 August., *De vera religione*, XIX, 36 (PL 34, col. 137); in libris *Confessionum* non invenitur

Igitur si anima habeat intra se realitatem pure potentialem, non erit per essentiam forma corporis.

- <4.1.2> Praeterea, numquam realitas informans potest includere aliquod compositum repugnans informationi. Sed
 5 informationi repugnat pura potentialitas. Non igitur anima poterit esse forma vere corporis, si rem pure potentialem intrinsece | includat.

- <4.2> Sed his non obstantibus dicendum, quod Augustinus in libro *De mirabilibus Scripturae Sacrae* videtur ponere etiam
 10 materiam proprie dictam in anima. Et *Super Genesim* relinquit sub dubio, utrum materiam habeat. Plures etiam doctores antiqui hoc posuerunt, nec tamen propter hoc compulsi sunt animam ponere non esse formam corporis. Multo minus ergo ponendo, quod in anima non est materia
 15 nec realitas in potentia physica, sed metaphysica tantum, quae necessario et inseparabiliter est indistans ab actu nec est potentia contradictionis, coguntur negare ipsam esse formam corporis.

- <4.3.1> Non procedunt ergo rationes. Prima siquidem non,
 20 quia anima non est actus corporis per suum actuale praecise, immo illud praecise sumptum non posset corpus informare. | Nec etiam per suum potentiale praecise. Unde nec intellectus possibilis nec agens sunt per se primo corporis forma. Informat igitur anima per rationem suae totalitatis, quia
 25 realitas totalis perfectior est qualibet partium, et propter hoc perficere potest et informare.

7 N' fol. 32rb 21 T' fol. 208va

3 informans] et formans N' 4 compositum] oppositum B'N'T' 4 informa-
 tionem] informationem N' 5 informationi] in forma N' formationem *add. et del.*
 N' 5 anima] non *add.* N' 6 potentialem] potentialis N' 14 Multo] *corr. i.m.*
ex multis N' 15 metaphysica] metaphysicus B'N' 16 necessario] intellectus N'
 17 contradictionis] conditionis B'N'T' 21 immo] illud N'

9 Ps.-August., I *De mirabilibus Sacrae Scripturae*, cap. 1 (PL 35, col. 2151) 10 August., I *De Genesi ad litteram*, VII, 10 (PL 34, col. 359); cf. *ibid.*, I,2 (PL 34, col. 247) et *ibid.*, V, 13 (PL 34, col. 326) 19 Cf. supra <4.1.1>

- <4.3.1.1> Et cum additur, quod pari ratione omne compositum ex materia et forma per formam totius poterit esse alterius forma, non valet, quia constitutio ex realitatibus agentis et possibilis non est proprie compositio, sed unitas
 5 maior inter eas propter hoc, quod non habent habitudinem contingentem, immo eorum unitas est quoddam necesse esse, et propter hoc realitas totalis habet maiorem veritatem et perfectionem, quam habeat realitas composita. Non est igitur simile, sicut arguebatur.
- 10 <4.3.1.2> Et est sciendum, quod Aristoteles non haberet hanc difficultatem, quia non diceret, quod anima sit forma materiae eo modo, quo ceterae formae, trahendo scilicet materiam ad esse et actum, sed alio modo, scilicet largiendo esse et permanentiam et postremas perfectiones exigitive
 15 et complendo speciem. Et ideo non repugnat ei, quod est isto ultimo modo, habere intra se aliquam potentialem realitatem.
- <4.3.1.3> Est considerandum etiam, quod licet totalis realitas | animae claudat intrinsece et inseparabiliter praedictas realitates, nihilominus constituitur ex ipsis quasi quoddam ens
 20 parziale, quod per essentiam suam est apta nata esse pars et esse aliquid | alterius per modum complementi. Hoc autem non competit compositis ex materia et ex forma. Unde non repugnat alicui constitui ex pluribus, sic tamen
 25 quod constitutum habeat rationem entis partialis, quare nec sibi repugnat, quod habeat rationem formae.
- <4.3.2> Secunda etiam non procedit, quia falsum assumit. Potest enim aliquid competere alicui ratione suae totalis realitatis et tamen illud totale includat aliquid, cui praecise

18 B' fol. 52ra 22 A' fol. 86vb

3 realitatibus] *corr. ex* realibus T' 4 unitas] est *add. i.m.* T' 6 unitas] veritas N'T' 7 hoc] *om.* N' 7-8 realitas...habeat] *add. i.m.* A' 8 realitas] quam hoc *add. et del.* T' 8 composita] composito N' 14 permanentiam] per materiam T' 15 Et] *om.* T' 18 considerandum etiam] *inv.* B'N'T' 18 considerandum] considerandum T' 19 animae] *corr. i.m. ex a se* A' 21 est] esse N' 22 aliquid] *iter.* N' 23 ex²] *om.* B' 24 sic] sed N' 28 suae] sui N' 29 includat] *fortasse scribendum* includere

1 Cf. supra <4.1.1> 27 Cf. supra <4.1.2>

- sumpto repugnat. Verbi gratia, visiva potentia et eius actus competit oculo constituto ex anima et corpore ratione totalitatis, fundatur enim potentia visiva in toto coniuncto, nec etiam videre inest nisi toti coniuncto. Et tamen istud
 5 coniunctum includit corpus et animam, et cuilibet praecise sumpto repugnat recipere visionem aut visivam potentiam. Similiter in proposito repugnat realitati potentiali praecise sumptae corpus informare, et similiter realitati agentis, ex quibus constituitur totalis realitas animae rationalis, et ta-
 10 men non repugnat informare ipsi animae. Unde aliud est partialiter informare et aliud esse partem formae. Nec etiam possibilis intellectus aut agens partialiter informant corpus, quia potentiae repugnat informare, et totaliter et partialiter. Similiter et actui partiali repugnat actuare nisi potentiale,
 15 cui appropriatur. Et ideo neuter illorum habet per se habitudinem informantis nec totaliter nec partialiter in ordine ad corpus. Sed habitudo eorum prima est ad constitutionem animae per modum cuiusdam naturae partialis et formae.

<Ad argumentum principale>

- 20 <5.1> Ad argumentum principale dicendum, quod inesse alicui, quod sit forma per totam suam rationem et per totum illud, quod pertinet ad illius essentiam, intelligi potest dupliciter: primo quidem quia insit sibi per quamlibet sui partem, et hoc modo non inest animae, quod sit forma, quasi
 25 quaelibet eius pars partialiter | informet. Secundo vero quod insit sibi per rationem totalis realitatis et non per aliquam sui partem praecise nec partialiter, et sic competit animae, quod sit forma. Constat autem, quod totalitas realitatis nominat

25 N^o fol. 32va

1 visiva potentia] *inv.* T^o 1 visiva] positiva *add. et del.* N^o 2–3 totalitatis] non *add.* N^o 3 potentia] videtur *add. et del.* N^o 3 visiva] *om.* T^o 5 coniunctum] *om.* T^o communi *add. et del.* T^o 5 includit] *corr. ex* incladit N^o 6 aut] ac N^o 6 visivam potentiam] *inv.* T^o 8 et] in N^o 8 agentis] *add. i.m.* N^o 9 totalis] *corr. ex* totalitas N^o 9 rationalis] totalis N^o 12 possibilis] potentialis N^o 23 quia] quod N^o 24 quasi] et quod N^o 26 insit] *corr. s.l. ex* sit A^o 27 et] *om.* N^o 28 autem] *om.* N^o

20 Cf. supra <1.1>

essentiam rei et illud, quod res est per se, quia res non
est aliqua suarum partium, sed potius realitas totalis ex suis
partibus. Et ideo propriissime salvatur, quod anima per se
et essentialiter et se tota est forma, quia sua totali realitate
5 est forma et non per suas partes.

2 totalis] *om.* N' 4 totali] essentiali T'

GUIDONIS TERRENI
QUAESTIO 14 QUODLIBETI V

<Utrum supposito, quod intellectus agens et possibilis sint distinctae potentiae realiter, sit ex eis unum compositum>

<1.0> Quantum ad potentias intellectus, scilicet quantum ad intellectum agentem et possibilem, erat quaestio, utrum supposito, quod intellectus agens et possibilis sint distinctae potentiae realiter, sit ex eis unum compositum.

10 <1.1> Quod non, quia sunt in una natura simplici animae.

<1.2> Contra, quia sunt quasi sicut actus et potentia.

<1.3> Respondeo. Supponitur communiter, quod sint distinctae potentiae realiter, tum quia absoluta et distincta; tum quia activum et passivum.

15 <1.3.1> Istud non credo, si attendatur operatio, scilicet illustrare; per eandem naturam, qua est lumen spirituale, illustrat. Sed hoc est, quia naturaliter abstracta et naturae intellectualis.

<1.3.2> Item, non repugnat, quod idem respectu unius sit
20 activum una actione, et ab eodem sit passivum alia.

<1.3.3> Item, quia intellectus agens non <est> activum respectu possibilis vel actus intelligendi, quia tunc intellectus possibilis | quacumque perfecta suppositione non esset in actu intelligendi, nec esset intellectus agens.

25 <1.3.4> Item, quia intellectus agens non est <activum> nisi respectu operationis motivae, scilicet removendo prohibens, et respectu talis non oportet dare per se potentiam distinctam.

<1.3.5> Ergo prima ratio non valet, quia accipit falsum.

6 V' = Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Borgh. 39, fol. 213vb 23 V' fol. 214ra

28 Cf. supra <1.3>

<1.3.6> Secunda non <valet>, quia accipit quantum ad actum intelligendi, quod sit materiale obiectum.

<1.4.1> Quantum ad quaesitum dico, quod si differrent realiter—ut ponit Aureoli—dico, quod non esset compositio ex
 5 eis, tum quia unum non inhaereret alteri; tum quia ex eis non efficeretur unum supposito, cum essent duae substantiae separatae.

<1.4.2> Si vero differrent, ut communius supponitur, sicut lumen et illud, cuius est lumen, sic videtur, quod essent
 10 unum compositum, sicut ex aere et lumine, quia intellectus possibilis perficeretur per agentem, sicut aer per lumen.

<1.4.3> Unde videtur mihi, quod esto, quod essent duae res distinctae, non deberent poni distinctae potentiae, sed una, sicut oculus cati cum sua luce.

15 <1.5.1> Ad rationes patet. Ad primam, quia quamvis anima sit una natura simplex, potest in ea esse intellectus cum habitu, et ita intellectus cum lumine perficiente.

<1.5.2> Ad secundum dicendum, quod est per idem actus respectu separationis conditionum materialium, est tamen
 20 potentia respectu actus intelligendi.

5 inhaereret] *corr. ex inhaerere* V^o 12 videtur] dicitur V^o 13 poni] *corr. ex ponit* V^o 18 secundum] *fortasse scribendum secundam*

1 Cf. supra <1.3> 15 Cf. supra <1.1> 18 Cf. supra <1.2>

NICHOLAS OF BAR'S COLLECTION

Sylvain Piron

The so-called "Collection of Nicholas of Bar" occupies a prominent place in Palémon Glorieux's repertory of quodlibetal questions. The 170 questions that it contains were first listed under the name of Nicholas in the 1925 volume, before being redistributed, in the second volume published in 1935, amongst the eighteen different authors involved in it. In the meantime, an article published in the third volume of the *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age* in 1928 had justified the respective ascription of the questions to these little-known late thirteenth-century theologians.¹ Before discussing the interpretation he gave of this collection, one should recall the pioneering role that Glorieux played in the exploration of scholastic sources. Teaching at the time in Lille, Glorieux was connected with the French Dominican school led by Pierre Mandonnet and Marie-Dominique Chenu, based a few kilometers away at "Le Saulchoir," near Tournai,² and whose "Bibliothèque thomiste" hosted the two volumes of *La littérature quodlibétique*. In those years, as the editorial program of the *Archives* made clear, the priority was given to text editions and research based on first-hand knowledge of unpublished materials. Taking his part in these efforts to tackle the mass of unexplored documentation pertaining to medieval scholasticism, Glorieux was also pursuing, so to speak, a particular hobby-horse, reconstructing the succession of masters occupying the chairs of theology within the University of Paris.³ For that purpose,

¹ P. Glorieux, "Notices sur quelques théologiens de Paris de la fin du XIII^e siècle," *AHDLM* 3 (1928), pp. 201–38.

² Although a detailed account of the impact of the Saulchoir school on medieval studies is still lacking, a more general picture can be found in the studies accompanying the edition, by G. Alberigo, of M.-D. Chenu, *Une école de théologie: le Saulchoir* (Paris 1985). See also J.-P. Jossua, "Le Saulchoir: une formation théologique replacée dans son histoire," *Cristianesimo nella storia* 14 (1993), pp. 99–124; A. Duval, "Aux origines de l'Institut historique d'études thomistes au Saulchoir (1920 et sq.)," *RSPT* 75 (1991), pp. 423–48.

³ Glorieux, *Répertoire* I–II; idem, "D'Alexandre de Halès à Pierre Auriol. La suite des maîtres franciscains de Paris au XIII^e siècles," *AFH* 26 (1933), pp. 257–81.

he was searching to associate all University exercises he could come across—be they sermons or quodlibetal disputes—with precise dates, which would then serve as anchors for the global chronology of the theology faculty he was trying to construct.⁴ With all the due respect one may have for his colossal achievements, it is fair to recall that many of his conclusions were premature.

This eagerness for precise dates is evident in his approach to Nicholas of Bar's collection. To quote Glorieux's own words: "The first impression one gets by reading this list [of the various masters' names found in the margins] is that one is confronted with *quodlibeta* that must have followed one another on a regular basis from year to year."⁵ The rest of the demonstration serves only as a confirmation of this first impression, to which no objection is raised in the course of the article. The conclusions reached on the basis of that "first impression" have been generally accepted by scholars dealing with this material and have not been questioned so far.⁶ However, the very statement of this result sounds rather unlikely: fragments of twenty-nine different quodlibetal series would have been reproduced in a strictly chronological order, over a period of twenty years, running from 1285 to 1304. It suffices to add that these texts were copied by the same hand in only one go for one to understand that a strict chronological ordering of the *quodlibeta* is highly implausible. It would require that the scribe himself would have shared Glorieux's obsession with the chronology of the theology faculty.

During the interwar years, another close associate of the Saulchoir, a Dominican friar himself although not residing at the convent, was Jean Destrez. His masterpiece on the diffusion of university manuscripts through the *pecia* system was published in 1935, the same year

⁴ On the use of university sermons by Glorieux, see L.-J. Bataillon, "Guillaume de la Mare. Note sur sa régence parisienne et sa prédication," *AFH* 98 (2005), pp. 367–422 (esp. pp. 368–74).

⁵ Glorieux, "Notices," p. 203–4: "La première impression que l'on ressent à la lecture de cette liste... est qu'on se trouve en présence... de quodlibets qui durent se succéder assez régulièrement, sans doute d'année en année... La collection aurait été faite au fur et à mesure des soutenances annuelles, et suivant leur succession chronologique... Il semble parfaitement légitime de la considérer comme s'étendant de façon régulière sur une assez longue suite d'années."

⁶ Through confusion caused by the certitude displayed by Glorieux, some of his readers were misled into thinking that the *quodlibeta* were actually dated in the manuscript itself. Such is the case of L. Cova, "Alcune questioni di Simone di Lens sul peccato originale," *AFH* 73 (1980), p. 475, n. 2.

as the second volume of Glorieux's *La littérature quodlibétique*.⁷ The line of approach exemplified by Destrez is another crucial feature of the "Saulchoir School," which achieved its most splendid results once a team of scholars educated along such principles was put in charge of reviving the *Commissio leonina* in the early fifties.⁸ A major lesson that has since then been widely accepted by the academic community as a whole is that at least a minimal level of attention to codicological matters is a necessary preliminary requirement in any study of medieval texts. Following this lesson, a few elements of Glorieux's brilliant treatment of the issue will be slightly amended here.

The name given to the collection derives from the fact that the only manuscript that preserves it, Paris, BnF lat. 15850, belonged to Nicholas of Bar-le-Duc, who, at his death in 1310, bequeathed it to the "poor masters of the Sorbonne, students in theology," as is made clear by two successive notes found on the back of the initial flyleaf.⁹ In his reconstruction of the Sorbonne library, Léopold Delisle identified six Parisian volumes stemming from Nicholas' bequest to the College where he had once been a student.¹⁰ Bishop of Mâcon since 1286,

⁷ See J. Destrez, *La Pécia dans les manuscrits universitaires du XIII^e et du XIV^e siècle* (Paris 1935), and its application to the case of *quodlibeta* in idem, "Les disputes quodlibétiques de saint Thomas d'après la tradition manuscrite," *Mélanges thomistes* (Kain 1923), pp. 49–108. From 1924 to 1928, Destrez was secretary of the *Bulletin thomiste* for the first four issues, residing near Paris. His research has been continued by distinguished Saulchoir pupils, now members of the *Commissio leonina*; cf. *La Production du livre universitaire au Moyen Âge: exemplar et pecia*, L.-J. Bataillon, B.G. Guyot, and R.H. House, eds. (Paris 1988).

⁸ C. Luna, "L'édition léonine de saint Thomas d'Aquin: vers une méthode de critique textuelle et d'écritique," *RSPT* 98 (2005), pp. 31–110, insists on the continuity between the two "ages" of the Commission. Without diminishing the merits of the first team set up in the late 19th century, I feel it is necessary to stress more the human and cultural continuity between the second team and the Saulchoir school. As an irony of history, the same Master General who had removed Chenu from teaching in 1942 then asked his disciples to take over the edition of Aquinas' *Opera omnia* less than ten years later.

⁹ Paris, BnF lat. 15850, f. 1r: "Istud liber est magistri N. de barro ducis (cancelled); In hoc volumine continentur questiones collectae de diversis quodlibet, ex legato magistri Nicolai de barro ducis domui pauperum magistrorum de Sorbona in theologia studentium."

¹⁰ L. Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits de la bibliothèque nationale* II (Paris 1874), p. 163. The other codices are lat. 15351 (Thomas Aquinas, *Quodlibeta*), lat. 15818 (Thomas Aquinas, *Summa contra Gentiles*), lat. 15985 (Thomas of Ireland's *Manipulus florum*), lat. 16158 (philosophical commentaries by Peter of Auvergne, Giles of Rome and Albert the Great), and lat. 16160 (more philosophical commentaries, mostly by Thomas Aquinas).

Nicholas was apparently a rich man and generous towards his College. The Sorbonne obituary recalls that he “left us many books and a lot of money in rents.”¹¹ As a matter of fact, his last will stipulated that all his belongings within the Paris diocese would go to the College, which should, in turn, support one master and two students from his kindred or his native land. The “mitigation” of his will, which reduced that number to only one student, listing all the properties handed over to the College, mentions a total of eighteen volumes.¹²

According to the 1338 Sorbonne library catalogue, cod. lat. 15850 was located within the “Summe questionum” section. The flyleaf note describes it as containing “questions collected out of various *quodlibeta*.” The codex consists of two parts that both fit such a description. The second and much longer part, having a medieval foliation of its own, is made up of a selection from two great masters of the quodlibetal art, Henry of Ghent (ff. 1r–202v) and Godfrey of Fontaines (ff. 205r–320r), followed by an incomplete thematic index and a list of questions.¹³ The first part of the codex comprises 44 folios. Its medieval foliation has been trimmed off on the occasion of a modern binding, so that it is difficult to make sure whether it had been conceived as a whole before being united together with the second part of the volume. It contains three blocks, as follows: A, a quire containing three disputed questions from the first mendicant-secular polemics by Bonaventure and William of St Amour¹⁴ (ff. 1ra–5vb); B, another quire containing on its two initial pages a selection of five quodlibetal questions by Henry of Ghent (ff. 6ra–7vb, the rest of the quire being blank); and C, the “collection”

¹¹ “Dies 16 maii obiit magister Nicolaus de Barro Ducis, socius hujus domus, anno Domini 1310, qui nobis legavit multos libros et multam pecuniam in redditibus,” in *Le registre de prêt de la bibliothèque du collège de Sorbonne*, eds. J. Vieillard and M.-H. Jullien de Pommerol (Paris 2000), p. 568. This register doesn’t record any borrowing of cod. lat. 15850. The obituary was already edited in P. Glorieux, *Aux origines de la Sorbonne. I. Robert de Sorbon* (Paris 1966), p. 165.

¹² P. Glorieux, *Aux origines de la Sorbonne. II. Le cartulaire* (Paris 1965), pp. 519–23. Surprisingly, Nicholas is presented as *filius Poncetii de Barro, Tullensis dyocesis*. There is, indeed, a city called Bar about fifteen kilometers north of Tulle. But since the students he wanted to support should stem, in order of priority, from his kindred, the city of Bar-le-Duc, Saint-Mihiel, and the diocese of Verdun, a Lorraine origin is beyond doubt.

¹³ See the details of the questions in J. Hoffmans and A. Pelzer, *Etude sur les manuscrits des Quodlibets* (Les philosophes belges, 14) (Louvain 1937), pp. 177–80, and R. Macken, *Bibliotheca Manuscripta Henrici de Gandavo I* (Leuven-Leiden 1979), pp. 634–44.

¹⁴ Bonaventura, *De perfectione evangelica*, q. 2, a. 2, *Opera omnia* V (Quaracchi 1891), pp. 134–55; A.G. Traver, “William of Saint-Amour’s Two Disputed Questions *De Quantitate elemosynae* and *De valido mendicante*,” *AHDLM* 62 (1995), pp. 295–342.

itself, covering three quires (ff. 10ra–42va, f. 43 being blank). These units all have different page lay-outs and were copied by different scribes on different occasions, the first one being presumably much older. Despite their distinct foliations, section 1–C was apparently produced in the same circumstances as part 2. The single hand that copied the whole of the collection was also involved in copying Godfrey's extracts (ff. 205r–233v).¹⁵ The decoration of the initial letters in red and blue ink is similar in both sections, and it is also identical to what is found in cod. lat. 16158, another of Nicholas' volumes.

More importantly, their contents also point in the same direction. Both selections of quodlibetal questions are almost exclusively concerned with practical moral cases. As is well known, such topics are considerably over-represented in *quodlibeta*.¹⁶ Especially in the Lent session, in the season of the yearly compulsory confession, quodlibetal disputes provided an occasion to raise the most troublesome cases of conscience that a confessor might come across, be it through reporting real situations or making up fictitious ones. Understandably, the same focus could also determine the form in which quodlibetal questions would circulate. The case under consideration is by no means an isolated one. It may be useful to record that the only surviving collection of *Quodlibeta* by Servais of Mont-Saint-Éloi belongs to this type, where only a minimal number of questions (5 out of 85) do not pertain directly to moral issues or to the administration of confession.¹⁷ The formulation of Servais' questions provided by Glorieux can be misleading. For instance, a question that seemed to Jean-Luc Solère to be of the most speculative type¹⁸—can someone excommunicate himself?—in reality introduces a very specific case, asking whether an official, promulgating a sentence of excommunication against unnamed wrongdoers, could himself fall prey to his own sentence.¹⁹ The restricted scope of the questions preserved

¹⁵ A paleographical study of manuscripts produced around or within the Sorbonne in that period could produce interesting results.

¹⁶ See Elsa Marmursztejn's chapter in the first volume of this book.

¹⁷ P. Glorieux, "Les Quodlibets de Gervais du Mont-Saint-Eloi," *RTAM* 20 (1953), pp. 129–34, argues in favor of a division of the 85 questions by Servais found in Paris, BnF lat. 15350, ff. 269r–291, into eight different *Quodlibeta*, on the basis of some marginal signs and of the recurrence of these rare speculative questions that would mark the beginning of a new *Quodlibet*. This division is supported by even more marginal signs.

¹⁸ See Solère's chapter in the previous volume, p. 526.

¹⁹ Servatius de Monte Sancti Eligii, *Quodlibet* V, q. 7, Paris, BnF lat. 15350, f. 281v: *Utrum aliquis possit excommunicare seipsum et ponitur talis casus, laicus perdidit uxorem suam,*

in this manuscript doesn't mean that Servais was unable to deal with more abstract topics or was not interrogated on such themes. It rather means that, in the absence of a proper "edition" of his *Quodlibeta* made available by the University stationers, his *Quodlibeta* circulated in such a format. In the same guise, at one point, the bishop of Mâcon added to his library a volume containing the "practical" extracts of both the great and the small masters of theology of the time.

Some more observations can be made based on external criteria. The questions extracted from Godfrey, copied from the University stationary *pecia*, do not follow a chronological order. Excerpts from *Quodlibeta* VII and VIII are placed before extracts of *Quodlibeta* V and VI. The final items stem from *Quodlibet* XIII, which was disputed during the academic year 1297–98.²⁰ The absence of any question from *Quodlibet* XV, produced in 1303–04 at the earliest, suggests that the collection of excerpts had been created before that date. Another interesting fact is that the initial note of possession conveyed by the flyleaf is identical to the one found in cod. lat. 15985, containing the original manuscript of Thomas of Ireland's *Manipulus florum*.²¹ This volume itself can be firmly dated to 1306, when Thomas, previously a Sorbonne member, provided the College with one copy and Nicholas with another. As Richard and Mary Rouse hypothesize, in doing so, he may well have been searching for a beneficial reward from the bishop of Mâcon.²² At any rate, this incident shows the position Nicholas occupied in the first decade of the fourteenth century as an informal patron of the Sorbonne circles. It may be in that connection, rather than for his own pastoral use, that he commissioned the quodlibetal miscellany we are dealing with.

The collection of minor masters was copied continuously by only one scribe, with no change of ink or size of writing that would suggest an interruption in the course of his work. This implies that any notion of a collection composed over a long period of time has to be ruled out from the start. Nevertheless, a few elements of discontinuity can be pointed out. At the beginning of the first quire, there is no rubric announcing

officialis autem loci tenet eam clausam, laicus petit ab officiali ut excommunicet omnes qui detinent eam, officialis autem auctoritate episcopi excommunicat omnes qui detinent eam, modo queritur utrum officialis sit excommunicatus.

²⁰ See John Wippel's chapter in volume I.

²¹ The "r" with a long descender in the word *Barro* is very characteristic.

²² R.H. Rouse and M.A. Rouse, *Preachers, florilegia and Sermons. Studies on the Manipulus florum of Thomas of Ireland* (Toronto 1979), pp. 94–5, 164–5.

the general contents of what follows. Nor is there any ascription of the initial fourteen questions. Such ascriptions, starting with the fifteenth question, are, at first, noted by the copyist in the margin. For some time, he also reproduces the titles of the questions in the lower margin of the page, a fact that is acknowledged on the flyleaf.²³ In that respect, a change can be noticed on folio 35v. Henceforth, ascriptions are no longer located in the margins but within the page, as a rubric.

From that point on, an even more significant change regards the status of the questions themselves. On the previous pages, questions were rarely very long and elaborate. Some of them probably belong to the genre of *reportationes*, jotted down by listeners during the event. The ten final *quodlibeta* (ff. 35v–42v) are unambiguously of that nature since the master's response is always introduced by verbal forms such as “dicebatur,” “dictum fuit,” “dixit” (“it was said” or “he said”). These questions are deprived of any set of initial arguments, and the magistral determination can be remarkably laconic, such as Eustache of Grandcourt's in his *Quodlibet* II, q. 10: “Utrum sit licitum celebrare festum conceptionis Virginis Marie? Dictum est quod sic.”²⁴ When the question is a complex moral case, it can even happen that the interrogation itself is longer than the answer, such as with the same Eustache in his *Quodlibet* III, q. 10.²⁵ This stylistic change is all the more obvious when one compares the slightly more elaborate style of Eustache's first *Quodlibet*, found earlier in the collection, with the later ones. Even in the case of a very brief question, so short that it passed under Glorieux's eyes unnoticed, we still find a *pro* and *contra* structure before the determination of the question.²⁶ Answering the following

²³ Paris, BnF lat. 15850, f. 1v: *Intitulationes quorundam questionum quere fol. xi. et .xii.* These titles are found on ff. 10v–13v, 14v. This implies a continuous foliation of the first part of the codex, but doesn't reveal whether this was achieved after or before the first binding.

²⁴ Paris, BnF lat. 15850, f. 36rb. The same question is tackled by Matthew of Aquasparta in 1279 (*Quodl.* II, q. 8), Henry of Ghent in 1291 (*Quodl.* XV, q. 13) and John Baconthorpe in 1330 (*Quodl.* III, q. 18), a sign of continuous interest in the issue. All these, and many more, are edited by A. Samaritani, “De beatae virginis immaculata conceptione *Quodlibet* XIII–XIV saec. primum edita,” *Marian Library Studies* 5 (1973) pp. 729–835.

²⁵ Eustacius de Grandicuria, *Quodlibet* III, q. 10, Paris, BnF lat. 15850, f. 39va: “Talis casus est: iste cognovit istam puellam affectu fornicatorio, et habet inde puerum; postea accipit eam in uxorem, et habent alium filium; modo queritur quis istorum, mortuo patre, debeat habere progenituram. Dictum fuit quod primo natus quia factus est legitimus per matrimonium, et ad hoc adducebat multa decreta.”

²⁶ Paris, BnF lat. 15850, f. 29ra: “Sacerdos dicit nonam ante terciam ex ignorantia et

question, in a most spectacular fashion, Eustache begins discussing the ability to marry a monster (a female with two heads, four breasts, and one sexual organ) by recalling in the first person a memory of his own father having witnessed such an extraordinary birth—although it is not clear whether he was talking about a human being or another type of animal.²⁷ As absurd as it may sound, the use of the first person (“ego intellexi,” “dico”) would signify that a venerable master of theology did mention such personal memories at a public University event, and gave his stamp to its written circulation.

The likelier explanation for the stylistic change witnessed within the collection is the following. Among the various materials the copyist had at his disposal, the final ten would have originated from the notes taken in a very summary way by someone who attended these events. It may be surmised that these *quodlibeta*, where the same names often recur, were not spread over a long period of time—a duration of three years being a reasonable guess. On such an hypothesis, Eustache of Grandcourt’s *Quodlibet* II and Peter of Saint-Omer’s *Quodlibet* II would belong to the first year, while the second would be filled by Eustache’s *Quodlibet* III and Peter’s *Quodlibet* III. Simon of Guiberville’s *Quodlibet* I and Rainier of Clairmarais’ *Quodlibet* II could belong to the second or third year. The latter one would comprise Eustache’s *Quodlibet* IV and V, Guy of Cluny’s *Quodlibet* II and Andrew of Mont-Saint-Éloi’s *Quodlibet* I. Glorieux understands the mention “a magistro extacio” found in the margin as marking the beginning of a fifth *Quodlibet*, distinct from the fourth. This distinction is not necessary in my view, since all the questions, before and after the note, display strong stylistic

oblivione, postea recolit, queritur postquam talis dixerit terciam debeat iterare nonam. Videtur quod sic quia ordo ecclesie requiritur ut nona dicatur post terciam, ideo etc. Contra, qui semel solvit debitum non amplius tenetur ad solutum eius quia solutione eius quod debetur tollitur obligacio, ideo etc. Dicendum quod tenetur redicere nonam quia dicendo nonam ante tertiam corrumpit ordinem ecclesie et ideo non solvit sicut debet, ideo etc.”

²⁷ Eustacius de Grandicuria, *Quodlibet* I, Paris, BnF lat. 15850, f. 29rb: “Quoddam monstrum fuit, habens a dyaphragmo superius duo capita, quatuor brachia et quatuor mamillas et duo corda; inferius unum instrumentum generationis et duos pedes, queritur utrum tale monstrum possit contrahere matrimonium... Dicendum quod ego intellexi a patre meo quod ipse vidit tale monstrum habens duo capita et quatuor mamillas et quod una illorum mulierum mortua fuit ante aliam per tres dies et altera fuit mortua per nimio fetore quam non potuit sustinere. Nunc dico quod possunt contrahere matrimonium et cum diversis, quia habent omnia per quem matrimonium potest esse perfectum quoniam habent consensum per quem matrimonium perficitur, habent etiam instrumentum per quid potest consumari...”

similarities. The marginal note could be understood as a mere reminder of authorship.

It is now time to turn back to the list of masters found in the margins or the rubrics of the collection. Once the “chronological” hypothesis has been discarded, the elements of certainty are rather limited.²⁸ A few names, given in full, are identified beyond doubt. They are those of masters who remained regents for a long period of time. Nicholas du Pressoir held his first *Quodlibet* in 1272 and was active in 1286, but nothing is known of his later career. Eustache of Grandcourt, regent master in 1272, had stopped teaching by 1303. Peter of Saint-Omer was already a master in 1289, chancellor in 1296, and active until 1302. Two other names offer no difficulty in identification, but do not shed any further light on the collection either, since nothing else is known about their University career: Rainier of Clairmarais’ name is given in full, while “Guido de Cluniaco” can hardly be other than the Benedictine theologian Guy of Pernes, master in theology, and abbot of Beaulieu in 1303, but the notion that his activity as a regent master would have started as early as 1287 is nothing but an figment of Glorieux’s fantasy. More precise dates are provided by the two Dominican masters explicitly named, who taught in Paris for briefer periods. *Oliverus predicator* must be Oliver of Tréguier, regent in 1291–92.²⁹ The *Quodlibet raimondi predicatorum* can securely be attributed to Raymond Guilha and dated to 1293–95.³⁰

The Franciscans are not so easily identified. According to Glorieux, the most likely candidate for the *Quodlibet fratris iohannis de ordine minorum* was John of Murrovalle, regent in 1289–90, and later Minister General of the Order and then cardinal. The time of his regency happened to fit in perfectly with Glorieux’s global chronological scheme. Yet this identification is by no means certain, since many other Friars Minor named John were around in those years. For instance, one can point to the case of the almost forgotten John of Pershore.³¹ Vital du Four

²⁸ Except when noted, all these elements were already gathered by Glorieux, “Notice sur quelques théologiens.”

²⁹ T. Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum mediæ ævi* III (Rome 1980), pp. 199–200.

³⁰ Kaeppli, *Scriptores* III, p. 280.

³¹ Vitalis de Furno, *Quodlibeta tria*, ed. F. Delorme (Spicilegium Pontificii Athenaei Antoniani, 5) (Rome 1947), pp. 221–9. John of Pershore ought to have been mentioned in my chapter in the first volume of this book. I am most grateful to Alain Boureau for reminding me of him. The abbreviation ends with the words *Hic nihil deficit*, a sign marking the end of a complete series of questions.

produced, as a reminder (*memorialia*), an abbreviated version of eighteen of his questions, now preserved in Todi, Biblioteca Comunale 95, a volume that contains most of the literary output of the Gascon theologian. These questions deal mostly with metaphysical and trinitarian issues, often directed against Peter John Olivi's positions. The miscellaneous nature of the final four, touching upon practical moral cases or problems of cognition and grace, gives weight to the notion that we are facing a quodlibetal dispute. Pershore is known to have been active in Oxford around 1290, but the anti-Olivian orientation of this *Quodlibet* and its relation to Vital render a continental origin of these questions more plausible. The *Quodlibet* could have been disputed in Paris, while Vital was a student there (1288–92). Its contents display no obvious resemblance to the Franciscan John present in Nicholas of Bar's collection, however. If the "friar S. minor" has to be identified with Simon of Lens, his *Quodlibet* should be associated with his regency in 1282, which sounds at odds with the dates obtained so far that rather point towards the first half of the 1290s. Therefore, the hypothesis that this initial "S" could represent a "Stephanus" or a "Simon" that we know nothing about cannot be totally discarded.

Some other names remain little more than shadows. Who was Gonterus or Ganterus? What was the exact Christian name of "R. of Arras"? Here, as with the case of the anonymous Friar Minor to whom are attributed questions 15–20 of the collection, the disappearance of Glorieux's chronology brushes away the little knowledge available about them. Two other characters, whose identity was reconstructed by Glorieux, are still in an uncomfortable situation. Twice, the marginal notes refer to a Cistercian master, clearly labeled as "abbatis sancti bernardi" the second time. Out of his chronological calculations, Glorieux concluded that he should be identified, "with no hesitation," with John of Waarde, a Cistercian master who died, still active, in 1293. The difficulty here is that the first reference to a theologian of Saint-Bernard in the collection, a few pages above, describes him with a problematic abbreviation that can be developed in various ways—the most literal reading would imply a name such as "Rilus" or "Nilus"—but which certainly doesn't fit with "Johannes." While discussing the identity of the character described as "M. de Walle Sclarium," Glorieux decides in favour of John of Châtillon only on the basis that, at the time in which this *Quodlibet* would fit within his chronology, another possible candidate, Laurence of Poulangy, was then away from Paris. More recent research on the Val-des-Écoliers would suggest that John of Bray

was actually a master regent in Paris for a longer time than Châtillon, who apparently taught as regent master for a very brief period, in 1297–98, between the regencies of Poulangy and Bray.³²

Two masters appearing only in the final seventy-six briefer questions limit the time span of that section: Simon of Guiberville was active as a master from 1296 on, and became chancellor in 1302, while Andrew of Mont-Saint-Éloi's regency didn't begin before 1303–04. That Peter of Saint-Omer is described as chancellor in the same section, a fact strongly emphasized by Glorieux, would confirm a date posterior to 1296. Taking into consideration the presence of Andrew, the hypothesis of a three-year overall duration may have to be slightly extended, for Andrew's inception might have taken place after Eustache's withdrawal from teaching. In such a case, these seventy-six questions could represent the state of debate on moral issues during the years 1300–04.

Before closing this chapter, the initial fifteen questions, which convey no trace of identification at all, have to be dealt with. Glorieux had proposed Bernard of Trilia OP as a candidate for questions 7–14, on the basis of a complex reasoning. In the first place, it relied on the ascription to Bernard of a justificatory memoir that was later recognised as being penned by John Quidort.³³ Although nothing connects Bernard to Nicholas' collection anymore, some scholars have nevertheless been misled by Glorieux's certainties.³⁴ By removing this mistaken ascription, nothing links the early parts of the collection to the 1280s. There is apparently no reason to conceive that the initial fourteen questions were produced by more than one author. In order to shed more light on his profile, a detailed study of his positions on various issues would be required. All in all, the safer conclusion at present is that the initial parts of Nicholas of Bar's collection represent a selection of cases discussed in quodlibetal disputes during the 1290s, probably most of them during the first part of that decade, while the final section contains *reportationes* of questions from the early 1300s.

³² C. Guyon, *Les écoliers du Christ. L'ordre canonial du Val des Écoliers (1201–1539)* (St Etienne 1998), pp. 231–3.

³³ P. Glorieux, "Un mémoire justificatif de Bernard de Trilia. Sa carrière à l'université de Paris (1279–1287)," *RSPT* 17 (1928), pp. 404–25, 18 (1929), pp. 24–58. The history of the debate is synthesised by P. Künzle, "Prolegomena," in Bernardus de Trilia, *Quaestiones disputatae de cognitione animae separatae*, ed. Künzle (Bern 1969), pp. 16*–17*. On Bernard's authentic first three *quodlibeta*, see P. Künzle, "Neu aufgefundene Quaestiones quodlibetales Bernhards von Trilia," *FZPT* IV (1957), pp. 52–6.

³⁴ Such is the case of F. Veraja, *Le origini della controversia teologica sul contratto di censo nel XIII secolo* (Rome 1960), and myself in the first volume of this book.

REFLECTIONS ON VAT. LAT. 1086 AND PROSPER OF REGGIO EMILIA, O.E.S.A.

William J. Courtenay

One of the most important documents for early fourteenth-century thought is the *Sentences* commentary and “notebook” of the Augustinian Hermit Prosper of Reggio Emilia, Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 1086. The manuscript contains a remarkable amount of information on and material from theologians active at Paris in the 1310s, including a great many personal *reportationes* of quodlibetal questions, which have been dated largely on the basis of their being reported by Prosper. Since several of the chapters in this volume deal with this collection, a few words about its dating and the nature of its contents are in order.¹

Prosper was born in the 1270s and studied at Paris, probably in the lectorate program of his order, where he is thought to have heard Henry of Ghent before 1291.² Subsequently he was lector at Milan³ and then returned to Paris to lecture on the *Sentences*. He incepted as master of

¹ The following relies on a close reading of the manuscript, in addition to observations from the following: A. Pelzer, “Prosper de Reggio Emilia des Ermites de Saint-Augustin et le manuscrit latin 1086 de la Bibliothèque Vaticane,” *Revue Néo-Scholastique* 30 (1928), pp. 316–51; *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Codices manu scripti recensiti. Codices Vaticani Latini*, vol. II, pars prior: *Codices 679–1134*, ed. A. Pelzer (Vatican City 1931), pp. 654–83; P. Glorieux, “A propos de Vatic. lat. 1086. Le personnel enseignant de Paris vers 1311–14,” *RTAM* 5 (1933), pp. 23–39; Glorieux, *Répertoire* II, pp. 328–9 (no. 411); Glorieux II, pp. 233–4; S.D. Dumont, “New Questions by Thomas Wylton,” *DSTFM* 9 (1998), pp. 341–81; R. Friedman, “The *Sentences* Commentary, 1250–1320. General Trends, the Impact of the Religious Orders, and the Test Case of Predestination,” in *Mediaeval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, vol. I, G.R. Evans, ed. (Leiden 2002), p. 81n; C. Schabel, “Parisian Commentaries from Peter Auriol to Gregory of Rimini, and the Problem of Predestination,” in *Mediaeval Commentaries*, p. 254n; W.J. Courtenay, “Radulphus Brito, Master of Arts and Theology,” *CIMAGL* 76 (2005) (pp. 131–58), pp. 148–50. I am grateful to Chris Schabel and Bill Duba for providing photocopies of sections of Vat. lat. 1086, and to Stephen Brown for allowing me access to his edition of the prologue.

² Vat. lat. 1086, f. 304ra: “sed ista positio, licet sicut declaretur a doctore sollempni a quo multa profeci, tamen ego non bene intelligo eam.” However, Prosper may have “profited” from arguments in the writings of Henry without having heard him personally.

³ Vat. lat. 1086, f. 323r: “Utrum sit una materia superiorum et inferiorum, require xii d. secundi in lectura Mediolanensi;” cf. Pelzer, “Prosper de Reggio,” p. 349.

theology at Paris early in March 1316 and apparently remained there until his appointment in 1318 as examiner for the *studia* of his order in Italy.⁴ While in Italy he edited the prologue and questions on the first distinction of his commentary contained in the first part of Vat. lat. 1086, ff. 14r–87r.⁵ He was appointed regent at the convent of his order at Bologna by 1321 and taught there until his death in 1332 or early 1333.⁶

Vat. lat. 1086 is a combination of two manuscripts that belonged to Prosper, along with some other additions.⁷ The first main part, folios 13r–87v, contains a *tabula questionum* (ff. 13r–v) and what remains of Prosper's commentary on the *Sentences* (ff. 14r–87v): forty-three questions on the prologue—also entitled “de quattuor causis theologie,” divided into twenty questions related to its formal cause, six questions concerning its efficient cause, seven questions on its material cause, and ten questions on its final cause—followed by questions on the first distinction. This section of the manuscript breaks off incomplete (f. 87rb), and at many points in the prologue the text also seems unfinished. The second part was once a second manuscript, originally numbered ff. 1–226, but renumbered 101–325⁸ (plus a partial index, ff. 326r–327v) when it was joined to the first manuscript, which reveals that there is a missing quire (ff. 88r–99v) that was part of Prosper's commentary, presumably containing questions on distinction two. The *tabula questionum* on ff. 13r–v contains the titles of the beginning questions on distinction two. Throughout both sections of the manuscript, in the margins and on

⁴ His responses “in Aula” (the final stage of inception) took place on 1 March 1316; Vat. lat. 1086, f. 294v; *BAV Codices*, p. 677: “Utrum Verbum sit principium creaturarum fuit questio magistrorum in aula anno domini 1315 die lune post brandones (1 Mart. an. 1316), ad quam respondit frater Prosper ordinis her<emitarum> sancti augustini.” He was appointed examiner at the General Chapter of the order at Rimini in 1318. There is the possibility that before licensing he held a brief appointment as vicar general of his order in 1311 and was away from Paris during that period; Glorieux, “A propos,” p. 39.

⁵ The commentary is dedicated to Hugolino, bishop of Faenza (1311–36); Vat. lat. 1086, f. 14r; *BAV Codices*, p. 654: “domino fratri Hugolino...episcopo Faventino...” The *Prologus* to his commentary is being edited by Stephen F. Brown.

⁶ He was described as master of theology and regent at Bologna in 1321 when he received a payment of 50 florins from Pope John XXII (*CUP* II, p. 404, n. 4, based on papal records of payment, *Introit. et exit.* n. 41, f. 155); a papal letter of 19 March 1333 mentions that the position of “magister actu legens in theologia” in the Augustinian convent at Bologna had recently become vacant (*CUP* II, no. 952, p. 404).

⁷ This was the judgment of Pelzer, accepted by Glorieux and subsequent scholars. For a full description of the manuscript, see *BAV Codices* cited above.

⁸ The discrepancy is caused by two folios numbered 164.

what were once blank pages or incomplete columns, a later fourteenth-century possessor, presumably an Augustinian friar, has added his own questions and comments in a tiny and highly abbreviated hand. One quire (ff. 1–12), in the same tiny hand and in a one-column format of some 80 lines per page, was added at the beginning of the manuscript, containing additional questions and comments.⁹ Before dealing with the second, main part of the manuscript, which is the portion that concerns *quodlibeta*, some consideration needs to be given to the dating and context of the part that contains Prosper's commentary.

There have been differences of opinion about precisely when Prosper lectured on the *Sentences* at Paris. He incepted in March 1316, which means he was licensed during or just before Advent 1315, an *annus jubileus* for licensing in the biennial cycle, and thus he read the *Sentences* before that year. But the dedication at the beginning of his commentary reveals that it was copied and to some extent revised in Italy between 1318 and 1323, even though the content, as he stated in his dedication, derived from his time at Paris.¹⁰ The question is, therefore, how much of the commentary in its present form reflects the intellectual environment of Paris at the time he read the *Sentences*, and how much was added subsequently? And were the questions collected in the second part of Vat. lat. 1086 assembled after he read the *Sentences* or before?

In his 1933 article Glorieux argued that Prosper was a formed bachelor from 1311 to 1315, implying that he read the *Sentences* before 1311, but in the second volume of his study of quodlibetal literature, he stated that Prosper read the *Sentences* "vers 1311–1314."¹¹ Glorieux's dating of Prosper's *Sentences* as well as his dating of the second part of the manuscript (the "notebook") assumed that Prosper's academic career followed the statutes as Glorieux understood them. This meant

⁹ Pelzer, *BAV Codices*, p. 680, believed that this initial quire was added in the fifteenth century, but provided no evidence to support his opinion.

¹⁰ Vat. lat. 1086, f. 14ra; *BAV Codices*, p. 654: "Quatenus de quibusdam recollectionibus Parisius disputatis super quattuor libros Sententiarum questiones contexerem..." The *terminus post quem* for the redaction in Vat. lat. 1086 is 1318 because it cites Johannes Paignote (ms: Pagnotte) OESA as "magister," and Paignote was regent in 1318 (*CUP* II, no. 774, p. 227), which is also the year in which Prosper was reassigned to Italy. The *terminus ante quem* is 1323 because Thomas Aquinas is never referred to as "saint." Thus, following Pelzer, F. Stegmüller, *Repertorium commentariorum in Sententias Petri Lombardi* I (Würzburg 1947), p. 341, stated "composuit c. 1318–1323." But that applies to the preparation of the manuscript and its redaction, not the reading of the *Sentences*, which has caused some confusion.

¹¹ Glorieux, "A propos," pp. 38–9; Glorieux II, p. 233.

a required four-year period of Parisian residence after lecturing on the *Sentences*, attending and participating in disputations and other academic exercises as a formed bachelor, before being licensed and incepting as master.¹² For Glorieux this interim between Prosper's lectures on the *Sentences* and his inception as master was the period in which the notebook was composed.

An alternative hypothesis deserves consideration. Nothing in the redaction of Prosper's commentary contained in Vat. lat. 1086 apart from the dedication connects it to Italy, and all those whose opinions are cited in the commentary were connected with Paris, with the possible exception of the Franciscan Robert Cowton, whose commentary on the *Sentences* Alfred B. Emden assumed to have been written at Oxford between 1303 and 1308, although others have argued for his Parisian doctorate.¹³ Moreover, all those cited were active at Paris before 1315, although two of them, James of Lausanne and John Paignote, were cited as masters in Prosper's commentary, a title they attained between 1315 and 1318.¹⁴ Put another way, the only evidence of up-dating concerns academic titles; apart from that, the actual contents (persons and arguments) reflect a pre-1315 Parisian environment.

Prosper's citation of James of Lausanne towards the beginning of his prologue (question 8) is particularly revealing. James was appointed by the Dominican Order to read the *Sentences* at Paris in 1314–15.¹⁵

¹² *CUP* II, no. 1188, p. 692: "bachalarii qui legerunt Sententias, debent postea prosequi facta facultatis per quatuor annos antequam licentientur... nisi papa per bullas, vel facultas super hoc faceret eis gratiam..."

¹³ A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to 1500* I (Oxford 1957), p. 507. Despite the statement of A.G. Little, *The Grey Friars in Oxford* (Oxford 1892), p. 222, that "there can be little doubt that he [Cowton] obtained the degree of D.D. in the latter University [Paris]," Emden rejected, for lack of evidence, the opinion of J. Bale, *Script. Illustr. Bryt.*, pt. I, p. 424, that Cowton studied theology at Paris. But Prosper's citation of Cowton in an otherwise entirely Parisian list provides a context for Bale's opinion, and in the late thirteenth century and opening decade of the fourteenth, the English province of the Franciscan Order was successful in sending its best candidates to Paris to complete their doctorate in theology: John Pecham, William de la Mare, William of Ware, John Duns Scotus, and William of Alnwick. The popularity of Cowton's commentary in England, which has come down in multiple redactions, is insufficient evidence to reject the possibility of a Parisian baccalaureate.

¹⁴ The reference to John Paignote as *magister* (of theology, since mendicants did not take the arts degree) occurs in the margin of 60r: "rationes m. Jo. pag^octe." He was the Augustinian regent at Paris in 1318 (*CUP* II, no. 776, p. 227), but his lectures on the *Sentences* dated earlier.

¹⁵ *CUP* II, no. 714, p. 172 (May 1314): "Assignamus ad legendum Sententias Parisius isto anno fratrem Jacobum de Lausanna."

Prosper cannot have heard James' arguments before he presented them at Paris in the fall of 1314. If these arguments and Prosper's responses belong to Prosper's prologue as presented at Paris, then, in light of the date of Prosper's inception as master, Prosper also read the *Sentences* in 1314–15. If, on the other hand, Prosper read the *Sentences* around 1310 and rewrote his prologue in Italy after 1318, why did he not incorporate the arguments of other Parisian theologians writing between 1314 and 1318, such as Peter Auriol OFM (*sententiarius* 1316–18) or Dionysius de Borgo San Sepolcro OESA (*sententiarius* 1317–18)?

Glorieux's depiction of Prosper's academic career was based on the assumption that a two-year reading of the *Sentences* was still current practice and that there had to be a four-year waiting period between reading the *Sentences* and inception as master. Since he also assumed that Prosper was absent from Paris for a year as vicar general of his order, that made a five-year interim. But whether those statutes were in force in the first two decades of the fourteenth century and, if so, whether they were applied to the mendicants is questionable. Pelzer assumed that the mendicant orders were allowed an exemption from that rule as long as their candidates had spent four years in residence at Paris at some point in their career.¹⁶ The case of John Duns Scotus is particularly revealing. Even assuming that Scotus spent a year in Paris before lecturing on books I and IV of the *Sentences* in 1302–03, he incepted as doctor of theology in 1305 after only one additional year (1304–05) in Paris.¹⁷ Only a few months separate Scotus' completion of his sentential lectures at Paris (books II and III) and his licensing in theology. Other examples are the Dominicans William of Lauduno, who read the *Sentences* in 1313–14 and was licensed in 1314, and Matthew Orsini, who read the *Sentences* in 1315–16 and was licensed in 1316.¹⁸ Peter Auriol is another example of receiving the license in theology shortly after completing his lectures on the *Sentences*, albeit in his case

¹⁶ Pelzer, "Prosper de Reggio," p. 349: "Promu maître en théologie à l'Université de Paris, le 1 mars 1316, Prosper y a été admis à lire les *Sentences* avant cette date, à une ou plusieurs années de distance, et cela après les neuf années réglementaires d'études théologiques, dont quatre au moins ont dû être passées à l'Université de Paris en vertu du privilège des augustins et des ordres mendiants auxquels on tenait compte de leurs années d'enseignement en d'autres couvents."

¹⁷ A. Callebaut, "Le B. Jean Duns Scot, étudiant à Paris vers 1293–1296," *AFH* 17 (1924), pp. 3–12; W.J. Courtenay, "Scotus at Paris," in *Via Scoti. Methodologica ad mentem Joannis Duns Scoti*, L. Sileo, ed., *Atti del Congresso Scotistico Internazionale*, Roma 9–11 marzo 1993, vol. I (Rome 1995), pp. 149–63.

¹⁸ On Lauduno, see *CUP* II, no. 696, p. 156; on Orsini, see *CUP* II, p. 172n.

through a letter from Pope John XXII to the chancellor at Paris.¹⁹ No such letter exists, or has survived, for Gerard Odonis, who read the *Sentences* in 1326–28, and who received the license and incepted in 1328 or early 1329.²⁰

Nothing prevents Prosper's having been promoted to the magisterium in the year following his lectures on the *Sentences*. Like Scotus, who had probably been sent to Paris earlier in his career for the lectorate program in theology and had already lectured on the *Sentences* at Oxford before being sent to Paris for the baccalaureate and doctorate, Prosper seems to have spent time at Paris and to have lectured on the *Sentences* at Milan before returning to Paris for the baccalaureate and doctorate.²¹ To assume that James' arguments were inserted later makes little sense and would entail rewriting a prologue Prosper had already composed and delivered. The simplest explanation is that Prosper and James read in the same year, 1314–15.

It must be admitted, however, that the structure and length of Prosper's prologue is unusual. It consists of forty-three questions arranged around the theme of the four causes and occupies slightly more than sixty-three folios of abbreviated text in double column. It is hard to imagine that he could have presented that much material before turning to questions on the distinctions of book I and the remaining three books. No statute specifies the number of questions to be treated as long as the bachelor commented on all four books, but the pace at which Prosper begins his commentary is slow. One suspects, therefore, that in the process of preparing his text for Bishop Hugolino, some expansion took place.

If Glorieux's dating of Prosper's time as *sententiarius* is open to question, so is his dating of the second part of Vat. lat. 1086, which comprises Prosper's collection of questions, including several *quodlibeta*. Glorieux assumed that this portion of the manuscript was assembled sequentially, after Prosper had read the *Sentences* and while he was a formed bachelor. Following Pelzer, he divided it into two groups of texts. Group A (ff. 101r–173v), in the hand of an unknown scribe, was allegedly assembled in 1311–12, and group B (ff. 176r–299v), in what

¹⁹ CUP II, no. 772, p. 225.

²⁰ See W.O. Duba's chapter in this volume.

²¹ See above, notes 2 and 3.

has been assumed to be Prosper's own hand,²² was dated by Glorieux to 1312–14. This was followed by Prosper's *Quodlibet* and other texts.

One problem with this chronology is that group A, ff. 156rb–157va, contains the questions Radulphus Brito disputed *in vespertiis*, at the time of his inception as master of theology, which apparently took place early in 1314.²³ It is also in this section that the questions *in vespertiis* and *in aula* of Thomas Wylton (ff. 164ra–164(bis)ra) and Durand of St Pourçain (ff. 164(bis)ra–166vb) occur, as well as Prosper's response *in Sorbona* and the *quodlibeta* of James of Ascoli, Gregory of Lucca, John of Mont-Saint-Éloi, Master Laurence (identified by Glorieux as Laurent le Breton, OP, and by Pelzer as Laurence of Poulangy of Val-des-Écoliers), Peter of Saint-Denis, Henry Amandi, Gerard of Saint-Victor, and Master Garinus. It also includes the treatise *Contra exemptos* of Giles of Rome, written in 1311–12. Because this portion of Vat. lat. 1086 (ff. 101r–173v) includes the questions of Radulphus Brito at the time of his inception, it was presumably compiled in or later than 1314. Its contents, however, need not (and in the case of Giles of Rome cannot) be presumed to have occurred during the academic year 1313–14.

Dating the copying of this portion of Vat. lat. 1086 to 1314 or later depends, therefore, on the date of the inception disputations of Radulphus Brito. In contrast to the mendicants, who were not held to a four-year waiting period between reading the *Sentences* and receiving the license in theology, there is no example of a secular theologian in this period receiving the license in less than four years as a formed bachelor. This does not mean there could have been no exceptions by way of a dispensation from regent masters in theology, but in the absence of such evidence the most likely scenario is that Radulphus, who read the *Sentences* in 1308–09, was licensed and incepted in the year before Prosper read the *Sentences*, namely in 1313–14.²⁴

²² One problem with this assumption is that there appear to be at least two different hands in this section.

²³ For the biography and academic career of Radulphus Brito, see Courtenay, "Radulphus Brito, Master of Arts and Theology," pp. 145–51. Radulphus completed the reading of the *Sentences* in 1309. As a secular clerk, the regulation in the statutes of the faculty of theology that required a four-year waiting period before licensing did apply to him. For the text of the statute, see above, note 12.

²⁴ Three decades later there is one example of a secular theologian receiving the license upon completion of his reading of the *Sentences*, namely Alphonsus Dionysii of Lisbon, but he was noble, had spent almost three decades at Paris in the faculties of arts, medicine, and theology, and already held a Parisian doctorate in medicine. He

Whether or not Radulphus Brito incepted in 1314, as seems most likely, this second part of Vat. lat. 1086 was not assembled by Prosper or his appointed scribe while Prosper was a formed bachelor, as Glorieux argued, but was assembled in the year or years *before* he read the *Sentences*, which makes more sense. He was collecting information that might be useful in preparing his own lectures and future disputations.

Unfortunately, Glorieux's dating this section (ff. 101r–173v) to 1311–12 and the following section (ff. 176r–299v) to 1312–14 has led, in turn, to the dating of a number of inceptions, regencies, and *quodlibeta* to those same years. For example, on the basis of two groups of questions attributed to Gerard of Saint-Victor, one in section A (ff. 119rb–vb) and a second group in section B (ff. 224r–v), Glorieux dated the first to 1311–12 and the second to 1312–13. But Gerard was already regent master in the faculty of theology at Paris by 1305 and was still regent master in 1317.²⁵ And while it is possible that he disputed quodlibetal questions in 1311–13, that assertion should not be based on the belief that the contents of the last half of Vat. lat. 1086 occurred sequentially across the years 1311–14. This applies just as much to the dating of Durandus' and Wylton's inceptions as it does to the various *quodlibeta*.

There are a number of unidentified bachelors or masters cited in Vat. lat. 1086, some of whom, as may well be the case with James of Lausanne, were fellow bachelors at the time Prosper was reading the

was also about to be appointed bishop of Idanha in Portugal. In the 1370s, when the evidence allows us to compare dates of *sententiarii* with their licensing, the period as a formed bachelor lasted four years, occasionally three: Franciscus Christophori, Johannes de Diodona, and Johannes Textoris were *sententiarii* in 1369–70 and were licensed in 1374; Hugo Lenvoisie and Henricus Heinbuch de Langenstein read in 1370–71 and were licensed in 1374 and 1375, respectively. The same waiting period can be documented for Stephanus Escaillart de Chalendry, Johannes Caillaudi de Quercu, Johannes de Trelon, Pierre d'Ailly, Herveus Sulven, and Franciscus Robini de Sancto Michael. There are also a few cases of secular theologians waiting far longer. In this same period there are a number of mendicants who received the license upon completion of the *Sentences*, or within a year. For the documentation on seculars, consult the entries for these theologians in *Rotuli Parisienses. Supplications to the Pope from the University of Paris*, eds. W.J. Courtenay and E.D. Goddard, vol. II: 1352–1378 (Leiden 2004). For promotions of mendicants in the early fourteenth century, see above, notes 16–19; for the later fourteenth century, the waiting time between completing the *Sentences* and licensing varied between two and four years, except for the Dominicans Arnulfus de Lasteria and Bernardus de Boscarello, who completed the *Sentences* in 1381 and 1383, respectively, and were licensed a few months later; see CUP III, nos. 1409, 1416, 1447, and T. Sullivan, *Parisian Licentiates in Theology, A.D. 1373–1500. A Biographical Register*, vol. I: *The Religious Orders* (Leiden 2004), pp. 16–17.

²⁵ CUP II, no. 658, p. 121; no. 751, p. 209.

Sentences. One of these is Magister Johannes Birchel, or Berchel, whose academic title may be in arts if he was a secular theologian. Another is Magister Jacobus de Corbolio, who is described in association with Godfrey of Fontaines and John of Pouilly, and who therefore was probably a secular theologian.

There has been some uncertainty regarding the “m<agister> Laur <entius>” cited in Vat. lat. 1086, and thus the authorship of the eleven quodlibetal or disputed questions attributed to him in that manuscript.²⁶ Opinions have ranged from Pelzer’s conjectures of Laurentius Anglicus OSB or Laurentius de Pollengio ex ord. Vallis Sclarium (Laurence of Poulangy) to Glorieux’s Laurent le Breton OP. Laurentius Anglicus OSB can probably be excluded, since his alleged association with Paris is based only on the assumption that he was the Master Laurence cited by Prosper.²⁷ This English Benedictine incepted as master of theology at Oxford in 1301 and later served on the commission at Avignon between 1318 and 1320 that condemned articles from Olivi’s commentary on the Apocalypse.²⁸ He is presumably the “frater Laurentius sacre theologie professor” who earlier in 1318 was among the doctors of theology at Avignon who condemned three opinions of a Franciscan.²⁹ It is also unlikely that Prosper was referring to Laurence of Poulangy, Prior General of Val-des-Écoliers in the late thirteenth century. Poulangy was active at Paris in the 1280s and 1290s, but the assumption that he was the Master Laurence cited by Prosper was based on the erroneous belief that Poulangy was the Laurentius de Valle Sclarium, master of theology, who was active at Paris between 1307 and 1310.³⁰ The latter, however, was Laurentius de Droco (Laurence of Dreux), prior of Val-des-Écoliers at that time.³¹ The last theologian by the name of Laurence active in this period was the one Glorieux eventually settled

²⁶ Glorieux II, p. 191.

²⁷ T. Sullivan, *Benedictine Monks at the University of Paris, A.D. 1229–1500. A Biographical Register* (Leiden 1995), pp. 21–3.

²⁸ CUP II, no. 790, pp. 238–9.

²⁹ CUP II, no. 760, p. 217.

³⁰ CUP II, p. 127, n. 3; Glorieux, *Répertoire* II, no. 383, p. 280; C. Guyon, *Les Écoliers du Christ: l'ordre canonial du Val des Écoliers* (St. Étienne 1998). Poulangy is a village near the Marne, between Langres and Chaumont, and near the mother house of Val-des-Écoliers.

³¹ Those attending the confession of the Grand Master of the Templars, Jacques de Molay, at the Temple in Paris on 25 October 1307, included “Laurencius de Droco de Valle Sclarium,” cited as “Laurencius prior Vallis Sclarium” at the meeting on the following day; see H. Finke, *Papsttum und Untergang des Templerordens* II (Münster 1907), pp. 307–13. Droco is Dreux in the diocese of Chartres.

on: Laurentius Brito (Laurence of Nantes), OP, who was bachelor of theology in October 1307 when he attended the second confession of the Templars, and was licensed in theology in February 1310.³² Laurence of Dreux of the Val-des-Écoliers, master of theology by 1307, and Laurence of Nantes, OP, master of theology in 1310, are equally good candidates for Prosper's "Master Laurence."

One of the most interesting individuals in this unidentified group is Ja[cobus] B',³³ whose questions are reported in the first group of the second half of the manuscript. He is never accorded the 'm' for magister but he was already disputing theological questions. The implication is that at the time his questions were reported he was a bachelor of theology in a religious order because, unlike secular theological students, he did not hold a master of arts degree and was not yet a master of theology. In Vat. lat 1086 and in many other manuscripts of this period, those in religious orders are often identified by first name and order, e.g., Gerardus Carmelita (Gerard of Bologna), Jacobus Minoris (James of Ascoli, OFM), or Simon Carmelita (Simon of Corbie). On that principle, and realizing that the hook mark after "B" should be read as "Ber.," the second part of "Jacobus Ber." could be *Bernardita*, a common way of referring to a bachelor from Saint-Bernard, the Cistercian house of studies at Paris.³⁴

There were three Cistercian theologians at Paris in this period by the name of James: James of Thérines, who was master of theology by 1307–08; James of Dijon, master of theology by 1310; and Jacques Fournier, master of theology in ca. 1314.³⁵ Since this Jac[obus]

³² Finke, *Papsttum* II, pp. 309–13; the date for his licensing comes from the list of Bernard Gui edited by H. Denifle in *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters* 2 (1886), p. 213; see also T. Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi* III (Rome 1980), p. 65.

³³ As such in the margin of 102vb and at bottom of 120vb, but as "Ja. B." immediately above the question on f. 117ra.

³⁴ Hugolino of Orvieto cites Peter Ceffons, the Cistercian bachelor, as "baccalarius de Sancto Bernardo" in 1348; John of Falisca in 1361 cites his fellow Cistercian bachelor as "Bernardista"; John Regis in 1369 cites James of Eltville, his fellow Cistercian bachelor, as "Jacobus Bernardita"; Peter Gracilis in 1376 cites the Cistercian bachelor, Robert de Voto, as "baccalarius Bernardi" and "Robertus de Voto Bernardi." While these examples are later in the fourteenth century, they follow a principle that can already be observed in Vat. lat. 1086.

³⁵ On James of Thérines, also known as Jacobus de Karoliloco (Chaaalis), see W.C. Jordan, *Unceasing Strife, Unending Fear. Jacques de Thérines and the Freedom of the Church in the Age of the Last Capetians* (Princeton 2005); Jacques de Thérines, *Quodlibets I et II*, ed. P. Glorieux (Paris 1958); and T. Sullivan's chapter in this volume. On James of Dijon and

Ber[nardita?] was not cited as master; the only one of the three who was a bachelor of theology in the 1310–14 period was Jacques Fournier, later Pope Benedict XII. This identification is only a hypothesis, but its potential significance merits listing the questions attributed to Jacobus Ber. in Vat. lat. 1086 along with those immediately following on the same or a similar theme:

First group:

Utrum persona constituatur in essentia per essentiale vel per relationem (f. 102vb–103ra)

Possible: Utrum attributum sit attributum formaliter per absolutum vel respectivum; hic implicatur utrum in divinis sit universale (f. 103ra–103rb)
[intervening questions by others]

Second group:

Utrum species sint in intellectu preter actum intelligendi (f. 117ra–117rb)

Possible: Utrum essentia divina possit esse ratio eliciendi actum beatificum (f. 117rb)

Possible: Utrum in voluntate quantum fides stat in intellectu (f. 117rb–117va)

Possible: Utrum actus dilectionis naturalis et supernaturalis differant specie (f. 117va)

Possible: Utrum Pater constituitur in esse per innascibilitatem (f. 117va–117vb)

[other intervening questions from “Bel. minor,” Gerard of Saint-Victor, and Gregory of Lucca]

q. 1: Utrum sanguis sit in corpore Christi in sacramento ex vi sacramenti (f. 121ra–121rb)

q. 2: Utrum substantia in corpus Christi conversa possit eodem numero reparari (f. 121rb–121va)

q. 3: Utrum religiosus thesaurizans pro persona sua in omni casu mortaliter peccet (f. 121vb)

Possible: Utrum existens in mortali peccato peccet mortaliter in ministrando sacramenta ecclesie (f. 121vb)

Possible: Utrum aliquis aliquo casu teneatur revelare confessionem (f. 121vb–122ra)

Finally, in the questions in the prologue and first distinction of his commentary on the *Sentences*, Prosper cites the following bachelors and masters active in the 1290–1315 period:

Jacques Fournier, see R.E. Lerner, “A Note on the University Career of Jacques Fournier, O. Cist., Later Pope Benedict XII,” *Analecta Cisterciensia* 30 (1974), pp. 66–9.

Alanus Brito [Gontier], mag, DTh by 1310 Alexander Ungarus [de Hungaria], OESA, mag., DTh ca. 1300 Alexander de Sancto Elpidio, OESA, mag., DTh in 1307 Angelus [de Camerino, OESA], DTh ca. 1295 Arnaldus [Roiardi], OFM, mag. Atroposmath. Atheniensis, doctor Augustinus [de Ancona], mag., DTh ca. 1313 Bertaldus, mag., [OFM?] Ç., mag. Durandus de Sancto Porciano, OP, mag., DTh 1312 Franciscus Caraccioli, mag., DTh by 1309, Cancellarius 1309–16 Gerardus de Bononia, OCarm, mag., DTh by 1307 Godfredus de Fontibus Gregorius de Lucca, OESA, mag., DTh by 1310 Guido Terreni, OCarm, mag., DTh by 1313 Guillelmus Anglicus, also cited as Ware, OFM, mag. Henricus de Allemania, OESA, mag., DTh by 1307 Henricus Amandi, mag. Henricus Anglicus [Harclay], mag. Hugo [de Novocastro], OFM, mag., DTh 1321 Jacobus, OFM, mag. [?Jacobus de Aesculo, OFM, DTh by 1310] Jacobus de Corbolio, mag. Jacobus de Lausanna, OP, <i>Sententiarius</i> 1314–15, mag.	Johannes Birchel or Berchel, mag. Johannes de Monte Sancti Eligii, OSA, mag., DTh by 1307 Johannes de Polliaco, mag., DTh 1307 Johannes de Napoli dictus Judeus, mag. [?identical with Johannes de Regina OP, DTh 1315] Johannes Paignote de Sancta Victoria, OESA, mag., BTh ca. 1310, DTh & regent 1317–18 Johannes de Parisius, OP, mag., DTh by by 1300 Laurentius, mag. [Laurentius de Droco de Valle Scolari, DTh by 1307, or Laurentius Brito de Nannetis, OP, DTh in 1310] Petrus de Palude, OP, mag., DTh 1314 Petrus de Sancto Dionysio, [OSB], mag., DTh by 1310 Radulphus Brito, mag., DTh by 1316, probably in 1314 Radulphus Normanus, mag., [de Hotot?, DTh by 1307] Ricardus, mag. [Robertus] Cowton Simon [de Corbeia], OCarm, mag., DTh ca. 1310 Thadeus [de Parma], mag. Thomas Anglicus [Wylton], mag., DTh between 1311 and May 1314 Thomas de Fabriano, OESA, mag. Yvo [?Cadomensis OP], mag., DTh 1312
---	---

Those who posed questions during Prosper's *disputatio in aula* in March 1316:

Alanus Gontier

Gerardus de Sancto Victore, OSA

Hervaeus Natalis, OP

Petrus de Sancto Dionysio, OSB

Those whose questions are collected (heard?) and copied in his notebook:

Alanus [Brito, Gontier], mag., DTh by 1310 Amadeus [de Castello, OESA], mag., DTh by 1312? Bel. [Ber.?] minor, OFM Ber. minor., OFM, mag. (same as previous?, or Bertrandus OFM, BTh by 1307 when present at the confessions of the Templars) Bertaldus, mag. (same as previous?) Durandus [de S. Porciano, OP], mag., DTh in 1312 (cites vespers and aula) Eckhardus, [OP], mag., licensed in 1302, regent in 1311–12 after being provincial Egidius [Romanus, OESA, DTh c. 1280] [Franciscus Caraccioli, mag., DTh by 1309], Cancellarius 1309–1316 Garinus, mag. (<i>Quodlibet</i> added in margin) Gerardus [de Bononia] Carmelita, mag., DTh by 1307 Gerardus de Sancto Victore, OSA, mag., DTh by 1307/08 Godfredus de Fontibus Gregorius Lucanus [de Lucca], OESA, mag., DTh by 1310 Guido Carmelita [de Perpiniano, Terreni], OCarm, mag., DTh by 1313 Henricus de Alemania, OESA, mag., DTh by 1307/08 Henricus Amandi, mag. Henricus de Gandavo Herveus [Natalis, OP], DTh by 1307 Hugo [de Novocastro], OFM, mag. 1321 J. minoris, OFM (131v)	Ja[cobus de Aesculo], OFM, mag., DTh by 1310 Ja[cobus] Ber. [?]Jacobus Bernardita, OCist] Jacobus [de Viterbio, OESA] Johannes Birchel or Berchel, mag. Johannes [Duns] Scotus, [OFM], mag., DTh 1305 Johannes de Monte Sancti Eligii, OSA, mag., DTh by 1307 Johannes de Polliaco, mag. DTh 1307 Johannes de Sancto V. (or Ber.), mag. [perhaps = Johannes Pagnota de S. Victoria, OESA; or Joh. de Sancto Victore, OSA; or Joh. de Sancto Bernardo, OCist] Johannes Vallis Scol[arium], OSA, mag., DTh by 1314 Laurentius, mag. [Laurentius de Droco de Valle Scolari, DTh by 1307, or Laurentius Brito de Nannetis, OP, DTh in 1310] Martinus [de Abbatisvilla], OFM, mag., DTh after June 1310 Pe[trus] de Alv[ernia] Petrus de Sancto Dio[nysio, OSB], mag., DTh by 1310 Radulphus Britonis, mag., DTh by 1316, probably in 1314 (cites vespers) [Robertus] Cowton Salo[mon] Simon de Carmelo [de Corbeia, OCarm], mag., DTh ca. 1310 Thomas Anglicus [Wylton], mag., DTh between 1311 and 1314 (cites vespers) Witelo Yvo [?]Cadomensis OP, DTh 1312]
---	---

THE *QUODLIBETA* OF THE CANONS REGULAR AND THE MONKS

Thomas Sullivan, OSB

Teaching and learning played an important role in the spiritual and intellectual lives of the medieval religious orders. In the thirteenth century, dissatisfied with the education offered in their internal schools, monks and canons turned to the universities for the intellectual formation of their brightest students. After an initial canonical opposition between cloister and school, and with the cooperation of the University of Paris and the papacy, a way was found by the Dominican friars to reconcile the *disciplina* of the cloister with the *doctrina* of the University. The Dominicans arranged in 1221 for *magister* John of Barastre,¹ royal chaplain and dean of Saint-Quentin, to provide them with instruction in theology; this enabled them to receive the most advanced and sophisticated theological training of the day without having to leave their cloister, the future Couvent Saint-Jacques.²

Other religious quickly followed the Dominican example by founding houses of study in Paris: the Benedictines of Saint-Denis as early as 1229–30, the Friars Minor about 1238, the Cistercians in 1246, the Canons Regular of Prémontré in 1252,³ the Canons Regular of Val-des-Écoliers about 1250–54,⁴ and the Cluniac Benedictines in 1258–60. These *studia* joined the religious houses already established at Paris: the Canons Regular of Saint-Victor, the Canons Regular of Sainte-Geneviève, the Cluniac Benedictines of Saint-Martin-des-Champs, the Benedictines of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, and others. So rapid was the growth and significant the presence of the religious at the University that tensions between them and the University were inevitable. A witness to these stresses was the circular letter drafted in 1254 by

¹ R. Aubert, "Jean de Barastre," *Dictionnaire d'histoire et géographie ecclésiastique* (herein-after *DHGE*) XXVI, col. 1221.

² S.C. Ferruolo, *The Origins of the University. The Schools of Paris and Their Critics, 1100–1215* (Stanford 1985), pp. 312–13.

³ B. Ardura, *Prémontrés. Histoire et Spiritualité* (Saint-Étienne 1995), pp. 186–90.

⁴ C. Guyon, *Les Écoliers du Christ. L'ordre canonial du Val des Écoliers 1201–1539* (Saint-Étienne 1998), p. 226.

the University concerning its grievances against the religious orders; further witness is the questions asked quodlibetal masters concerning the *status perfectionis*.⁵

During the period of the mendicant controversy (1250–70) and the sixty years beyond (1270–1330), seventeen monks and canons regular are known to have or thought to have produced *quodlibeta*, eight canons regular and nine monks. The canons include a master from the abbey of Saint-Victor in Paris, Gerard; three from the abbey of Mont-Saint-Éloi: Servais of Guez, Andrew of Orchies, and John of Maroueil;⁶ two from the abbey of Val-des-Écoliers: an anonymous master—Laurence of Poulangy?—and John du Val; one Premonstratensian canon from the abbey of Vicogne, John of Tongres; and one canon of an unknown monastery or congregation, James of Aaleus. The nine monastic quodlibetal masters count two Benedictine monks: Peter of Saint-Denis⁷ and Pierre Roger (the future Pope Clement VI); two Cluniac Benedictines: Albert and Guy of Cluny; and five Cistercians: Guy of l'Aumône, John of Waarde, James of Thérines, Rainier Marquette of Clairmarais, and Nicholas of Vaux-Cernay.

The *quodlibeta* assigned to fifteen of these masters are found in different manuscripts and in different forms. The questions of ten of them appear in the brief extracts or summaries offered in the collections of Nicholas of Bar-le-Duc⁸ and Prosper of Reggio Emilia, OESA.⁹ Nicholas's col-

⁵ *CUP* I, no. 230, p. 253. See also C.H. Lawrence, *The Friars. The Impact of the Early Mendicant Movement on Western Europe* (London-New York 1994), pp. 152–61; L. Duval-Arnauld, "Mendicants and Seculars, Quarrel of," in *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*, ed. A. Vauchez (Chicago 2000), vol. II, p. 939.

⁶ While these three canons generally appear identified in discussions of quodlibetal questions under the name of their monastery or congregation, either Gervais or Servais of Mont-Saint-Éloi (Glorieux I, p. 133), André of Mont-Saint-Éloi (Glorieux II, p. 61), and John of Mont-Saint-Éloi (Glorieux II, p. 156), the names supplied in this paper for the quodlibetal authors from among canons regular of Mont-Saint-Éloi are provided in O. Barubé, *L'Abbaye du Mont-Saint-Éloi des origines au XVI^e siècle* (Arras 1977), pp. 168–9. They are also found in idem, "La collégiale du Mont-Saint-Éloi, des origines à 1350," *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France* 61 (1975) (pp. 227–30), p. 230.

⁷ Glorieux, *Répertoire* I, p. 448, includes Peter of Saint-Denis among the secular masters. The reasons for Peter's inclusion among the monastic quodlibetal masters will be discussed below.

⁸ Paris, BnF lat. 15850. The Parisian manuscript is described in detail in R. Macken, *Bibliotheca Manuscripta Henrici de Gandavo*, 2 vols. (Leuven-Leiden 1979), I, pp. 634–44.

⁹ BAV, Vat. lat. 1086. The manuscript is presented in significant detail in *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Codices manu scripti recensiti. Codices Vaticani Latini*, t. II, pars prior. *Codices 679–1134*, ed. A. Pelzer (Vatican City 1931), pp. 654–83. The collection is discussed in A. Pelzer, "Prosper of Reggio Emilia, des Ermites de Saint-Augustin, et le manuscrit latin 1086 de la Bibliothèque de Vaticane," *Revue Néo-Scholastique de Philosophie*

lection (Paris, BnF lat. 15850, ff. 10r–42v) presents in summary form 170 quodlibetal questions argued in the 1290s (most from the earlier part of that decade) and between 1300 and 1304 by eighteen different Parisian masters of theology. Canons regular and monks in Nicholas's collection include Guy of Cluny, OClun (ff. 19v–20v; ff. 40v–41r), Rainier Marquette of Clairmarais, OCist (ff. 35r–35v; ff. 38v–39r), and Andrew of Orchies, OSA Mont-Saint-Éloi (ff. 41v–42r). Unnamed but partially identified masters include a theologian named twice as “abbas sancti bernardi” (ff. 18v–19v) and another labeled “M. de Walle Scolarium” (ff. 34v–35r). Glorieux identified these two masters as either John of Waarde, OCist, or John Sindewint, OCist, in the first case, settling finally on John of Waarde,¹⁰ and either Laurence of Poulangy, OSA Val-des-Écoliers, or John of Châtillon, OSA Val-des-Écoliers, in the second case, settling finally on John of Châtillon.¹¹ Glorieux's identifications are problematic and will be discussed later.

Prosper of Reggio Emilia's collection of *reportationes* (BAV, Vat. lat. 1086, ff. 101r–299v) presents the *quodlibeta* of one monk and three canons regular: Peter of Saint-Denis, OSB (ff. 111r–112v, ff. 252r–255v, ff. 225v–257r), Gerard of Saint-Victor, OSA Saint-Victor (f. 119r–v, f. 224r–v), John of Maroeuil, OSA Mont-Saint-Éloi (ff. 126r–128r, ff. 217r–220v), and John du Val, OSA Val-des-Écoliers (ff. 226r–227v). In addition to these four theologians, Prosper's collection includes quodlibetal questions of a master whose name has been abbreviated to “M. Laure.” (ff. 122r–137r). Scholars have suggested various possibilities for the identification of this theologian. Pelzer proposed either Laurence l'Anglais, OSB, or Laurence of Poulangy, OSA Val-des-Écoliers;¹² Glorieux put forward the Dominican Laurence Le Breton, rejecting another Dominican, Laurence of Fougères.¹³ The canon regular of Val-des-Écoliers Laurence of Dreux, active in the first part

30 (1928), pp. 316–51, and in P. Glorieux, “A propos de ‘Vatic. lat. 1086’. Le personnel enseignant de Paris vers 1311–14,” *RTAM* 5 (1933), pp. 23–39. In this present volume, W.J. Courtenay discusses the dating and nature of the contents in Prosper's collection: “Reflections on Vat. lat. 1086.”

¹⁰ Glorieux I, p. 232, n. 2; II, p. 199; P. Glorieux, “Notices sur quelques théologiens de Paris de la fin du XIII^e siècle,” *AHDLMA* 3 (1928) (pp. 201–38), p. 213.

¹¹ Glorieux I, p. 236, n. 3; II, p. 199; Glorieux, “Notices,” pp. 233–4.

¹² Pelzer, “Prosper of Reggio Emilia,” p. 339.

¹³ Glorieux II, p. 191.

of the fourteenth century, presents someone hitherto unmentioned as a candidate.¹⁴ These identifications will be discussed later.

The quodlibetal questions of six masters—James of Aaleus, OSA; Servais of Guez, OSA Mont-Saint-Éloi; James of Thérines, OCist; Guy of l'Aumône, OCist; Pierre Roger, OSB; and Nicholas of Vaux-Cernay, OCist—are each found in disparate manuscripts.¹⁵

Finally, we only know of Albert of Cluny's *Quodlibet* from the description of a manuscript in a catalogue of the abbey of Saint-Victor in Paris.¹⁶ The same is true for the *Quodlibeta* of John of Tongres, OPraem, known only because of their inclusion in the literary histories of his religious order.

Canons Regular

Canons Regular of Mont-Saint-Éloi

Among the many eleventh-century foundations of canons regular that of Mont-Saint-Éloi is of great interest to students of quodlibetal literature. The clergy living there were organized into a community living under an abbot and a rule about 1068 by Liétbert, bishop of Arras (1051–76). The community flourished locally, with six dependent priories, but never grew to a size such that it could have been considered a congregation.¹⁷ In the second half of the thirteenth century, however, the abbey enjoyed a prolonged period of intellectual brilliance out of proportion to its place in the ecclesiastical world. This was largely the work of John of Barastre, prior of Mont-Saint-Éloi before his election as abbot in 1248, a man whose abbacy was marked by zeal for both learning and religious observance. John was held in high esteem by King Louis IX, who made the abbey the spectacular gift of a thorn

¹⁴ Guyon, *Les Écoliers du Christ*, p. 233.

¹⁵ James of Aaleus: Paris, BnF lat. 14899, ff. 162r–167v; Servais of Guez: Paris, BnF lat. 15350, ff. 269r–291r; James of Thérines: Paris, BnF lat. 15565; Guy of l'Aumône: Paris, BnF lat. 14891, ff. 191v–209r; Pierre Roger: BAV, Borghese 89, ff. 63r–89v; Nicholas of Vaux-Cernay: an unnumbered manuscript held by the Cistercian abbey of Tamié, ff. 155v–159v.

¹⁶ *Les manuscrits de l'Abbaye de Saint-Victor: catalogue établi sur la base du répertoire de Claude de Grandrue (1514)*, ed. G. Ouy, 2 vols. (Turnhout 1999), I, p. 255; II, p. 98 (M 7).

¹⁷ For the history of the foundation and early growth of the abbey, see Barubé, *L'Abbaye du Mont-Saint-Éloi*.

from the Crown of Thorns, brought to France from Constantinople in 1239–41.¹⁸

Under Abbot John's guidance at least two canons would be sent to Paris for studies: Stephen of Fermont and Servais of Guez. Andrew of Orchies and John of Maroeuil may have in turn been sent to Paris during the abbacy of Stephen of Fermont or, more likely, that of Servais of Guez. Each of these four—Stephen, Servais, Andrew, and John—was *magistratus* in theology with *quodlibeta* assigned to the latter three.¹⁹ Subsequent abbots of Mont-Saint-Éloi would also be involved with the University of Paris in different capacities. Nicholas of Duisans, abbot from 1324 until his death in 1350, was *magistratus in theologia* at Paris. Michael Coulon, abbot of Mont-Saint-Éloi probably from about 1350 until 1361, along with the abbot of Saint-Bertin, drew up the statutes for the Collège de Becoud in November 1357. Finally, Nicholas de Noulette, abbot from March 1363 to November 1388, earned the baccalaureate in theology.²⁰

Servais of Guez

Servais of Guez,²¹ a native of Arras, a canon of Mont-Saint-Éloi, and the student of Stephen of Fermont, succeeded his master as regent, after having been licensed in theology and *magistratus* about 1277–79, dates consonant with Glorieux's suggestion that Stephen of Fermont possibly exercised regency as late as 1279.²² According to Hauréau, Servais attended a meeting of doctors in theology in December 1282, called by William of Mâcon, the bishop of Amiens, to debate the papal bull *Ad fructus uberes*, published that year.²³ His name, however,

¹⁸ A man conspicuous for his holiness, John of Barastre was popularly granted the title of "beatus" (R. Aubert, "Jean de Barastre," *DHGE* XXVI, cols. 1271–2). This abbot of Mont-Saint-Éloi should not be confused with the previously mentioned John of Barastre, dean of Saint-Quentin and first master of theology for the Dominicans.

¹⁹ Glorieux, *Répertoire* II, pp. 283–8; Barubé, "La collégiale," pp. 227–30; Barubé, *L'Abbaye du Mont-Saint-Éloi*, pp. 168–9.

²⁰ D. Sainte-Marthe, *Gallia Christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa quas series et historia archiepiscoporum episcoporum et abbatum ab origine ecclesiarum ad nostra tempora*, 16 vols. (Paris-Rome 1865–1875), III, cols. 429–30; R. Cazelles, "Pierre de Becoud et la fondation du collège de Boncourt," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 120 (1962) (pp. 55–103), p. 98.

²¹ R. Hissette, "Une question quodlibétique de Servais du Mont-Saint-Éloi sur le pouvoir doctrinal de l'évêque," *RTAM* 49 (1982) (pp. 234–42), pp. 234–5 n. 1, presents a discussion of the orthography of our subject's name.

²² Glorieux, *Répertoire* II, p. 285.

²³ B. Hauréau, "Guillaume de Maçon," *Histoire littéraire de la France* (hereinafter *HLF*) XXXV (Paris 1869), p. 387. Servais appears here under the name "Salvari."

does not appear in a *responsum* given by the Faculty of Theology in November 1282 dealing with repeated confessions.²⁴ A letter written by the bishop of Amiens in February 1287 indicates that Servais was still regent in 1286.²⁵ A reference in the *Domus Sorbonicae historia* suggests that Godfrey of Fontaines was a student of Servais (as well as of Henry of Ghent).²⁶ At Stephen of Fermont's death in 1291, Servais was elected abbot of Mont-Saint-Éloi. After governing Mont-Saint-Éloi and its congregation for twenty-two years, Servais died on 27 January 1314. The *Gallia Christiana* informs us that "fuit in poenitentia austerus, in studiis assiduus, in confessionibus audiendis sedulus" and that he had served as councilor to Count Robert of Artois.²⁷

Servais's academic career was distinguished: he presided over a series of quodlibetal disputations, earned a reputation as an accomplished preacher, and served as dean of the Faculty of Theology. His extant works include eight or nine sermons²⁸ and the eighty-five quodlibetal questions found in Paris, BnF lat. 15350, ff. 269r–292r.²⁹ After presenting the questions in his first volume on *quodlibeta*, Glorieux later apportioned them into eight *quodlibeta*, assigning the first *quodlibet* to the academic year 1282–83 and the eighth to 1289–90, with *quodlibeta* for each succeeding year after the first.³⁰ Glorieux may have been too optimistic about his division of the *quodlibeta* into various years: the selection of questions and determinations with its strong concentration on questions

²⁴ CUP I, no. 510, pp. 595–6.

²⁵ CUP II, no. 543, p. 13.

²⁶ See M. De Wulf, *Un théologien-philosophe du XIII^e siècle. Étude sur la vie, les œuvres et l'influence de Godefroid de Fontaines* (Brussels 1904), p. 17; J.F. Wippel, *The Metaphysical Thought of Godfrey of Fontaines* (Washington, DC 1981), p. xix n. 23.

²⁷ R. Aubert, "Gervais du Mont-Saint-Éloi," *DHGE* XXII, cols. 1086–7; *Gallia Christiana* III, col. 429.

²⁸ J.B. Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150–1350*, 11 vols. (Münster, Westfalen 1969–1990), II, pp. 185–6; V, p. 399, lists eleven sermons attributed to Gervais of Mont Saint-Éloi and one more for a Seucianus of Mont Saint-Éloi (most likely the Servais under discussion here).

²⁹ Paris, BnF lat. 15350 is described thoroughly in Macken, *Bibliotheca manuscripta Henrici de Gandavo* I, pp. 577–88. Servais's questions are described on p. 584. The description indicates that the manuscript contains *quodlibeta* of Thomas Aquinas, Henry of Ghent, Giles of Rome, Giles of Lessines, James of Viterbo, and Peter of Auvergne, in addition to those of Servais of Guez. The manuscript was owned by Godfrey of Fontaines and willed to the Collège de Sorbonne on Godfrey's death.

³⁰ Glorieux I, pp. 133–9; P. Glorieux, "Les Quodlibets de Gervais du Mont-Saint-Éloi," *RTAM* 20 (1953), pp. 129–34.

of conscience or morality appears more the result of a redactor's interest than of chronological sequencing of questions and *quodlibeta*.³¹

Economic Issues: Many of Servais's questions address issues of economic exchange and value; of all his questions these have attracted the most attention. We find in his manuscript questions taking up commodity (*bladum*) sales with a time element (which we might call "futures") (qq. 13–14).³² Others treat the permissibility of life rents (*redditus ad vitam*) (q. 25),³³ money changing (*campsonia*) (q. 26), whether it is sinful to keep wealth *extra necessitatem* (q. 28), and the effect of possessions on the life of perfection (q. 31). Servais also attended to three questions relating to usury: the wages of usurious money (q. 42), profit from property acquired by usurious money (q. 71), and alms given from usurious profit (q. 72).³⁴ In responding to these questions, Servais and other masters are thought to have "redescribed current [economic] practices in terms of incorporeal rights," thus granting the money economy "a kind of autonomy."³⁵

Teaching and Preaching: At least three of the questions directed at Servais show interest in understanding the role of the master of theology in the Church and society. In question 40, he was asked whether disputing and teaching were more advantageous than preaching; in question 43, he discussed the quality of preaching appropriate for a master of theology. While question 69 appears on the surface to be concerned with a confessor's knowledge of theology, Servais turns the

³¹ S. Piron's chapter in this volume concerning the Nicholas of Bar collection of questions suggests that only five of the 85 questions do not concern themselves with moral issues or matters of confession (Piron, "Nicholas of Bar's Collection," p. 337).

³² G. Ceccarelli, "'Whatever' Economics," in *Theological Quodlibeta* I, pp. 487–9.

³³ Ceccarelli, "'Whatever' Economics," pp. 500–1.

³⁴ See O. Langholm, "Three Masters of the *quodlibet*, and a Critic: Gerald of Abbeville, Gervais of Mont-Saint-Éloi, Godfrey of Fontaines, Bernard of Auvergne," in idem, *Economics in the Medieval Schools. Wealth, Exchange, Value, Money and Usury according to the Paris Theological Tradition 1200–1350* (Leiden 1992) (pp. 276–98), pp. 283–8; I.P. Wei, "Predicting the Future to Judge the Present: Paris Theologians and Attitudes to the Future," in *Medieval Futures. Attitudes to the Future in the Middle Ages*, J.A. Barrow and I.P. Wei, eds. (Woodbridge 2000) (pp. 19–36), pp. 23–4; I.P. Wei, "Intellectuals and Money: Parisian Disputations about Annuities in the Thirteenth Century," *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library* 83 (2001) (pp. 71–94), pp. 79–82; I.P. Wei, "Paris Theologians and Responses to Social Change in the Thirteenth Century," in *Tradition, Innovation, Invention. Fortschrittsverweigerung und Fortschrittsbewusstsein im Mittelalter*, H.-J. Schmidt, ed. (Berlin 2005) (pp. 195–209), pp. 201–2, 205–6; Ceccarelli, "'Whatever' Economics," pp. 493–7.

³⁵ Wei, "Paris Theologians," p. 208.

question into a discussion of the role of masters and prelates in determining more arduous problems.

Question 40 asked Servais to compare the value of teaching and disputing in the Church with the value of preaching and to decide which is more meritorious. Servais determined that the act of preaching was less valuable for the Church because of the inherent difficulty of the task of teaching and disputing (it was more difficult to explain something than merely assert it) and the goal of teaching and disputing was to defend the faith and provide the wherewithal for preaching.³⁶

In question 43, Servais was asked by his questioner whether or not a preacher refusing to give a colleague an already prepared sermon was guilty of a mortal sin. Servais saw no evil in refusing to hand over a sermon to a colleague because there were different circumstances in which it would be possible to repeat the sermon. While some preachers could copy from notebooks or manuals, the master's responsibility, because of his elevated teaching role, was to present original compositions—the faithful expected more from a master of theology than from other preachers.³⁷ This elevated status was operative in Servais's response to a questioner (q. 69) who sought to learn whether ordinary confessors were obliged to know which sins were mortal and which sins were venial. In his determination, he stated that confessors did not have to have such knowledge but did have to realize that they should turn to the experts for help in difficult cases.³⁸

Jews and Baptism: Servais responded to a question (q. 29) ostensibly concerning the murder of Christian boy by a Jew. The focus of the question is not so much the "blood libel" but baptism's effect on the debt due for sin. A Jew has murdered a boy (presumably a Christian) and fled to a church where he is baptized. Can the boy's parents bring a legal case against the Jew or does the Jew's baptism wipe away all the debt due to sin? In his determination, Servais distinguished between

³⁶ J. Leclercq, "L'idéal du théologien au moyen âge," *Revue des sciences religieuses* 21 (1947) (pp. 121–48), pp. 129–30; I.P. Wei, "The Self-Image of the Masters of Theology at the University of Paris in the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 46 (1995) (pp. 398–431), pp. 418–19 and nn. 40–6.

³⁷ J. Leclercq, "Le magistère du prédicateur au XIII^e siècle," *AHDLM* XV (1946) (pp. 105–47), p. 124; Wei, "Self-Image," pp. 419–20 and nn. 47–9.

³⁸ Wei, "Self-Image," pp. 407–8 and nn. 22–3; E. Marmursztejn, "A Normative Power in the Making," in *Theological Quodlibeta* I, pp. 355–6 and n. 30.

the debt for sin owed to God and that owed to men: the debt to God is wiped out by baptism; that to human beings remains.³⁹

The Mendicant Controversy: An issue to which one of Servais's questioners makes allusion is that of the relationship between the mendicant and secular clergy as it pertains to confession. In November 1282, members of the Parisian Faculty of Theology, regent and non-regent alike, declared that penitents who had properly confessed to a religious priest need not confess again to their parish priest.⁴⁰ Masters from the religious orders signing the document (including *frater* Albert, OClun and prior of Montdidier, a quodlibetal master) outnumbered the secular theologians. Missing from the signatories, however, is Servais of Guez, who might have been expected to participate in the deliberations, since we know he preached as a regent master this year and had attended a meeting in November called on the same topic. The bishop of Amiens, William of Mâcon (mentioned above), wrote in 1287 that the masters who disputed "de Quolibet" that year—Henry of Ghent, Godfrey of Fontaines, Servais of Guez, and Nicholas du Pressoir—all determined that all those absolved by a mendicant priest had to repeat the confession to their parish priest. Glorieux suggests that Servais's question 54 and its determination is the one to which William of Mâcon was referring.⁴¹

Immediately following the question on repeated confessions, the redactor of the manuscript placed a question dealing with a quodlibetal master's refusal to accept a question posed for disputation out of fear of giving offence—does such a master commit a mortal sin? It is likely that this question (q. 55) was born from the refusal of certain Dominican and Franciscan masters in 1286 to answer questions pertaining to the

³⁹ The question reads: "Utrum parentes habeant actionem contra Iudaeum qui interficiens filium eorum fugit ad ecclesiam et ibi fecit se baptizari" and is edited in G. Dahan, "Juifs et judaïsme dans la littérature quodlibétique," in *From Witness to Witchcraft. Jews and Judaism in Medieval Christian Thought*, J. Cohen, ed. (Wiesbaden 1996) (pp. 231–45), pp. 243–4, with discussion pp. 228–9.

⁴⁰ CUP I, no. 510, pp. 595–6; see also W.J. Courtenay, "The Parisian Faculty of Theology in the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries," in *Nach der Verteilung von 1277: Philosophie und Theologie an der Universität von Paris im letzten Viertel des 13. Jahrhunderts. Studien und Texte*, J.A. Aertsen, K. Emery, Jr., and A. Speer, eds. (Berlin 2000) (pp. 235–47), p. 236.

⁴¹ The question reads: "Utrum superior abbas possit conferre inferiori, ut monacho suo, potestatem absolvendi de his quae pertinent ad superiorem, tali conditione apposita quod confessi et absoluti ab illis inferioribus teneantur redire ad illum superiorem et iterum confiteri de illis" (Glorieux I, pp. 133, 137). See also Courtenay, "Parisian Faculty of Theology," p. 236, n. 4.

mendicant privileges.⁴² Servais's determination argued that a master's responsibility was to the truth and that he should never refuse telling the truth if greater harm among the faithful would be the result of his refusing to preach the truth out of fear.⁴³

Last Wills and Testaments: Elizabeth Brown, in an article treating of the legislation of Pope Boniface VIII on the division of corpses, looks at three *quodlibetal* questions dealing with King Philip IV's division of his father's body, flouting Boniface's decrees and his father's wishes. Questions were posed to three masters for discussion and determination in *quodlibeta* held sometime after 1286: Servais and Godfrey of Fontaines were asked about the liceity of modifying someone's last will and testament⁴⁴ and Henry of Ghent was questioned about an institution's obligation to maintain the integrity of the corpse of someone who did not wish his body to be divided after his death. In his response, Servais addressed the issue of corpse division, holding the position that separation or division of corpses was a novelty—horrible and monstrous—and arguing that integral corpses would be better prepared for resurrection. Above all, Servais maintained that the intentions of the dead person should be respected unless some overriding concern arises.⁴⁵

Unjust Censures: In voicing the question "Utrum si primas vel episcopus condemnavit aliquos articulos illicite, successor suus tenatur illos revocare" (q. 61),⁴⁶ Servais's questioner may not have been responding to a particular historical event, but may have had in mind the series of condemnations issued in 1277 by Bishops Étienne Tempier and Robert

⁴² The question reads "Utrum magister in theologia disputans de quolibet, qui renuit accipere quaestionem sibi propositam quia tangit aliquos quos timet offendere, peccet in hoc mortaliter" (Glorieux I, pp. 133, 137).

⁴³ The question is edited and discussed in Leclercq, "L'idéal du théologien," pp. 132–4; Wei, "Self-image," p. 424 and nn. 56–7.

⁴⁴ Servais's q. 58 reads: "Utrum alius a papa, utpote haeres defuncti, vel monachi vel presbyteri ubi elegit sepulturam vel executores testamenti possint immutare aliquid circa ultimam voluntatem defuncti, videlicet quo aliquis non sepeliatur in loco quo elegit sepulturam" (Glorieux I, p. 137).

⁴⁵ E.A.R. Brown, "Death and the Human Body in the Later Middle Ages: The Legislation of Boniface VIII on the Division of the Corpse," *Viator* 12 (1981), pp. 221–70, especially pp. 237–41. The edition of Servais's q. 58 appears on pp. 269–70. See also E.A.R. Brown, "Authority, the Family, and the Dead in Late Medieval France," *French Historical Studies* 16 (1990) (pp. 803–32), pp. 818–19.

⁴⁶ Note that a similar question was addressed to Godfrey of Fontaines in his *Quodl.* XII, q. 5: "Utrum episcopus Parisiensis peccet in hoc quod omittit corrigere quosdam articulos a praedecessore suo condemnatos" (Glorieux I, p. 164).

Kilwardby or Archbishop John Pecham's at Oxford in 1284 and 1286.⁴⁷ In discussing a bishop's authority in doctrinal matters, Servais grants bishops qualified doctrinal authority. He determined that bishops have only judicial authority to censure teaching as erroneous and claimed that such condemnations may be reversed by a successor.⁴⁸

Finally, there is an edition of Servais's determination in response to a question concerning the devolution of the *potestas clavium* from pope to minor prelate (q. 80). Servais suggests that the power comes from God and not necessarily through the pope.⁴⁹

Andrew of Orchies

A canon of Mont-Saint-Éloi, Andrew of Orchies⁵⁰ was probably sent to Paris for theological studies by the abbot of Mont-Saint-Éloi, Stephen of Fermont,⁵¹ and was likely *magistratus* in 1303.⁵² Successor to Servais of Mont-Saint-Éloi as regent master for his order, he was present at three meetings held in Paris in February 1304. The first, on 25 February, was a meeting of the *taxatores* establishing the prices for exemplars available for copying.⁵³ The second took place on 26 February 1304, this time at the Collège de Sorbonne, to discuss the election of procurators; the next day, he met with other masters of theology to determine how often the *procurator major*'s accounts should be reported.⁵⁴

Andrew is credited with a sermon⁵⁵ preached at Paris on the third Sunday of Lent (Paris, BnF lat. 3557, f. 163) in either 1285⁵⁶ or in 1302.⁵⁷ His appearance in University records at the beginning of the

⁴⁷ J.M.M.H. Thijssen, *Censure and Heresy at the University of Paris 1200–1400* (Philadelphia 1998), pp. 97–9; Hissette, “Une question quodlibétique,” pp. 235–6.

⁴⁸ Thijssen, *Censure and Heresy*, p. 97l; Marmursztejn, “A Normative Power,” p. 365.

⁴⁹ B.G. Guyot, “Gervais du Mont-Saint-Éloi, Quolibet, q. 80,” *AHDMLA* 28 (1961), pp. 159–61; see also Marmursztejn, “A Normative Power,” p. 376, n. 117; Lamberini, “Political *Quodlibeta*,” in *Theological Quodlibeta* I, p. 459. This question appears in *Quodlibet* I.

⁵⁰ Orchies is a small town about 40 km northwest of the city of Arras. Andrew also appears under the names of Andrew of Mont-Saint-Éloi, Andrew of Auchy, and Andrew of Anchin.

⁵¹ A. Noyon, “André du Mont Saint-Éloi,” *DHGE* II, col. 1684.

⁵² Schneyer, *Repertorium* I, p. 287.

⁵³ *CUP* II, no. 642, p. 107.

⁵⁴ *CUP* II, no. 617 (note), p. 91; Glorieux, *Aux origines* I, pp. 206–7.

⁵⁵ Schneyer, *Repertorium* I, p. 287.

⁵⁶ *HLF* XXVI, p. 460; A. Lecoy de la Marche, *La chaire française au Moyen Age* (2nd ed., Paris 1886), pp. 178, 498.

⁵⁷ Glorieux, “Notices,” pp. 237–8.

fourteenth century would seem to favor Glorieux's dating of the sermon to 1302. Glorieux, suggesting that the post of *taxator* mentioned above was always given to recently promoted masters, draws the conclusion that Andrew was *magistratus* in 1303 (as previously mentioned) and that Andrew's *Quodlibet* may possibly be dated sometime around 1303 or 1304.⁵⁸ The six questions attributed to him and found in Nicolas of Bar-le-Duc's collection (Paris, BnF lat. 15850, ff. 41r–42r) are, like those of Servais, focused on either questions of practical morality such as usury (q. 1) and benefices (qq. 3–4) or on questions of sacramental practice such as the consecration of hosts at Mass (q. 2) or the recitation of the Divine Office (qq. 5–6).⁵⁹

John of Maroeuil

Another canon regular of Mont-Saint-Éloi, John of Maroeuil⁶⁰ was *magistratus in theologia* sometime between 1304 and 1307. He taught as regent master for his order, likely in succession to his master, Andrew of Orchies.⁶¹ John appears for the first time as a master on 25 March 1308 as a member of the commission consulted concerning the Templars; though not named in the text of the document, his appended seal is one of the fourteen identified by the editors of the *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*.⁶² He appears among the twenty-one masters of theology condemning Marguerite Porete's *Miroir* on 11 April 1309.⁶³

John of Maroeuil is thought to have authored a number of academic works: a few *quaestiones disputatae* from 1311–14 (BAV, lat 1086, ff. 105r, 139r; BAV, Borghese 156, ff. 124v–126r);⁶⁴ extracts from John's work are quoted in Prosper of Reggio Emilia's Prologue to book I of

⁵⁸ Glorieux, "Notices," pp. 205–6, 209.

⁵⁹ Paris, BnF lat 15850, ff. 41rb–42ra; Glorieux II, p. 200.

⁶⁰ Maroeuil, the site of the Abbaye Sainte-Bertille, is a small town a few kilometers from Mont-Saint-Éloi.

⁶¹ R. Aubert, "Jean du Mont-Saint-Éloi," *DHGE* XXVIII, col. 309.

⁶² *CUP* II, no. 664, p. 127 (note).

⁶³ *CUP* III, p. 660; P. Verdeyen, "Le procès d'inquisition contre Marguerite Poret et Guiard de Cressonessart (1309–1310)," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 81 (1986), pp. 47–94 (text of condemnation of Marguerite Porete's *Miroir* on p. 50 and repeated on p. 56). Of the 21 masters appending their seals to this *consilium* at least ten and probably eleven appear among the quodlibetal masters listed in Glorieux I and II; four are named monks or canons regular (Peter of Saint-Denis, OSB; Gerard of Saint-Victor, OSA; James of Thérines, OCist; and John of Maroeuil, OSA Mont-Saint-Éloi). A fifth master is listed as "the prior of Val-des-Écoliers," perhaps Laurence of Dreux.

⁶⁴ Pelzer "Prosper of Reggio Emilia," p. 333.

the *Sentences*.⁶⁵ More to our purposes are two of the *Quodlibeta* which Prosper's student notebook assigned to John: the first, a *Quodlibet* of four questions; the second, with eleven questions (BAV, Vat. lat. 1086, ff. 126–128, ff. 217–220 respectively).⁶⁶ John's first *Quodlibet* addresses theological questions, such as the Word of God (q. 1), the beatific vision (q. 2), and knowledge of God (q. 4); the second deals more with the realities of life in the Church, such as oaths (q. 1); possessions held in common (q. 2); confessions obtained by torture (q. 3); the obligation of restitution, gambling, and usury (qq. 4, 10); and papal or princely powers (qq. 5, 9).⁶⁷ When John of Maroeuil was asked about a prelate's need for theological training (*Quodlibet* II, q. 8), he responded to the question by stating that, in general, a prelate should have theological training; if he had none, he would be in a sinful state because he was attempting something of which he was incapable.⁶⁸

In one case we are fortunate to possess more than just Prosper of Reggio Emilia's brief summary. The title of question 4 of John of Maroeuil's first *Quodlibet* in Vat. lat. 1086 is identical to that found in question 5 of the *Miscellaneae quaestiones de formalitatibus* (formerly attributed to John Duns Scotus; currently only the first question carries that attribution). A comparison of the text of *Miscellanea* question 5 with the short *reportatio* provided by Prosper indicates that the *Miscellanea* question contains about seven pages of what is likely either a transcription or complete *reportatio* of John of Maroeuil's *Quodlibet* I, q. 4, embedded in an unknown author's response to John's question.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ BAV, Vat. lat. 1086, f. 19r. Pelzer, "Prosper of Reggio Emilia," p. 339; see S.F. Brown, "*Due Candelabra Parisiensia*. Prosper of Reggio Emilia's Portrait of the Enduring Presence of Henry of Ghent and Godfrey of Fontaines Regarding the Nature of Theological Study," in *Nach der Verurteilung von 1277*, Aertsen, Emery, and Speer, eds. (pp. 320–56), pp. 332, 335–6.

⁶⁶ Pelzer, "Prosper of Reggio Emilia," pp. 333, 343, 499; Glorieux, "À propos," pp. 27–8, 34, 37.

⁶⁷ Glorieux II, pp. 156–7.

⁶⁸ See Leclercq, "L'idéal du théologien," pp. 125–6, where he presents an edition of q. 8 of John's *Quodlibet* II ("Utrum prelatus possit tenere statum prelationis non instructus in theologia"). See also Wei, "Self-Image," pp. 405–6.

⁶⁹ The question title reads: "Utrum perfectissimus conceptus possibilis haberi de Deo sit conceptus entis infiniti" (BAV, Vat. 1086, ff. 127r–128r). The correspondence of question titles is pointed out by Glorieux (Glorieux II, p. 156, n. 2; Glorieux, "À propos," p. 37). The author would like to thank the anonymous Brill reader for this information.

Canons Regular of Saint-Victor

The abbey of Saint-Victor was founded in Paris by William of Champeaux, canon and *scolasticus* of Notre-Dame in Paris around 1108. The early Victorines numbered among their ranks scholars, mystics, and poets, including Adam, Hugh, Richard, and Walter of Saint-Victor. The congregation grew—by foundation and affiliation—until it numbered about seventy abbeys and priories.⁷⁰ The University of Paris in 1237 recognized the abbey *studium* as a university college with resident instruction;⁷¹ the recognition required that there be at least four students provided with special financial resources. By the early fourteenth century the house seemed to have fallen on hard times, as the discussion of Gerard of Saint-Victor will indicate.

Gerard of Saint-Victor

A document drawn up by the Faculty of Theology about 1317 asked Pope John XXII to help the abbey of Saint-Victor, known to be in economic straits. Gerard of Saint-Victor and another canon of the house were appointed by the faculty to carry the letter to Avignon; the document notes Gerard as having been a regent master of theology for twelve years⁷² (indicating that Gerard was probably *magistratus* about 1305). Sometime between 1304 and 1306, members of the Faculty of Theology wrote a letter of recommendation to King Philip IV for a scholar of theology; Gerard of Saint-Victor, one of these masters, appears in sixth place (followed by the Cistercian quodlibetal master James of Thérines).⁷³ He was one of the masters consulted in the matter of the Templars in March 1308⁷⁴ and one of those condemning Marguerite Porete's *Miroir*.⁷⁵ In May 1317, the Faculty of Theology appealed to the abbot of Lagny-sur-Marne, Deodat of Séverac, OSB,⁷⁶

⁷⁰ P.-R. Gaussin, *L'Europe des ordres et des congrégations. Des Bénédictins aux Mendiants (VI^e-XVI^e siècle)* (Saint-Étienne 1984), p. 148.

⁷¹ CUP I, no. 111, p. 159.

⁷² CUP II, no. 751, p. 209.

⁷³ CUP II, no. 658, p. 121.

⁷⁴ CUP II, note to no. 664, p. 127.

⁷⁵ Verdeyen, "Le procès d'inquisition."

⁷⁶ T. Sullivan, *Benedictine Monks at the University of Paris, A.D. 1229–1500. A Biographical Register* (Leiden 1995), pp. 315–6.

a master of theology of Paris, to help with the provisioning of Bernard de Gamaches, a theologian studying under Gerard.⁷⁷

Prosper of Reggio Emilia's collection of *reportationes* attributes two *Quodlibeta* of five and twelve questions respectively to Gerard (BAV, Vat. lat. 1086, ff. 119r–v, f. 224r–v). The questions range from the meta-physical to the practical: are there two filiations in Christ (I, q. 1)? Is the food Christ has eaten assumed with his body at the Ascension (II, q. 2)? Is the source of the Church's *potestas ordinaria* Christ or the pope (II, q. 8)? Does tithing arise from natural law or divine (II, q. 11)?⁷⁸

Canons Regular of Prémontré

The abbey of Prémontré was founded in 1120–21 by Norbert of Xanten; its canons followed the Rule of St Augustine supplemented by a very austere observance. The order grew to around 660 houses in the thirteenth century, with about 130 houses in France.⁷⁹ The Collège Sainte-Anne was founded in Paris in 1252 by the abbot of Prémontré, Jean de Rocquigny, to serve both as a *studium* for the education of young canons and as a townhouse for himself and his successors, often obliged to come to Paris on the order's business.⁸⁰ Noted as the order's *collegium* in 1254,⁸¹ the college numbered twenty-one *socii* by 1329–30.⁸² The Collège Sainte-Anne would flourish over the next two centuries, producing numerous theologians and canon lawyers.⁸³

In 1924, Martin Grabmann made mention in the *Acta Hebdomadae Thomisticae Romae* of a question he had noted in Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek lat. 2165, f. 142v, entitled “Quod esse non fluit ab essentia in aliquo genere suo”; the question was determined at Paris in a *duplex quodlibet* held by “magister Johannes Premonstratensis” and “frater

⁷⁷ CUP II, no. 760, p. 203; W.J. Courtenay, “John XXII and the University of Paris,” in *La Vie culturelle, intellectuelle et scientifique à la cour des papes d'Avignon*, J. Hamesse, ed. (Turnhout 2006) (pp. 237–54), p. 241.

⁷⁸ Glorieux II, p. 96.

⁷⁹ Gaussin, *L'Europe*, pp. 151–2.

⁸⁰ CUP I, no. 214, pp. 238–40.

⁸¹ CUP I, no. 230, p. 253.

⁸² CUP II, no. 1184, p. 663; W.J. Courtenay, *Parisian Scholars in the Early Fourteenth Century. A Social Portrait* (Cambridge 1999), p. 222.

⁸³ Ardura, *Prémontrés*, p. 187; see also J. John, *The College of Prémontré* (Notre Dame 1953).

Stephanus" in 1279.⁸⁴ Glorieux was of the opinion that Stephen of Fermont, OSA Mont-Saint-Éloi, Parisian master of theology and regent, is the "*frater Stephanus*" mentioned, that *magister* John of Prémontré is actually the Cistercian master, John of Waarde, and that John of Paris (Quidort) was the author of the note.⁸⁵ He suggested that a "duplex quodlibet" referred to two persons, the determining master and the responding bachelor.⁸⁶ As Valvekens relates, other scholars questioned Grabmann's reading of the date as 1279, suggesting that it is actually 1299. If the correct reading is 1299, then Stephen of Fermont could not be the Stephen under consideration: his regency is dated about 1274; sermons attributed to him are dated 6 December 1274 and 20 January 1275; and he died on 15 August 1279.⁸⁷

John of Tongres, OSA Prémontré

Valvekens suggests, however, that *magister* Johannes Premonstratensis could be either John of Tongres, abbot of the Premonstratensian abbey of Vicogne from 1301 to 1303, or John of Prisches, abbot of the same house from 1307 to 1312.⁸⁸ While John of Prisches has an *Alphabetum vitae religiosae* listed among his writings and no scholastic works,⁸⁹ John of Tongres is credited by the historians of his order as having authored six books of commentary on the *Sentences*, three books of quodlibetal questions, and a book of ordinary *Quaestiones disputatae*.⁹⁰ It is likely then that the *magister* Johannes Premonstratensis is John of Tongres.

⁸⁴ M. Grabmann, "Doctrina S. Thomae de distinctione reali inter essentiam et esse ex documentis ineditis saeculi XIII illustratur," in *Acta hebdomadae thomisticae Romae* (Rome 1924) (pp. 131–90), pp. 141–5; the text of the question is presented on pp. 142–4. On p. 144, Grabmann presents us with the last line of the question: "Nota quod pro predicto articulo determinaverunt Parisiis anno Domini 1279 magister Johannes Premonstratensis et frater Stephanus in suo duplici quolibet, scilicet quod esse non fluit ab essentia in aliquo genere suo."

⁸⁵ Glorieux II, pp. 187, 311.

⁸⁶ See Glorieux II, pp. 35–6, and Wippel, "Quodlibetical Questions," p. 181 n. 70.

⁸⁷ Glorieux suggests that the attribution of the *quodlibet* itself to Stephen of Fermont is doubtful (Glorieux, *Répertoire* II, p. 285). See also *HLF* XXVI, p. 401; *Gallia Christiana* III, c. 425; Barubé, *L'Abbaye du Mont-Saint-Éloi*, pp. 168–9.

⁸⁸ J.B. Valvekens, "Johannes Praemonstratensis," *Analecta praemonstratensia* 30 (1954), pp. 129–32.

⁸⁹ *Gallia Christiana* III, col. 464; L.C. Van Dyck, "Jean de Prisches," *DHGE* XXVII, col. 478.

⁹⁰ *Gallia Christiana* III, col. 464; L.C. Van Dyck, "Jean de Tongres," *DHGE* XXVII, cols. 719–20; J. Le Paige, *Bibliotheca Praemonstratensis Ordinis* (Paris 1633), col. 306.

John of Tongres was sent to Paris for studies and there became a *magister theologiae*. In 1301 he was elected abbot of Vicogne, his house of profession, which he governed until 1303 when he resigned the abbacy to become a Franciscan friar. The canons graciously allowed John to take with him books and anything pertaining to his studies; these were to be returned to Vicogne at his death. Not only his books were returned to Vicogne at his death but also his body: he was buried in the cloister near the entrance to the chapter room.

Frater Stephanus remains unidentified; he is perhaps a Premonstratensian bachelor of theology responding in one of John of Tongres's quodlibetal disputations.

Canons Regular of Val-des-Écoliers

The monastery of Val-des-Écoliers was founded in 1201 by four "masters" of the University of Paris who wished to exchange the schools of Paris for the true school, that of the service of the Lord.⁹¹ They established themselves as canons regular following the Rule of St Augustine and customs inspired by those of the Canons Regular of Saint-Victor.⁹² The congregation, approved by Pope Honorius III in 1215, grew to number twenty-eight priories.⁹³ After the motherhouse itself, the most important dependency was Sainte-Catherine in Paris, founded in 1229.⁹⁴

In the two decades immediately following their foundation, the canons of Sainte-Catherine had little or no interchange with the University. It was only in the second half of the thirteenth century that the Écoliers moved to the Left Bank and the Latin Quarter. In 1250 they were granted two houses behind the church of Saint-Étienne-des-Grès, almost facing the Dominican Couvent Saint-Jacques. For the first time, in 1254, there is mention of a college belonging to the Écoliers⁹⁵ and, on 24 June 1259, mention is made of the order's first *magister theologie*.

⁹¹ C. Guyon, "Rive droite, rive gauche. Le Val des Écoliers et ses relations avec les milieux intellectuels parisiens au XIII^e siècle," in *Lector et compilator. Vincent de Beauvais, frère prêcheur. Un intellectuel et son milieu au XIII^e siècle*, S. Lusignan and M. Paulmier-Foucart, eds. (Grâne 1997) (pp. 267–86), p. 271.

⁹² C. Egger, "Canonici Regolari di *Vallis Scholarium*," in *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione*, 10 vols. (Rome 1974–2003), II, cols. 84–5; Gaussin, *L'Europe*, pp. 189–90; Guyon, *Les Écoliers*, pp. 21–80.

⁹³ Guyon, *Les Écoliers*, p. 81.

⁹⁴ Guyon, *Les Écoliers*, p. 92.

⁹⁵ *CUP* II, no. 230, p. 253.

The General Chapter of the Order of Val-des-Écoliers, meeting in 1274, recommended to the priors of the order's houses that they send students to the college with a pension amounting to 100 *s.p.*⁹⁶

Thirteen regent masters from the congregation of Val-des-Écoliers are noted between 1259 and 1334: Évrard of Voulaines, Gregory of Burgundy, Giles of Montmirail, Gauthier, Laurence of Poulangy, John of Châtillon, John of Bray, Laurence of Dreux, John du Val, Gerard of Troyes, John of Sedeloos, James de Royallieu, and Peter of Verberie.⁹⁷ Of these thirteen masters, only two are thought to have authored surviving *quodlibeta*, with the possibility of a third.⁹⁸

Magister de Valle Scholarium

An unnamed canon, noted by Nicholas of Bar-le-Duc as “M de Walle scolari” (*Magister de Valle Scholarium*), took part in a *quodlibet* presenting only two questions of moral theology: the payment of debts and observance of the Sabbath rest (Paris, BnF lat. 15850, f. 34v).⁹⁹ Glorieux proposed John of Châtillon as the quodlibetal master and assigned a date of 1294–95 to the disputation.¹⁰⁰ Given Piron's suggestion that John of Châtillon was regent for only one year, 1297–98, between the regencies of Laurence of Poulangy and John of Bray,¹⁰¹ then if Glorieux's dates of 1294–95 are correct (or even a bit late, based on Piron's general dating), the more likely candidate for the brief *quodlibet* is Laurence of Poulangy.¹⁰² Laurence was a religious of the priory of Sainte-Catherine in Paris and a student of the order's second master of theology, Gregory of Burgundy. He preached a number of sermons in 1283 and attended the inventory of the priory's library in 1288.¹⁰³ Laurence served as prior of Val-des-Écoliers—and therefore General of the order—between 1297 and 1302, perhaps even later, although assertions that he was the Master Laurence of the Val-des-Écoliers active at Paris in 1307–10 confuse Laurence of Poulangy with Laurence of

⁹⁶ Guyon, *Les Écoliers*, pp. 226–7.

⁹⁷ Glorieux, *Répertoire* II, pp. 275–81; Guyon, *Les Écoliers*, pp. 227–48.

⁹⁸ Glorieux II, pp. 151–2, 186.

⁹⁹ Glorieux II, pp. 151–2; Glorieux, “Notices,” pp. 202, 233–4; Guyon, *Les Écoliers*, pp. 239–40.

¹⁰⁰ Glorieux II, p. 151; Guyon, *Les Écoliers*, pp. 232, 239.

¹⁰¹ Piron, “Nicholas of Bar's Collection,” pp. 342–3.

¹⁰² See Guyon, *Les Écoliers*, pp. 231–2, on Laurence of Poulangy.

¹⁰³ Lecoy de La Marche, *La chaire française au Moyen Âge*, pp. 178, 519–20; A. Franklin, *Les anciennes bibliothèques de Paris* I (Paris 1867), p. 198.

Dreux (see below).¹⁰⁴ On the other hand, Laurence of Poulangy is probably the “magister de Valle Scolarium” responsible for a large disputed question—possibly quodlibetal—on the procession of the Holy Spirit, dating to the mid-1280s and contained in Assisi, Biblioteca del Sacro Convento 158, ff. 128va–133vb.¹⁰⁵

John du Val

John du Val or Duval¹⁰⁶ is one of those “minor” masters about whom next-to-nothing is known except the extracts of ten questions from his *quodlibet* found in Prosper of Reggio Emilia’s miscellany (BAV, Vat. lat. 1086, ff. 226r–228r).¹⁰⁷ John’s questions range from the speculative to the practical: vicious habits (q. 1), the effects of mortal sin on one’s ability to avoid further mortal sin (q. 2), priestly celibacy (q. 3), angels in the first instance of their creation (q. 5), conscience (q. 9), moral habits (q. 10). Schabel notes that the fourth question, on the univocity of the concept of being (q. 4), is of significant length, reaching a total of one hundred lines.¹⁰⁸

“M. Laure”

As mentioned above, Prosper of Reggio Emilia’s collection of *reportationes* includes a *quodlibet* of eleven questions (Vatican, BAV, Vat. lat. 1086, ff. 122r–137r) and many other disputed questions attributed to a “M. Laure,” variously identified as Laurence l’Anglais, OSB, Laurence of Poulangy, OSA Val-des-Écoliers, and Laurence Le Breton, OP.¹⁰⁹ Courtenay, in his study of Prosper of Reggio Emilia’s collection of questions in this volume, settles on Laurence Le Breton, OP, and Laurence of Dreux, OSA Val-des-Écoliers, as the best candidates for Prosper’s “M. Laure,” considering both Laurence l’Anglais, OSB, and Laurence of Poulangy, OSA Val-des-Écoliers, as rather unlikely possibilities. He notes that there is no evidence that Laurent l’Anglais, a *magister theologie* of Oxford, studied or taught at Paris either before or after becoming

¹⁰⁴ Courtenay, “Reflections,” p. 353.

¹⁰⁵ C. Schabel, “A *Tractatus* on the Distinction of the Holy Spirit from the Son by a Master of the Val des Écoliers,” *MPP* 35 (2006) (pp. 184–214), pp. 188–91, with edition on pp. 197–214.

¹⁰⁶ R. Aubert, “Jean du Val des Écoliers,” *DHGE* XXVII, cols. 748–9.

¹⁰⁷ Glorieux II, p. 186; Pelzer, “Prosper of Reggio Emilia,” p. 389; Glorieux, “À propos,” pp. 27, 29; Guyon, *Les Écoliers*, p. 240.

¹⁰⁸ Schabel, “*Tractatus*,” pp. 189–90.

¹⁰⁹ The total number of questions attributable to this Laurence may be over 30, according to Schabel, “*Tractatus*,” p. 190 and n. 25, who provides a transcription of a question on trinitarian relations.

master at Oxford in 1301 or before his sojourn at Avignon beginning in 1318. As for Laurence of Poulangy, the historiography identifying him as the order's Master Laurence active at Paris after 1307 overlooks that, at the trial of the Templars in October of that year, he is called "Laurentius de Droco de Valle Scolarium" and the next day "Laurencius prior Vallis Scolarium," obviously the same person, "de Droco" being "of Dreux."¹¹⁰ A religious of Sainte-Catherine in Paris, Laurence of Dreux was *magistratus* in theology sometime after 1300¹¹¹ and served as prior of Sainte-Catherine after 1302 and prior of Val-des-Écoliers by 1307.¹¹²

James of Aaleus, O.S.A.

A canon regular named James of Aaleus (of an unknown house or congregation) is known by means of a *reportatio* of a Lenten *Quodlibet* of twelve questions, disputed or determined on Tuesday after the fifth Sunday of Lent in 1285 (13 March 1285) (Paris, BnF lat. 14899, ff. 162r–167v).¹¹³ While the rubric of f. 162 mistakenly describes the *quodlibet* as "Questiones de quolibet a magistro Eustachio et Salvatio," the attribution may signal the redactor's knowledge of *quodlibeta* by Servais of Mont-Saint-Éloi and a *Magister* Eustace.¹¹⁴

James of Aaleus is probably the Jacobus Dalos appearing as one of the University *taxatores* for houses in 1286 (pace Glorieux I, p. 209), along with Giles of Rome.¹¹⁵ Often assigned to masters recently *magistratus*, his appointment as *taxator* suggests that James may have been *magistratus* in the academic year 1284–85 or thereabouts.¹¹⁶ He may also be the James des Alleus who preached a sermon entitled "Ut filii lucis ambulate."¹¹⁷

James's *quodlibet* is fairly typical: three questions concerning the soul (qq. 1–3), one dealing with the desire for wealth (q. 4), and four con-

¹¹⁰ Courtenay, "Reflections," pp. 353–4.

¹¹¹ C.E. Du Boulay, *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis*, 5 vols. (Paris 1665–73), V, p. 891.

¹¹² Guyon, *Les Écoliers*, p. 233.

¹¹³ Glorieux I, pp. 209–10; B. Hauréau, *Notices et extraits de quelques manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 6 vols. (Paris 1890–93), III, pp. 276–94; R. Aubert, "Jacques d'Aleus," *DHGE* XXVI, cols. 614–15.

¹¹⁴ Glorieux II, p. 316.

¹¹⁵ *CUP* II, no. 556, p. 28.

¹¹⁶ Glorieux I, p. 209.

¹¹⁷ Schneyer, *Repertorium* III, p. 1.

cerning sin and confession (qq. 5–6, 8–9). The seventh question asked him to determine a complicated case concerning entrance into religious life (q. 7). The last three questions deal with issues concerning Christ's human will, multiple accidents existing in a subject, and the glorified body (qq. 10–12).¹¹⁸

Monks

Monachi Nigri. The Order of Saint Benedict

As noted above, the monastic orders were not slow in imitating the successful combination of *disciplina* and *doctrina* accomplished by the Dominican friars of the Couvent Saint-Jacques.¹¹⁹ For many years it was thought that the Cistercians were the first monks to set up colleges.¹²⁰ A contemporary clue to the fact, however, that the *monachi nigri* were probably the first can be found in Matthew Paris's *Chronica majora* in his account of the *mirabilia* occurring between 1200 and 1250. Among the "prodigies and amazing novelties" Matthew lists for that half-century is the foundation of the Cistercian house of studies at Paris: "The Cistercian monks, following in the footsteps of the order of the Black monks, having obtained a papal dispensation and constructed suitable buildings in Paris and elsewhere where the community of scholars flourished, took up studies lest they be held in contempt by the Preachers and Minors."¹²¹ In whose footsteps were they following? We cannot be sure but it is possible that Matthew was referring to the house of studies initiated at the University of Paris by the royal abbey of Saint-Denis sometime before 1229–30, when it appears in the abbey's administrative

¹¹⁸ Glorieux I, pp. 209–10.

¹¹⁹ See U. Berlière, "Les collèges bénédictins aux universités du moyen-âge," *Revue Bénédictine* 10 (1893), pp. 145–58.

¹²⁰ See, for instance, C.H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism. Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (3rd edition, Harlow 2001), p. 193.

¹²¹ R. Vaughan, *Chronicles of Matthew Paris: Monastic Life in the Thirteenth Century* (Gloucester 1984), p. 276. The text reads in Latin "Monachi Cistercienses, ex dispensatione papali, constructis competentibus aedificiis Parisius et alibi, ubi viget universitas scolarium, student ne Praedicatoribus et Minoribus contemptui habeantur, Nigri ordinis monachorum vestigia subsequentes" (Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. H. Richards Luard, 7 vols. [London 1872–1883] V, p. 195).

records: an expense of 35 *livres* borne by the abbey “pro domo fratrum nostrorum scholarum (sic) parisiensi, usque ad tres annos.”¹²²

Other monasteries from among the *monachi nigri* would found Parisian houses of study or at least attempt a foundation. The abbot of Fleury decreed in 1248 that ten monks with an aptitude for study would reside at the abbey’s priory in Orléans to study theology there; the best of these would complete their theological studies at the Parisian *studium*.¹²³ In 1259, the General Chapter of the Order of Cluny approved Abbot Yves de Vergy’s project of a house of studies in Paris for monk-students of the *ordo cluniacensis*. Aware that monks of the order were already at Paris following courses there, the chapter fathers felt that these monastic scholars would benefit from a monastery or house of studies in the city where the Cluniac *conversatio* would be fostered in spite of the many temptations Paris provided.¹²⁴ In 1329, Geoffroy of Plessis founded the Collège de Marmoutier for the monks of that monastery and its dependent houses; the university *computus* for that year indicates that twenty monks were resident in that house.¹²⁵

Peter of Saint-Denis

Prosper of Reggio Emilia’s collection of theological questions contains three *Quodlibeta* of Peter of Saint-Denis (BAV, Vat. lat. 1086, ff. 111r–112v, ff. 252r–255v, ff. 255v–257r).¹²⁶ In addition to Peter’s *Quodlibeta*,

¹²² Paris, Archives Nationales, LL 1157 (Cartulaire blanc de Saint-Denis), f. 124r. See J. Depoin, “Comptes de la préceptorie de l’abbaye de Saint-Denis-en-France (XIII^e–XV^e siècles),” *Revue Mabillon* 13 (1923), p. 243; D. Nebbiai-dalla Guarda, “Le collège de Paris de l’abbaye de Saint-Denis-en-France,” in *Sous la règle de saint Benoît. Structures monastiques et sociétés en France du Moyen Âge à l’époque moderne* (Geneva 1982) (pp. 461–88), pp. 463, 485; T.J. Sullivan, *Studia Monastica: Benedictine and Cluniac Monks at the University of Paris, 1229–1500* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1982), p. 165.

¹²³ *CUP* I, nos. 170–1, pp. 200–1, and no. 190, p. 218. See also H. Denifle, “Das erste Studienhaus der Benedictiner an der Universität Paris,” *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters* 1 (1985), pp. 570–83; A. Vidier, “L’hôtel de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire à Paris (1258–1421),” *Bulletin de la société de l’histoire de Paris et l’Île de France* 40 (1913), pp. 204–14.

¹²⁴ See P. Anger, *Le collège de Cluny fondé à Paris dans le voisinage de la Sorbonne et dans le ressort de l’Université* (Paris 1912); J. Leclercq, “Les études universitaires dans l’ordre de Cluny,” in *Mélanges bénédictins publiés à l’occasion de XIV^e centenaire de la mort de Saint-Benoît par les moines de l’abbaye de Saint-Jérôme de Rome* (Abbey de Saint-Wandrille 1957), pp. 351–71.

¹²⁵ *CUP* II, no. 587, p. 63; Berlière, “Collèges bénédictins,” pp. 153–4; Sullivan, *Studia Monastica*, pp. 144–64.

¹²⁶ Glorieux II, pp. 221–2; Pelzer, “Prosper of Reggio Emilia,” pp. 495, 499.

the collection also presents a *quaestio disputata* of his concerning venial sin and charity as well as interventions in the vespers of Durand of St Pourçain held in 1312 and the *aulica* of Prosper of Reggio Emilia (held on 1 March 1316).¹²⁷ Furthermore, two sermons are attributed to Peter, the first preached on 30 November 1305 and the second on Septuagesima around 1313–15.¹²⁸ Finally, Little and Pelster make note of an *opinio* of Peter in the notebook of questions from Paris in the 1310s contained in Worcester Q 99, f. 102r.¹²⁹

Peter appears to have been active in the Parisian Faculty of Theology possibly as early as ca. 1304 and as late as 1316. Sometime between 1304 and 1306, he was one of the theologians recommending a scholar in theology to King Philip IV.¹³⁰ He was present among the masters of theology condemning the writings of Marguerite Porete on 11 April 1309. In the first text Peter is named without religious order; in the second, however, he is listed as “Petrus de Sancto Dionysio, Ordinis Sancti Benedicti” and for this reason is counted among the authors of quodlibetal materials from among the monks and canons regular.¹³¹ It should be noted, however, that Hauréau, in his short article on Peter of Saint-Denis in the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, relates that Peter stated in one of his sermons that the exemption the religious orders enjoyed had the effect of protecting heretics—a claim that does not seem to be of the sort an exempt religious would make. Hauréau suggests that he is the Peter of Saint-Denis who appears as *officialis* of Rouen in 1300 and who, after having taught theology at Paris, returned to Rouen as archdeacon of the French Vexin.¹³²

¹²⁷ Glorieux, *Répertoire* I, p. 448.

¹²⁸ Glorieux, *Répertoire* I, p. 448; Schneyer, *Repertorium* IV, p. 802.

¹²⁹ A.G. Little and F. Pelster, *Oxford Theology and Theologians, c. A.D. 1282–1302* (Oxford 1934), p. 326.

¹³⁰ CUP II, no. 658, p. 121. A Petrus de Sancto Dyonisio is listed in the *computus* of 1329–30; it is possible that he is the master under discussion here, though he did not pay the tax customary for a *magister theologie* (CUP II, no. 1184, p. 666; Courtenay, *Parisian Scholars*, pp. 202–3, 232).

¹³¹ R.E. Lerner, “An ‘Angel of Philadelphia’ in the Reign of Philip the Fair: The Case of Guiard of Cressonessart,” in *Order and Innovation in the Middle Ages. Essays in Honor of Joseph R. Strayer*, W.C. Jordan, B. McNab, and T.F. Ruiz, eds. (Princeton 1976), pp. 343–64 (text of condemnation of Guiard de Cressonessart, p. 361). The author is grateful to Prof. William J. Courtenay for bringing this article to his attention. See also Verdeyen, “Le procès d’inquisition,” pp. 50, 56.

¹³² B. Hauréau, “Pierre de Saint-Denis,” *HLF* XXVII, pp. 428–30, esp. p. 429; V. Tabbagh, *Fasti Ecclesiae Gallicanae. Répertoire prosographique des évêques, dignitaires et chanoines des diocèses de France de 1200 à 1500. 2. Diocèse de Rouen* (Turnhout 1998), p. 325.

Only one of Peter's determinations appears to have been edited, *Quodlibet* II, q. 10: "Utrum praedicator qui dimittit praedicare ne revoctetur iterum ad praedicandum peccet mortaliter." Peter states that it is not sinful for a preacher to defer preaching until a more opportune time unless he delays preaching in expectation of a better benefice, for instance.¹³³

Laurence l'Anglais

A contemporary of Peter of Saint-Denis and Pelzer's first suggestion for Prosper of Reggio Emilia's "M. Laure.," Laurence l'Anglais, OSB, was a monk of Gloucester Abbey and a *magister theologiae* of the University of Oxford in June 1301 and a regent master there in 1302. It was thought that he studied at Paris in 1312/13 and lectured as regent master there in the academic year 1317–18, but the reasoning is circular in that it relies in large part on the Vat. lat. 1086 citation itself. It is unlikely that the Benedictine Laurence is connected to the questions in Prosper's notebook.¹³⁴

Pierre Roger

Born in 1291 at Maumont, Limousin, Pierre Roger entered the Benedictine house of La Chaise-Dieu at the age of ten. He came to Paris around 1307, perhaps studying grammar at the Collège de Narbonne.¹³⁵ In 1320–21, he participated in a series of disputations with Francis of Meyronnes and Peter Auriol concerning Trinitarian theology, showing himself a disciple of Thomas Aquinas.¹³⁶ He was also involved in the controversy surrounding John of Pouilly's views opposing the mendicant privileges. In May 1323, at the request of King Charles IV, Pope John XXII ordered that Pierre be *magistratus* and granted the licentiate.¹³⁷ In the University discussions concerning the teachings of Marsilius of Padua and John of Jandun, he condemned them, their writings, and their followers as heretical. He was said, too, to have lectured on canon law as well as theology at Paris, writing a postill, probably

¹³³ Leclercq, "Le magistère du prédicateur," p. 129.

¹³⁴ Sullivan, *Benedictine Monks*, pp. 21–3; Courtenay, "Reflections."

¹³⁵ J.F. Wrigley, "Clement VI Before His Pontificate: The Early Life of Pierre Roger, 1290/91–1342," *Catholic Historical Review* 56 (1970), pp. 433–73; D. Wood, *Clement VI. The Pontificate and Ideas of an Avignon Pope* (Cambridge 1989), pp. 7–11; Sullivan, *Benedictine Monks*, pp. 296–9.

¹³⁶ François de Meyronnes-Pierre Roger: "Disputatio," ed. J. Barbet (Paris 1961).

¹³⁷ CUP II, no. 822, p. 271.

in 1325, in support of John XXII's bull *Quia quorundam mentes*. From 1326 to 1336 he served as *provisor* of the Collège de Sorbonne.¹³⁸ In 1329, he participated in the discussions held at Vincennes concerning the competencies of ecclesiastical and secular jurisdiction.¹³⁹ A few years later he was involved in the controversies concerning the nature of the beatific vision.¹⁴⁰ After significant success in both secular and ecclesiastical worlds, Pierre Roger was elected pope on 7 May 1342 in succession to another monk and Parisian master of theology, Benedict XII (Jacques Fournier, OCist) and preceding Urban V (Guillaume Grimoard, OSB), who had taught canon law *de mane* at Paris.¹⁴¹ As Pope Clement VI, Peter would condemn the positions of Nicholas of Autrecourt in 1346 and John of Mirecourt in 1347.¹⁴²

Pierre Roger's *Quodlibet* is found in one manuscript: BAV, Borghese 89, ff. 63r–89v.¹⁴³ It appears best to date the *Quodlibet* to between 1323 (when Peter was *magistratus* and *licentiatus*) and 1326 (when he was made abbot of Fécamp) or 1328 (when made bishop of Arras).¹⁴⁴ Of the *Quodlibet*'s eleven questions,¹⁴⁵ seven treat of metaphysics and speculative theology; sandwiched between the sixth and the eleventh, however, are four questions of practical theology. The first discusses fraternal correction and the necessity of private correction before bringing the matter to the attention of a superior: is there sin in denouncing the sinner to the superior before warning the offender privately? The second asks about breaking a vow of abstinence: if you swear off wine but drink it one day do you incur sin each time you drink after the vow is broken? The last question presents a vignette in which two people are

¹³⁸ P. Glorieux, *Aux origines de la Sorbonne. I. Robert de Sorbon* (Paris 1966), p. 139.

¹³⁹ F.J.M. Olivier-Martin, *L'Assemblée de Vincennes de 1329 et ses conséquences* (Paris 1909), p. 126.

¹⁴⁰ CUP II, nos. 970–87, pp. 414–42. See also M. Dykmans, *Pour et contre Jean XXII en 1333. Deux traités avignonnais sur la vision béatifique* (Vatican City 1975).

¹⁴¹ Sullivan, *Benedictine Monks*, p. 164.

¹⁴² CUP II, no. 1124, pp. 567–87; II, no. 1147, pp. 610–13; Wood, *Clement VI*, p. 8.

¹⁴³ É. Anheim, "La bibliothèque personnelle de Pierre Roger/Clément VII," in *La vie culturelle, intellectuelle et scientifique à la cour des papes d'Avignon*, Hamesse, ed. (pp. 1–48), pp. 36–7. For this and some of his other scholastic works, see A. Maier, "Der literarische Nachlass des Petrus Rogerii (Clemens VI.) in der Borghesiana," in eadem, *Ausgehendes Mittelalter. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Geistesgeschichte des 14. Jahrhunderts II* (Rome 1967), pp. 255–315.

¹⁴⁴ Maier, "Der literarische Nachlass des Petrus Rogerii," pp. 290–300.

¹⁴⁵ Pierre Roger's quodlibetal questions are presented in Appendix I to this chapter.

riding along, one a cleric and the other a layman. The layman sees his enemies coming in the distance and asks the cleric if he can have the cleric's horse, since his is better than the layman's. The cleric refuses; the layman knocks the cleric off the horse, takes it, and flees the scene. Does he incur the sentence of excommunication?

More interesting still is the third question concerning a baptized Jewish boy. A young boy is stolen from his Jewish (or infidel) parents by a Christian *ex zelo*, who has the child baptized. After the child has reached the age of reason, his birth parents seek to have him returned to them. Should the Church return this baptized child to his birth parents? This question is similar to the question on Jews posed to James of Thérines; it involves the effects of baptism. As pope, Pierre Roger would be the most benevolent of all medieval popes toward the Jews, forbidding Christians to force unwilling Jews to baptism. He stated that those who were compelled to be baptized were not believed to possess the true faith—that is, they were not Christians.¹⁴⁶ The problem of baptized Jewish children would be one with a long history in the Catholic Church, witness the Edgardo Mortara case in the 1850s and beyond, which became an international *cause célèbre*. In the nineteenth century it was held that baptism given in situations where it is not licit to baptize (i.e., without parental consent) remained, nonetheless, valid; that in such cases the baptized children should not be returned to their Jewish parents but raised by Christians in the Catholic faith.¹⁴⁷

Monachi Nigri. The Order of Cluny

The list of Cluniac regent masters in theology at the Parisian *studium* includes Gaudry, Albert of Cluny, Guy of Cluny, Walter of Gamaches, Deodat of Séverac, Marcel, and John of Lixy.¹⁴⁸ Quodlibetal masters from among these eight number only two: Albert and Guy of Cluny.

¹⁴⁶ Wood, *Clement VI*, p. 198.

¹⁴⁷ D.I. Kertzer, *The Kidnapping of Edgardo Mortara* (New York 1997), p. 310, n. 2. See also Thomas Aquinas, *Quodlibet* II, q. 4. a. 2, and Peter of England, *Quodlibet* II, q. 35. The text of Thomas's quodlibetal question is almost identical with that of his *Summa theologiae* IIa IIae, q. 10, a. 12 and with parts of *Summa theologiae* III, q. 68, a. 10.

¹⁴⁸ Glorieux, *Répertoire* II, pp. 269–73. These monks receive fuller treatment in the present author's *Benedictine Monks*: Gaudry (pp. 147–8), Albert of Cluny (pp. 14–15), Guy of Pernes (pp. 267–8), Walter of Gamaches (p. 149), Deodat of Séverac (pp. 315–16), Marcel (p. 224), John of Lixy (p. 213).

Albert of Cluny

Albert, a Cluniac monk and prior of Montdidier in the diocese of Amiens, appears twice as a regent master in theology in University congregations in late 1282: the first time in a *determinatio* held by the Faculty of Theology in November concerning the confessions of sins¹⁴⁹ and the second at a December assembly convoked to reconcile differences between the seculars and mendicants.¹⁵⁰ If the latter document can be trusted to have listed the masters according to seniority, it is possible that Albert was *magistratus* ca. 1270–71. Two extant sermons, dated Epiphany 1282 and Septuagesima 1282 or 1283, are from his pen.¹⁵¹ He is likely the Albertus, prior of Saint-Leu d'Esserent and master of theology, listed as such in the necrology of Saint-Sauve-de-Valenciennes as well as the *magister* Albertus who donated to the Cluniac *studium* in Paris a house located on the rue des Maçons and facing the college chapel.¹⁵²

Gilbert Ouy makes note of a manuscript (once held by the abbey of Saint-Victor but no longer extant) containing *quodlibeta* and other theological questions: six *quodlibeta* of Thomas of Bailly totaling 101 questions, one *quodlibet* of Albert, monk of Cluny, and a *quodlibet* of Ranulf of Normandy (most likely Ranulph of Houblonnière), a canon of Paris, as well as various other theological questions.¹⁵³ Since Albert appears in University records and sermons in 1282 and 1283, it is possible that his *Quodlibet* would have been disputed around this time.

Guy of Cluny

Also known as Guy of Pernes or Guy of Beaulieu, Guy made his profession as a monk of Cluny at the age of fifteen. He was sent to the University of Paris for theological studies where he was *magistratus*.¹⁵⁴ He authored at least four University sermons (two sermons and two *collationes*). One of these was a sermon preached on Palm Sunday

¹⁴⁹ É. Baluze, *Vitae paparum Avenionsium*, ed. G. Mollat, 4 vols. (Paris 1914–1927), III, no. 43, p. 5.

¹⁵⁰ *CUP* I, no. 510, p. 595; see also *HLF* XXV (Paris 1869), p. 385.

¹⁵¹ Schneyer, *Repertorium* I, pp. 91–2.

¹⁵² Sullivan, *Benedictine Monks*, pp. 14–15.

¹⁵³ *Les manuscrits*, ed. Ouy, I, p. 255; II, p. 98. Thomas of Bailly's quodlibetal questions are listed in Glorieux II, pp. 273–7, and edited in *Thomas de Bailly, Quodlibets*, ed. P. Glorieux (Paris 1960). Ranulph of Houblonnière's quodlibetal questions are listed in Glorieux I, pp. 264–6.

¹⁵⁴ Glorieux's suggestion that Guy of Cluny was regent master as early as 1287 is untenable, as S. Piron suggests above in "Nicholas of Bar's Collection," p. 341.

sometime before 1298; he is noted as “Prior Cloniensis, magister in theologia.” The second sermon was preached in 1302.¹⁵⁵ Guy’s last known predecessor as regent master was Albert of Cluny (regent in 1282);¹⁵⁶ Guy preceded Walter of Gamaches (regent in 1308).¹⁵⁷ Before his appointment by Pope Boniface VIII as abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Beaulieu-en-Argonne on 23 December 1299, Guy governed the Cluniac priory of Montdidier, perhaps in succession to his confrere, Albert. The pope would transfer Beaulieu to the Order of Cluny in June 1301 and March 1302.¹⁵⁸

Guy may have been among the masters of Paris exiled by King Philip IV in 1303 because of their loyalty to the pope during his dispute with the king. Guy left Paris that year, perhaps to teach in the papal *studium*; he was made administrator of the diocese of Acerenza in 1303 because the revenues of Beaulieu had been sequestered by the king. Present at the papal election in 1305, Guy was one of the three messengers sent to announce the election to Bertrand of Got, who would take the regnal name of Clement V. Pope Clement appointed Guy as bishop of Toul, who died en route to take possession of his see.¹⁵⁹

The two *Quodlibeta* from Nicholas of Bar-le-Duc’s collection present three questions addressing financial or economic topics: *Quodlibet* I, q. 3, deals with the issue of gambling; *Quodlibet* I, q. 4, discusses credit sales; *Quodlibet* II, q. 3, deals with the important question of usury.¹⁶⁰

Monks of the Order of Cîteaux

In 1237, Evrard, abbot of Clairvaux, formulated the project of installing a small community of student monks, governed by a warden and aided by two *conversi*, in a house Clairvaux owned at Paris. His death in 1238 put an end to the project until his successor at Clairvaux, Stephen of Lexington, a product of the schools at Oxford, revived it in 1245,

¹⁵⁵ Schneyer, *Repertorium* II, p. 319; T. Kaeppli, “*Praedicator monoculus*,” *AFP* 27 (1957) (pp. 120–67), pp. 124, 159.

¹⁵⁶ Sullivan, *Benedictine Monks*, pp. 14–15.

¹⁵⁷ Sullivan, *Benedictine Monks*, p. 149.

¹⁵⁸ G. Allemang, “Beaulieu-en-Argonne,” *DHGE* VII, col. 179.

¹⁵⁹ R. Aubert, “Guy de Cluny,” *DHGE* XXII, col. 1266; Sullivan, *Benedictine Monks*, pp. 267–9.

¹⁶⁰ Ceccarelli, “Whatever’ Economics,” p. 482 and n. 11 (where a list of selected *quodlibeta* dealing with gambling may be found); p. 484 n. 10 (where several *quodlibetal* questions by various authors dealing with credit sales are listed).

receiving tepid approval from the Cistercian General Chapter. By 1250, monks were resident in the college and by 1256 the Cistercians would see one of their own as regent in Paris.¹⁶¹

Guy of l'Aumône was the first in a series of Cistercian regent masters in theology at Paris between 1250 and 1330; the list includes John of Limoges,¹⁶² John of Waarde, Rainier Marquette of Clairmarais, Humbert of Preuilly,¹⁶³ John of Hé, James of Thérines, John Sindewint,¹⁶⁴ Jacques Fournier¹⁶⁵ (the future Pope Benedict XII), and Nicholas of Vaux-Cernay. Fully named quodlibetal masters among these Cistercian regents are Guy of l'Aumône, James of Thérines, Rainier Marquette of Clairmarais, and Nicholas of Vaux-Cernay. Nicholas of Bar-le-Duc's collection of questions presents, as mentioned above, an "abbas sancti bernardi" as a quodlibetal master.

Guy of l'Aumône

A monk of the abbey of l'Aumône, Guy was sent to Paris for studies in theology; he likely lived at the Cistercian *studium* in Paris and attended the Franciscan schools since the Cistercians had no master of their own.¹⁶⁶ Because of the conflict between the mendicants and secular

¹⁶¹ F.E. Kwanten, "Le Collège Saint-Bernard à Paris: Sa fondation et ses débuts," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 43 (1948), pp. 443–72; C.H. Lawrence, "Stephen of Lexington and Cistercian University Studies in the Thirteenth Century," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 11 (1960), pp. 164–78; P. Dautrey, "Croissance et adaptation chez les cisterciens au treizième siècle: les débuts du collège des Bernardins de Paris," *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis* 32 (1976), pp. 122–98; Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, p. 193.

¹⁶² R. Aubert, "Jean de Limoges," *DHGE* XXVII, cols. 230–1; C. Obert-Piketty, "Les lectures et les oeuvres des pensionnaires du collège Saint-Bernard: Jalons pour l'histoire intellectuelle de l'Ordre de Cîteaux à la fin du Moyen Age," *Cîteaux. Commentarii cistercienses* 40 (1989) (pp. 245–91), pp. 278–9.

¹⁶³ *HLF* XXI, cols. 86–90; É. Brouette, "Humbert de Prully ou de Preuilly," *Dictionnaire des Auteurs Cisterciens* (hereinafter *DAC*), É. Brouette and A. Dimier, eds. (Rochefort 1975–1979), cols. 377–8; Obert-Piketty, "Les lectures," pp. 273–4.

¹⁶⁴ R. Aubert, "Jean Sindewint," *DHGE* XXVII, cols. 632–3; Obert-Piketty, "Les lectures," p. 281.

¹⁶⁵ L. Jadin, "Benoît XII," *DHGE* VIII, cols. 1166–1235; "Jacques Fournier," *DHGE* XXVI, col. 670; A. Dimier, "Benoît XII (Jacques Fournier)," *DAC*, cols. 98–9; Obert-Piketty, "Les lectures," pp. 274–5. Courtenay makes the interesting suggestion that the "Jacobus Ber." mentioned in Prosper of Reggio Emilia's collection could be Jacques Fournier (Courtenay, "Reflections," pp. 354–5).

¹⁶⁶ M. Standaert, "Guy de l'Aumône," *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* VI, cols. 1301–2; P. Michaud-Quantin, "Guy de l'Aumône, premier maître cistercien de l'université de Paris," *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis* 15 (1989), p. 16; J.G. Bougerol, "Le commentaire des Sentences de Guy de l'Aumône et son 'Introitus': Edition des textes," *Antonianum* 51 (1976) (pp. 495–513), p. 496; Obert-Piketty, "Les lectures," p. 271.

clergy, Guy seems to have had some difficulty getting the doctorate and licentiate awarded.¹⁶⁷ On 28 January 1254, Pope Innocent IV ordered the chancellor of Paris to grant Guy the licentiate,¹⁶⁸ which order was ignored. Thinking perhaps that the licentiate was an impossibility, Guy accepted election as abbot of l'Aumône in 1255. In 1256, Pope Alexander IV summoned Guy to Rome, had him examined for the licentiate and doctorate there, and, on 31 January 1256, bestowed on Guy the title of *magister regens* and ordered the University of Paris to allow him regency.¹⁶⁹

Two works from Guy's University career survive: a commentary on the *Sentences*, dated 1245–55,¹⁷⁰ and his *Summa de diversis questionibus theologie*, redacted after 1255. The *Summa* survives in a thirteenth-century manuscript originally belonging to the abbey of Saint-Victor but now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Paris, BnF lat. 14891, ff. 191v–209r).¹⁷¹ Ian P. Wei has determined that, while the overall structure of the *Summa* appears to be coherent and homogeneous, the last two of the *Summa*'s four parts consist of thirty-eight quodlibetal questions.¹⁷² These questions draw on real problems in human society, problems from which sin could arise and therefore problems of conscience.¹⁷³ Glorieux suggests he was regent at the Collège Saint-Bernard between 1266 and 1275 and that his *Quodlibeta* date from this period in his life. He would be followed as regent at the Collège Saint-Bernard by John of Waarde.¹⁷⁴

The redactor of the *Summa* has arranged the thirty-eight questions into two parts, with one question between them. The first group of questions, eleven in number, appears under the redactor's rubric "De perplexitate conscientie." There seems to be no predetermined order to these first eleven questions; they range from simoniacal priests, religious life (eremitic as well as monastic), responsibility vis-à-vis the violent, to the use of the fruits of usury and someone's promise to eat more than

¹⁶⁷ M.-M. Dufeil, *Guillaume de Saint-Amour et la polémique universitaire parisienne 1250–59* (Paris 1972), pp. 52, 106, 109, 165, 198–200, 208, 253.

¹⁶⁸ *CUP* I, no. 229, p. 252.

¹⁶⁹ *CUP* I, nos. 265–6, pp. 302–3.

¹⁷⁰ Bougerol, "Le commentaire," pp. 513–15.

¹⁷¹ *Les manuscrits*, ed. Ouy, I, p. 285; II, p. 303 (LL 14).

¹⁷² Guy de l'Aumône's quodlibetal questions are presented in Appendix II to this chapter.

¹⁷³ I.P. Wei, "Guy de l'Aumône's 'Summa de diversis questionibus theologie,'" *Traditio* 44 (1988) (pp. 275–323), pp. 288, 314–23.

¹⁷⁴ Glorieux, *Répertoire* II, p. 252.

he should.¹⁷⁵ The redactor then inserts one question under the rubric “De preceptis specialibus,” that is, specifically Gospel precepts. In this case, the questioner asked to whom does the Gospel command “nolite portare sacculum” extend.¹⁷⁶

The second set of questions appears under the rubric “De preceptis iudicialibus.” This section contains twenty-six of the thirty-eight questions presented: the first subsection discusses persons, the second the possession of things, and the third actions. The focus of the discussion of persons is the relationship between kingly and priestly power. In the second subsection, the questioner first asks whether it is licit for someone to gather up riches (“thezaurizare”); Guy is then asked if ecclesiastics could possess an inheritance. Finally, still under the rubric of possessions, Guy discusses questions, eleven in all, covering tithes, first fruits, and offerings. The last section focuses on actions, with four questions concerning war, two contracts, and the last question concerning manual labor.¹⁷⁷

Only one of Guy’s quodlibetal questions has been edited, question 98, which treats of a case of conscience concerning religious life. A hermit, vowed to live the eremitic life, is asked to leave the desert to do good in the city. If he should abandon the eremitic life does he sin or not? Guy responded that he should remain in the eremitic life because fidelity to one’s vocation takes precedence over any other consideration.¹⁷⁸

“Abbas sancti bernardi”

Nicholas of Bar-le-Duc’s collection presents two sets of quodlibetal questions attributed to an “abbas sancti bernardi.” Glorieux stated that without hesitation this Cistercian could be identified with John of Waarde, a monk of the abbey of Ter Duinen, master of theology and regent at Paris at the Collège Saint-Bernard (which had no abbot). Born about 1240 in the village of Waarde in Zeeland and a monk of the abbey of Ter Duinen (which he entered sometime before 1251), John of Waarde spent much of his adult life at the Collège Saint-Bernard in Paris. Sent to the university in 1268, he studied theology at the same time Thomas Aquinas was teaching at the Couvent Saint-Jacques

¹⁷⁵ Wei, “Guy de l’Aumône,” pp. 315–18.

¹⁷⁶ Wei, “Guy de l’Aumône,” p. 318.

¹⁷⁷ Wei, “Guy de l’Aumône,” pp. 318–23.

¹⁷⁸ J. Leclercq, “Deux opusculs médiévaux sur la vie solitaire,” *Studia monastica* 4 (1962) (pp. 93–109), pp. 100–2.

(1269–72).¹⁷⁹ He was licensed and *magistratus* in theology in either 1274 or 1275, probably under the direction of Guy of l'Aumône. John served as regent at the Parisian college as late as 1292, mentioned as such in a letter written by the abbot of Cîteaux on 9 April of that year. He died at Paris in 1293.¹⁸⁰

Sylvain Piron makes the point, however, that the first reference to this theologian indicates that his name can be read as “Rilus” or “Nilus,” from which it might be difficult to attribute the questions to a man named John.¹⁸¹ On the other hand, Piron states that the theological questions appearing in the first part of Nicholas’s collection probably date from the 1290s and probably for the most part from the first part of the decade. If this is the case, then John of Waarde, still regent in 1292, is possibly the author of the *quodlibeta*.

The questions contained in the two *quodlibeta* attributed to the “abbas sancti bernardi,” whether John of Waarde is accepted as author or not, are primarily concerned with matters pastoral and confessional. Two questions show interest in the operation of the act of sacramental confessions (I, qq. 1, 4; II, q. 1) and two have to do with theft (I, qq. 2–3); three of the questions have monks as their subject, the last of these concerning itself with disobedient *conversi* (I, qq. 2, 5, 7).¹⁸²

Rainier Marquette of Clairmarais

Born in the town of Marquette (Marketta) near Lille and most likely a monk of the Cistercian abbey of Clairmarais in the Pas-de-Calais, Rainier Marquette appears in Nicholas of Bar-le-Duc’s collection as the author of two *Quodlibeta* of twelve questions (Paris, BnF lat. 15850, ff. 35r–v, 38r–v).¹⁸³ *Magistratus* in theology before his election as abbot of Clairmarais in 1293, Rainier returned to Paris after his abdication

¹⁷⁹ J. Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas d'Aquino: His Life and Works* (Garden City, NY 1974), pp. 241–92.

¹⁸⁰ R. Aubert, “Jean de Weerde, *DHGE* XXVII, cols. 800–1; É. Brouette, “Jean du Waarde,” *DAC*, cols. 417–18; G. Raciti, “Jean de Waarde (Weerde),” *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* VIII, cols. 787–8. See also A. Pelzer, “Livres de philosophie et de théologie de l’abbaye de Ter Doest à l’usage du maître cistercien Jean Sindewint de 1311 à 1319,” in *Études d’histoire littéraire sur la scolastique médiévale. Recueil d’articles mis à jour à l’aide des notes de l’auteur*, A. Pattin and É. van de Vyver, eds. (Louvain 1964), pp. 78–82.

¹⁸¹ Piron, “Nicholas of Bar’s Collection,” p. 342.

¹⁸² Glorieux II, 187–8; *DAC*, col. 417.

¹⁸³ Glorieux I, pp. 254–5.

as abbot in September 1295, teaching at the Collège Saint-Bernard until 1301.¹⁸⁴

Glorieux suggested that we should date his first *Quodlibet* to 1295–96 and the second to 1300–01;¹⁸⁵ it is likely, however, that this dating is to be mistrusted. Question 2 of Rainier's first *Quodlibet*, addressing the question of the *aureola* for a sinful but repentant master of theology, has been edited. Rainier argues that the master should not get the *aureola*, suggesting that a theologian should be in the state of grace when he teaches.¹⁸⁶ The question of the *aureola* is one that attracted no little attention from the quodlibetal masters. Glorieux's "Table idéologique" shows masters interested in the *aureola* of Christ, of doctors, of martyrs, of preachers, and of virgins—for a total of fifteen questions. Of these fifteen, six dealt with the *aureola* of masters and six with the *aureola* of virgins.¹⁸⁷

James of Thérines

Of all the quodlibetal masters among the canons regular and monks, Servais of Guez of Mont-Saint-Éloi, in the last part of the thirteenth century, and the Cistercian James of Thérines, in the first part of the fourteenth, have received the most attention from modern historians—Servais in breadth and James in depth. Servais's questions, for the most part, remain unedited. James of Thérines, on the other hand, has had his *Quodlibeta* (Paris, BnF lat. 15565) edited and presented by Palémon Glorieux¹⁸⁸ and his *Quodlibeta* and other writings studied and presented by both Noël Valois in the *Histoire littéraire de la France* and William Chester Jordan in his political biography of this engaged Cistercian monk.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁴ *Gallia Christiana* III, col. 528; H.P.F. de Laplane, *L'abbaye de Clairmarais, d'après ses archives* (Saint-Omer 1863), p. 263; J.-M. Canivez, "Clairmarais," *DHGE* XII (cols. 1046–8), col. 1047; Obert-Piketty, "Les lectures," p. 286.

¹⁸⁵ Glorieux II, pp. 199, 254.

¹⁸⁶ Leclercq, "L'idéal du théologien," pp. 143–6; the edition of Rainier's question appears on p. 143.

¹⁸⁷ See Marmursztejn, "A Normative Power," pp. 350–2.

¹⁸⁸ *Jacques de Thérines, Quodlibets I et II. Jacques Lesage, Quodlibet I*, ed. P. Glorieux (Paris 1958).

¹⁸⁹ N. Valois, "Jacques de Thérines, Cistercien," in *HLF* XXXIV (1914), pp. 179–219; É. Brouette, "Jacques de Thérines," *DAC*, cols. 393–4; R. Aubert, "Jacques de Thérines," *DHGE* XXVI, cols. 750–2; W.C. Jordan, *Unceasing Strife, Unending Fear. Jacques de Thérines and the Freedom of the Church in the Age of the Last Capetians* (Princeton 2005).

Born in the village of Thérines in the Oise, James of Thérines was sent to Paris for theological studies after having entered the Cistercian Order at the abbey of Chaalis. Jordan suggests that James was in Paris as early as 1290 or 1293, where he may have studied under John of Waarde. Regent master at the Collège Saint-Bernard between 1306 and 1309, he signed sometime between 1304 and 1306 a letter of recommendation sent to King Philip IV on behalf of a scholar in theology.¹⁹⁰ He was consulted in May 1308 concerning the Templars¹⁹¹ and on 11 April 1309 concerning Marguerite Porete.¹⁹² We have from the time of his regency two Christmas *Quodlibeta* numbering forty-one questions, in Paris, BnF lat. 15565: the first was argued in Advent 1306 and the second in Advent of the following year.¹⁹³ His biblical commentaries on diverse books are unfortunately no longer extant.

Abbot James left Paris in 1309, elected in that year abbot of his monastery of profession. He attended the Council of Vienne in 1311–12 and authored a series of important writings concerned with the exemption of the religious orders, attacked by the secular prelates with the Augustinian Giles of Rome, strangely, as their spokesman.¹⁹⁴ When Pope John XXII posed two questions, the first concerning the reform of the Cistercian Order and the second concerning a subsidy from the Order required for an expedition to the Holy Land, James replied that while the Order was in good shape and capable of self-correction, it was also poor, made the more so by continual wars and burdensome taxes.¹⁹⁵ In 1317 or 1318, James became abbot of Pontigny, which he governed until his death on 18 October 1321. Sometime during the first half of 1318, James was one of the prelates and masters of theology consulted on doctrines held by certain Provençal Franciscans.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁰ CUP II, no. 658, p. 121. The quodlibetal master Peter of Saint-Denis was one of the document's signatories as well.

¹⁹¹ CUP II, no. 664 and note, p. 127. Other quodlibetal masters whose seals were appended to the document include Gerard of Saint-Victor, OSA Saint-Victor, and Johannes de Maroeuil, OSA Mont-Saint-Éloi.

¹⁹² Verdeyen, "Le procès d'inquisition," pp. 50, 56.

¹⁹³ *Jacques de Thérines, Quodlibet I et II*, ed. Glorieux, p. 11.

¹⁹⁴ See Obert-Piketty, "Les lectures," p. 275, for a list of his works concerning the exemption of the religious orders and Jordan, *Unceasing Strife*, pp. 36–55, for a discussion of the same.

¹⁹⁵ Obert-Piketty, "Les lectures," p. 227; Jordan, *Unceasing Strife*, pp. 75–84.

¹⁹⁶ CUP II, no. 760, p. 217. See also Jordan, *Unceasing Strife*, pp. 88–92.

The majority of James's questions in *Quodlibet* I and especially in *Quodlibet* II address "the abstract and recondite problems of metaphysics and ontology." Jordan provides a list of these questions which he says "hardly exhausts the matters he [James] takes on: existence, essence, potentiality, the scientific status of theology, the beatific vision, the hypostatic union, the passion, angelic intelligence, nature, motion, infinity and eternity, and the varieties of reason and rationality."¹⁹⁷

Hypostatic Union: An example of one of these more recondite topics occurs in James's *Quodlibet* I, q. 4. Here he enters into the discussions treating of what happened to the body of Christ during the Triduum: how to reconcile the hypostatic union with the dead Christ. Questions surrounding this topic are numerous in the quodlibetal collections; Solère lists the names of ten different masters, some of whom discussed the issue directly or in its several variants more than once, including Henry of Ghent's six times and Godfrey of Fontaines's three.¹⁹⁸

Pope Clement V: Questions 13 and 14 from *Quodlibet* I, less esoteric and speculative than earlier questions in the disputation, sought James' opinion on whether the pope should remain at Bordeaux or return to Italy, at a time when Italy was struggling with heresy.¹⁹⁹ On Pope Benedict XI's death the cardinals, meeting in conclave at Perugia, were almost equally divided between an anti-French faction demanding vengeance for the attack on Pope Boniface VIII at Anagni in 1303 and a pro-French group seeking *rapprochement* with King Philip IV. After eleven months' bitter debate and intrigue they elected on 5 June 1305 Bertrand de Got, archbishop of Bordeaux since 1299. It was a victory for the pro-French minority, for although the new pope, Clement V, could be trusted to respect Boniface VIII's memory, he had long been in favor with the French court.

By the time of the disputation of Advent 1306, however, the new pope had not yet left Bordeaux for Rome. The pope's supporters stated that one reason he did not go to Italy was the presence of the followers of the heretic Fra Dolcino. James spent much time and energy making

¹⁹⁷ Jordan, *Unending Strife*, p. 10.

¹⁹⁸ The question reads: "Utrum de necessitate fidei sit ponere in Christo aliam formam substantialem ab anima intellectiva" (*Jacques de Thérines, Quodlibets I et II*, ed. Glorieux, pp. 72–87). See J.L. Solère, "Was the Eye in the Tomb?" in *Theological Quodlibeta* I, p. 531, n. 72.

¹⁹⁹ The question reads: "Utrum stante haeresi in Italia papa debeat remanere Burdigalae vel ire in Italiam" (*Jacques de Thérines, Quodlibets I et II*, ed. Glorieux, pp. 153–7).

it clear that the friar's specific teachings were of such a nature as to threaten the papacy and the Church. It therefore made sense for the pope to remain in France with the expectation that he would return to Rome *ad tempus*.²⁰⁰

The Expulsion of Jews: On Friday, 22 July 1306, King Philip IV expelled the Jews, numbering about one hundred thousand, from the Kingdom of France. In December of that year, a question was posed to James in his Advent quodlibetal session: "Utrum Judaei expulsi de una regione debeant expelli de alia."²⁰¹ In his response, James clearly stated that the Jews should be permitted to live among Christians and he gave six reasons for his position. He did agree, however, that the Jews, if they grew in number and became obnoxious to their hosts and contaminated them, could be expelled every once in a while *ad tempus*—temporarily but not permanently.²⁰²

Nicholas of Vaux-Cernay

Little is known of the life of Nicholas of Vaux-Cernay except his monastery of profession (Vaux-Cernay in the Île-de-France) and the fact that he must have been *magistratus in theologia* sometime before 1324 when the quodlibetal disputation attributed to him took place.²⁰³ He is likely the regent master the General Chapter of the Cistercian Order assigned in 1322 to reform the order's *studium* at Paris with the help of the abbot of Preuilly and that of the abbots of Cîteaux, Clairvaux, la Ferté, Pontigny, and Morimond.²⁰⁴

In an article published in 1938, Étienne Axters determined that Nicholas of Vaux-Cernay was responsible for a quodlibetal collection numbering twenty-two questions²⁰⁵ found in an unnumbered manuscript currently held by the monks of the Trappist abbey of Tamié

²⁰⁰ Lambertini, "Political *Quodlibeta*," p. 473; Jordan, *Unceasing Strife*, pp. 18–22; R. Orioli, "Jacques de Thérines: una fonte trascurata su Fra Dolcino," *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico per il Medio Evo* 89 (1980–81), pp. 489–507.

²⁰¹ *Jacques de Thérines, Quodlibets I et II*, ed. Glorieux, pp. 157–9.

²⁰² Jordan, *Unceasing Strife*, pp. 12–17; Dahan, "Juifs," pp. 226–7; G. Dahan, "Quelques réflexions sur l'anti-judaïsme chrétien au moyen âge," *Histoire, économie et sociétés* 2 (1983), pp. 355–6; Valois, "Jacques de Thérines," pp. 188–9.

²⁰³ Obert-Piketty, "Les lectures," p. 284.

²⁰⁴ *Statuta capitulorum generalium ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786*, ed. J.M. Canivez, 8 vols. (Louvain 1933–1941), III, p. 359.

²⁰⁵ Nicholas of Vaux-Cernay's quodlibetal questions are presented in Appendix III to this chapter.

and formerly held at the abbey of Cîteaux.²⁰⁶ A note following the text of the *Quodlibet* indicates that Nicholas presided at the quodlibetal disputation held at the Collège Saint-Bernard on Monday of the third week of Advent in 1324 and determined on the following Saturday.²⁰⁷ Scholars of the quodlibetal genre have used the information provided in the colophon to demonstrate that a *quodlibet* consisted of two sessions (the disputation and the determination) and that between the sessions there were only a few days.²⁰⁸

Beyond this identification, little further investigation of Nicholas's *Quodlibet* has taken place. At least two of the questions, however, may be of interest to the historian. The first, question 12, discusses whether or not a monk in choir commits mortal sin if, while standing in choir with the rest of his brethren and for no good reason, he does not join in the divine praises.²⁰⁹ At first glance this may only be a question investigating the nature of choral prayer as it relates to the obligation of the divine office. It would be interesting to discover the name and quality of the person posing the question: is he a member of the regular or secular clergy? Is he a confrere of *Magister* Nicholas? Does he stand next to him in choir? Anyone who has chanted the divine office for years knows how easily one slips into a daydream or grapples with a problem, theological or not, and no longer sings with the choir.

Nicholas's question 15 is one that allows the historian to connect clearly a particular question to the person of the master holding the *quodlibet*. The question goes as follows: "An excommunicated cleric went to the [Papal] Curia to obtain the grant of absolution, he procured a letter from the Supreme Pontiff addressed to the prior of Saint-Bernard of Paris in Cardinet, but before the letter reached the prior

²⁰⁶ É. Axters, "Le maître cistercien Nicolas de Vaux-Cernay et son quodlibet," *New Scholasticism* 12 (1938), pp. 242–53. The questions comprising Nicholas's *Quodlibet* are found on ff. 155v–159r of the Tamié manuscript. The unnumbered Tamié manuscript corresponds to item 214 in the inventory of Cîteaux's manuscripts drawn up by John of Cirey, abbot of Cîteaux and *magister theologie* of the University of Paris (T. Sullivan, *Parisian Licentiates in Theology, A.D. 1373–1500. A Biographical Register* [Leiden 2004], pp. 134–6).

²⁰⁷ The colophon reads: "Hec questiones propositae fuerunt die lune tercie septimane adventus Domini coram Magistro Nicholao in scolis Sancti Bernardi Parisius, quo die dictus Magister de quolibet disputavit et dictas questiones prout in isto libello recitantur determinavit die Sabbati" (f. 159r) (Axters, "Le maître cistercien," pp. 244–5).

²⁰⁸ Wippel, "Quodlibetal Questions," pp. 163–4, n. 15.

²⁰⁹ The question reads: "An monachus qui tenetur ad Dei servicium stans cum aliis in choro ad decantandum laudes divinas non habens impedimentum peccat mortaliter si non cum aliis cantet" (f. 157v) (Axters, "Le maître cistercien," p. 251).

the Supreme Pontiff died. Should the prior of Saint-Bernard absolve him?"²¹⁰ Since the *quodlibet* was held in the Collège Saint-Bernard the prior might have been present at the *quodlibet* enjoying the question's topicality or even proposing the questions himself.

* * *

While each of these seventeen masters of theology of the University of Paris had arrived "at the summit of a hierarchy of learning,"²¹¹ many would leave only a few traces in the records. Seven, however, would rise even higher in the ecclesiastical *cursus honorum*, five as priors and abbots, one as a bishop, and one as *Summus Pontifex*. Albert of Cluny, OClun, and Guy of Cluny, OClun were appointed priors of Montdidier. Servais of Guez was elected abbot of Mont-Saint-Éloi and its small congregation and John of Tongres would be elected abbot of the Premonstratensian abbey of Vicogne. The Cistercian masters Guy of l'Aumône, James of Thérines, and Rainier Marquette of Clairmarais would become abbots of monasteries of their order and Guy de Cluny, OClun, after serving as abbot of the Benedictine house of Beaulieu-en-Argonne and bringing it into the Order of Cluny, would be appointed bishop of Toul. Finally, Pierre Roger, OSB, after serving in various abbeys and dioceses as prior, abbot, bishop, and archbishop, would ultimately be elected pope.

²¹⁰ The question reads: "Questio, quidam clericus excommunicatus ivit ad curiam ut impetraret beneficium absolutionis, obtinuit litteram a Summo Pontifice directam ad priorem Sancti Bernardi Parisius in Cardineto, antequam littera apprehenderet priorem mortuus est Summus Pontifex. Questio est an prior Sancti Bernardi debeat eum absolvere" (f. 158r) (Axters, "Le maître cistercien," p. 252).

²¹¹ Wei, "Paris Theologians," p. 208.

APPENDIX I

QUODLIBETAL QUESTIONS OF PIERRE ROGER, OSB (BAV, Borghese 89, ff. 63r–89v)²¹²

1. Utrum creatura rationalis naturali dilectione plus possit aut debeat Deum diligere quam seipsam (ff. 63r–66r).
2. Utrum intellectus agens illustrans phantasmata aliquam dispositionem absolutam efficiat circa illa (ff. 66r–72r).
3. Utrum primum apprehensum ab intellectu sub ratione cogniti sit ipsa species rei vel id cuius est species (ff. 72r–74v).
4. Utrum subiectum peccati originalis sit anima (ff. 75r–79v).
5. Utrum habitus supranaturalis sit necessarius ad merendum (ff. 79v–82r).
6. Utrum ex principiis philosophie possit probari immortalitas anime (ff. 82r–83r).
7. Utrum in correctione fraterna de necessitate precepti privata monitio et correptio debeat praecedere denuntiationem faciendam prelato (ff. 83r–85v).
8. Utrum ille qui vovit non bibere vinum aliqua die certa, puta sexta feria, totiens frangat votum et totiens de novo peccet mortaliter, quotiens bibit vinum illa die, vel solum prima vice quibus bibit peccavit (ff. 85v–87r).
9. Quidam christianus ex aliquo zelo fidei vel ex aliqua alia causa quacumque rapuit filium cuiusdam Iudei vel alicuius alterius infidelis, qui erat infra annos, et illum baptizavit; cum autem ille baptizatus venit ad annos distinctionis, parentes illius baptizati repetunt filium suum. Queritur utrum Ecclesia debeat restituere illum sic baptizatum suis parentibus (ff. 87r–88r).
10. Quidam laicus equitabat cum quodam clerico in via. Dum autem pariter equitarent, laicus vidit inimicos suos contra se venientes, et quia malum equum habebat, rogavit clericum qui habebat bonum equum, quod accommodaret equum suum et equum laici acciperet, quia de vita sua formidabat. Clericus noluit illi tradere equum suum. Ille proiecit clericum de equo et violenter ei equum abstulit, fugit et evasit. Nunc queritur utrum iste qui talem violentiam intulit clerico incurerit sententiam excommunicationis (f. 88r).
11. Utrum Pater in divinis perfecte possit se intelligere non dicendo Verbum (ff. 88v–89v).

²¹² Pierre Roger's quodlibetal questions are presented in Maier, "Der literarische Nachlass," pp. 290–1.

APPENDIX II

QUODLIBETAL QUESTIONS OF GUY OF L'AUMÔNE, OCIST (Paris, BnF lat. 14891, ff. 199r–209r)²¹³

94. Utrum dyabolus apparens in specie Christi possit adorari sine peccato (f. 199r).
95. Utrum in homine cadat perplexitas ad evitandum peccatum (f. 199r–v).
96. Utrum corpus Christi debeat subdito dari existenti in peccato mortali, si petat (f. 199v).
97. Utrum sacerdos symoniace ordinatus possit celebrare missam sine peccato (f. 199v).
98. Utrum aliquis vovens vitam heremiticam Deo, possit exire aliquo modo (ff. 199v–200r).
99. Utrum monachus, tenens aliquid officium, possit illud dimittere, abbate contradicente (f. 200r).
100. Utrum aliquis, vovens intrare religionem, habens parentes pauperas, timens defectum eorum, possit eos dimittere (f. 200r).
101. Utrum aliquis, custodiens ensem alicuius sub iuramento, teneatur ei reddere si fiat furiosus (f. 200r–v).
102. Utrum uxor usurarii, non habens aliunde vivere, possit comedere de usura (f. 200v).
103. Utrum aliquis, iurans alicui quod secreta sua teget, et post ille procuret homicidium, an teneatur hoc celare (f. 200v).
104. Utrum aliquis, promittens plus comedere quam oporteat simplici verbo, possit hoc facere (f. 200v).
105. Utrum aliquis, tenens pecuniam alicuius sub iuramento quod reddet ei, et ille vult impugnare ecclesiam, teneatur reddere (ff. 200v–201r).
106. Utrum se extendant ad omnes hec mandata: “nolite portare sacculum” (f. 201r).
107. Utrum mali sint puniendi aliquo tempore (f. 201v).
108. Utrum in novo testamento iustum sit hominem homini dominari (f. 201v).
109. Utrum duplex debeat esse potestas superior, regalis scilicet et sacerdotalis (ff. 201v–202r).
110. Utrum potestas sacerdotalis in aliquibus sit contraria regali (f. 202r).
111. Utrum ratione delicti persone ecclesiastice sint obnoxie potestati regali (f. 202r–v).
112. Utrum liceat thesaurizare (f. 202v).
113. Utrum persone ecclesiastice possint res hereditarias possidere (ff. 202v–203r).
114. Utrum datio decimarum sit in precepto vel in consilio (f. 203r–v).
115. Utrum decima possi fieri de rebus male acquisitis (f. 203v).
116. Utrum decime personales sint in precepto (ff. 203v–204r).
117. Utrum laici possint decimas recipere (f. 204r–v).
118. Utrum religiosi possint decimas habere (ff. 204v–205r).

²¹³ Wei, “Guy de l’Aumône,” pp. 314–23. The numbers given here for each question are coordinated with the *capitula* found in the manuscript of Guy’s *Summa* and presented in Wei’s article.

119. Utrum clerici, habentes sufficiens stipendium unde vivant, possint decimas percipere (f. 205r).
120. Qui debeant dare decimam, utrum tam divites quam pauperes, et e converso (f. 205r–v).
121. Utrum clerici debeant dare decimas (f. 205r–v).²¹⁴
122. Utrum religiosi teneantur dare decimam (ff. 205v–206r).
123. Cum multe sint decime, que illarum debent dari (f. 206r–v).
124. Utrum preceptum sit dare primitias (f. 206v).
125. Quanta debeat esse primitia (f. 206v).
126. Utrum oblatio cotidiana, que fit ministris ecclesie, sit in precepto (ff. 206v–207r).
127. Utrum licitum sit bellare (f. 207r–v).
128. Utrum licitum sit pugnare diebus solempnibus (f. 207v).
129. Utrum in iusto bello requiratur fraudis exclusio (f. 207v).
130. Utrum licitum sit facere tyrochinium (ff. 207v–208r).
131. Utrum merchari sit licitum (f. 208r–v).
132. Utrum clericis et monachis sit licita negotiatio aliquo modo (ff. 208v–209r).
134. Utrum persone ecclesiastice vel saltem religiose teneantur manibus laborare (f. 209r).

²¹⁴ Questions 120 and 121 are dealt with together (Wey, “Guy de l’Aumône,” p. 231).

APPENDIX III

QUODLIBETAL QUESTIONS OF NICHOLAS OF VAUX-CERNAY, OCIST

(Abbaye de Tamié, Unnumbered manuscripts, ff. 155v–159r)²¹⁵

1. An Deus idem numero quod creatum est possit creare (f. 155v).
2. An Deus immediate possit contraria producere (ff. 155v–156r).
3. An infinite ydee sint in Deo actu (f. 156r).
4. An omnes sint predestinati ab eterno (f. 156r).
5. An intellectus beatus possit videre unam personam sine alia (f. 156r–v).
6. An intellectus agens ut agens influat aliquid in passum (f. 156v).
7. An intellectus agens intelligat (ff. 156v–157r).
8. An voluntas sit potentia passiva (f. 157r).
9. An Filius antequam incarnaretur posset consecrare corpus Christi (f. 157r).
10. An Christus non fuisset mortuus si non fuisset occisus (f. 157r).
11. An voluntas possit moveri ad contrarium eius quod dictat sibi tunc ratio (f. 157v).
12. An monachus qui tenetur ad Dei servitium stans cum aliis in choro ad decantandum laudes divinas non habens impedimentum peccat mortaliter si non cum aliis cantet (f. 157v).
13. Utrum scilicet unus homo melius intelligat rem unam et eandem quam alius (f. 157v).
14. An aliquis sit baptizatus tali positione facta: Nicholaus et Stephanus veniunt ad baptizandum puerum et proferunt verba....(ff. 157v–158r).
15. Quidam clericus excommunicatus ivit ad curiam ut impetraret beneficium absolutionis, obtinuit litteram a Summo Pontifice directam ad priorem Sancti Bernardi Parisius in Cardineto, antequam littera apprehenderet priorem mortuus est Summus Pontifex. Questio est an prior Sancti Bernardi debeat eum absolvere (f. 158r).
16. Quid magis est eligendum, esse continue in caritate minori vel peccare et esse sive resurgere postero in maiori caritate et ibi perseverare (f. 158r–v).
17. Quod melius est clerico sufficienter in Sacra Scriptura esse in scolis et ibi audire vel studere vel etiam in sua parochia commorari (f. 158v).
18. An aliquis vendens rem plus quam valeat teneatur ad restitutionem (f. 158v).
19. De resurrectione utrum fiet vel erit simul vel successive (f. 158v).
20. An possit mereri vitam eternam (f. 158v).
21. An stella que duxit magos ad Christum fuit vera stella (f. 158v).
22. An sacerdos possit consecrare mediam partem hostie sine alia (ff. 158v–159r).

²¹⁵ The questions are presented in Axters, “Le maître cistercien,” pp. 250–2.

DOMINICAN QUODLIBETAL LITERATURE, CA. 1260–1330

Russell L. Friedman*

In the years following Thomas Aquinas' impressive quodlibetal production in the middle of the thirteenth century, up to Robert Holcot's large collection of quodlibetal questions from the second quarter of the fourteenth, Dominican masters of theology held a great number of quodlibetal disputations and published a significant number of texts based on them. One of the purposes of this chapter is to describe the major sets of Dominican quodlibetal questions that are extant, giving the *status quaestionis* of research on them, as well as showing wherever

* Thanks to William J. Courtenay, Sylvain Piron, an anonymous reader, and, above all, Chris Schabel for comments, help, and encouragement. Abbreviations (in addition to those standard throughout the volume) used here:

Kaeppli, *Scriptores* = T. Kaeppli OP, ed., *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, 4 vols. (Rome 1978–1993; vol. 4, edited by T. Kaeppli OP and E. Panella OP, contains a supplement to the first three volumes); lists all known writings by medieval Dominicans, along with manuscripts containing them and editions of them, as well as select literature.

Maier, *Ausgehendes Mittelalters* = A. Maier, *Ausgehendes Mittelalter. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Geistesgeschichte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, 3 vols. (Rome 1964, 1967, 1977). All page references in the present chapter to articles by Maier are made to this reprint edition, although I always also give the original place of publication.

Roensch, *Early Thomistic School* = F.J. Roensch, *Early Thomistic School* (Dubuque, IA 1964); gives fine, if somewhat dated, bio-bibliographical sketches of many of the writers discussed here.

Sharpe, *Handlist* = R. Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540* (Turnhout 1997; 2nd ed., Turnhout 2001); up-to-date information on the works of the English Dominicans mentioned here, including manuscripts and editions.

Teetaert, “La littérature” = A. Teetaert, “La littérature quodlibetique,” *Ephemerides theologiae Lovanienses* 14 (1937), pp. 77–105: a spirited reply to Glorieux II, with a great deal of manuscript information.

BGPTM = “Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters” (formerly “Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters”).

BAW = Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für die Herausgabe ungedruckter Texte aus der mittelalterlichen Geisteswelt.

In most cases below I do not refer to the question lists contained in Glorieux I and II, the lists of manuscripts contained in Kaeppli (and Sharpe), or editions of individual quodlibetal questions that are otherwise listed in the “Bibliography of Quodlibetal Questions” found on Sylvain Piron’s *Quodlibase* (www.quodlibase.org).

possible what light they shed on the nature and function of quodlibetal disputations and questions more generally. When the title of this chapter is “Dominican Quodlibetal *Literature*,” however, it is in acknowledgment of the fact that some Dominican intellectuals used the quodlibetal format in a way having nothing to do with the quodlibetal disputation, and hence the works they produced in this manner cannot properly be labeled “quodlibetal questions” or “*quodlibeta*.” I refer to a substantial “anti-*Quodlibet*” literature from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, paralleling the Dominican *Correctoria corruptorii* written in response to William de la Mare’s *Correctorium* as well as the Dominican anti-*Sentences*-commentary literature, all of which were tightly bound up with the spread of Thomism as the predominant intellectual framework in the Dominican Order. Although this anti-*Quodlibet* literature is just one part of the Dominican response to perceived attacks on Aquinas’ thought, it is nonetheless a noteworthy aspect of specifically Dominican quodlibetal production from these years and as such will be dealt with in some detail below. Although in what follows I will mention in roughly chronological order all of the some twenty Dominican masters who have left us examples of quodlibetal literature, I will necessarily be uneven in my presentation, concentrating on the figures who have significant surviving quodlibetal material and passing over more briefly those with smaller productions. One of the points that I hope becomes clear in the course of the chapter is how the dynamic, evolving nature of early Thomism is reflected in the Dominican quodlibetal literature of these years.

Early Dominican Quodlibeta, ca. 1264–1280

As Kevin White’s chapter in the first volume of the present book makes clear, Thomas Aquinas’ twelve *Quodlibeta* form one of the most remarkable examples of the genre for the scholastic period as a whole, and taken together they dwarf the quodlibetal production of Aquinas’ early Dominican successors at Paris. In fact, from the period before around 1280, we have only four relatively brief sets of quodlibetal questions that survive from Dominican masters: those of Hannibaldus of Hannibaldi, Ferrarius Catalanus, William Hothum, and Peter of Tarentaise.¹

¹ The very early Dominican *Quodlibeta* in Guerric of Saint-Quentin, *Quodl.* I–VII (1233–42), which has recently been published in a critical edition, should be mentioned

Hannibalus of Hannibaldi

Of these sets of quodlibetal questions, that of Hannibaldus, regent master at Paris 1260–61, student and friend of Thomas Aquinas, is extremely brief, unedited, and (perhaps justifiably) neglected. Glorieux maintained that some of the eighteen questions of Hannibaldus' *Quodlibet*, found on just one page of a single manuscript (Paris, BnF lat. 13466, f. 127va–b), have a very pronounced affinity with questions from Aquinas' *Quodlibeta* VIII and IX.²

Ferrarius Catalanus

Although they are far more substantial pieces of work than that of Hannibaldus, the *Quodlibeta* of Ferrarius and William, each surviving in a sole manuscript, are also unstudied and largely unedited. Ferrarius, Dominican regent master in theology at Paris roughly in the period 1272–76, probably held the quodlibetal disputation from which his *Quodlibet* I descends at Easter 1275; the twenty-one questions found in Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 379, ff. 225r–233v, range in topic from philosophical psychology to original sin, from benefices to the sacraments, and from revelation to the beatific vision.³ In addition, Glorieux assigned to Ferrarius a second *Quodlibet* of twenty-one questions found in Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 530 (ff. 166r–169r), on the basis of

here: *Guerric of Saint-Quentin, Quaestiones de quolibet*, ed. W.H. Principe with J. Black, and an Introduction by J.P. Torrel (Studies and Texts, 143) (Toronto 2002). See on these *Quodlibeta* Torrel's extremely thorough "Introduction" to the edition (pp. 3–177), as well as Jacqueline Hamesse's "Theological *Quaestiones Quodlibetales*" in the first volume of the present book, esp. pp. 26–8.

² See Glorieux II, pp. 129–30, where Glorieux notes that the *Quodlibet* begins with the following remark: "aliud quodlibet a A predicatore termi^{to}"; according to Glorieux, this can only refer to either Albert the Great or [H]annibaldus, and he favors Hannibaldus 1) on account of the similarities between this *Quodlibet* and Aquinas' and 2) on account of paleographical and codicological grounds making it likely that this *Quodlibet* emerged from the early 1260s. It should be noted, however, that Kaeppli, *Scriptores*, no. 1685, questions (without elaboration) whether this *Quodlibet* indeed belongs to Hannibaldus. On Hannibaldus as friend of Thomas Aquinas, see J.-P. Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas*, vol. 1: *The Person and His Work*, R. Royal, trans. (Washington, DC 1996), pp. 137, 282–3.

³ According to Glorieux I, pp. 109–10, in the upper margin of f. 225 can be read: "Istud quodlibet est determinatum a fratre ferrario iacobita de paschate. Anno domini M^o CC^o LXX^o quinto," although the date itself is in a different hand from the main text. Both Glorieux, loc. cit., and Kaeppli, *Scriptores*, no. 1086, date the *Quodlibet* to 1276; M. Grabmann, "Quaestiones tres Fratris Ferrarii Catalani O.P. doctrinam S. Augustini illustrantes ex Codice Parisiensi editae," *Estudis Franciscans* 42 (1930) (pp. 382–90), p. 382, writes: "Hoc *Quodlibetum* a magistro Ferrario anno 1275 Parisiis determinatum est." There are several fragments of *Quodl.* I and several of its questions have been published; see Kaeppli, *Scriptores*, no. 1086.

the strong resemblance between the structure and language of this *Quodlibet* and Ferrarius' *Quodlibet* I. Ferrarius' *Quodlibet* II deals with the same kinds of issues as are found in Henry of Ghent's *Quodlibeta* I and II, and hence it should probably be dated to around 1277.⁴

William Hothum

William Hothum's *Quodlibet* is a series of rather short, interconnected questions on divine ideas, angelic cognition, the relation between will and intellect, and the nature of matter, found in Paris, BnF lat. 15805, ff. 17rb–19ra. The questions are interconnected in the sense that there are cross-references between the questions in the *Quodlibet*. As an example of this, we can take question 10, which concerns whether an angel knows singulars through species infused in it by God (*Utrum angelus novit singularia per species sibi a Deo inditas*). Here, one finds a reference to a position William rejected in the previous question dealing with whether angels cognize singulars through the application of universal species to particulars (*Utrum angelus cognoscat singularia per applicationem specierum universalium ad particularia*) as well as a reference to what William considers to be the correct understanding of angelic cognition already postulated in question 8 (*Utrum unus angelus cognoscat alium loco distantem a se*). William determines question 10 itself by saying that angels do indeed understand singulars through species infused in them directly by God.⁵ Thus, Hothum clearly has reworked his *Quodlibet* to a certain extent, imposing upon it a cogent internal structure. From the explicit to William's *Quodlibet* we know that the quodlibetal disputation took place in Paris on 9 December 1280, when William was *magister actu*

⁴ Glorieux II, pp. 86–7, who had listed this *Quodlibet* as “Anonymous VI” in Glorieux I, pp. 302–3.

⁵ William Hothum, *Quodl.*, q. 10: “Quia hanc viam praecedentis quaestionis non teneo, sequitur alia quaestio: utrum angelus novit singularia per species sibi a Deo inditas... Secundum quod dictum est supra in quaestione 8, concedendum est quod angelus novit singularia per species a Deo sibi inditas, non enim carent notitia rerum singularium, cum mundum administrent secundum catholicos, orbes moveant secundum philosophos. Nec species rerum a rebus accipiunt, non enim corporeis utuntur sensibus sicut animae coniunctae corporibus. Unde per species sibi a Deo inditas novit angelus corporalia sicut spiritualia, singularia sicut universalia, quia totum universum sicut effluit a Deo in suarum partium naturis, sic effluit ut quoad cognitionem esset in angelis. Sicut igitur Deus est causa rerum, non solum quoad naturam universalem sed quoad individuationis principia, et sicut causat sic cognoscit per suam essentiam quae est similitudo omnium, etiam singularium et materialium, ita angeli per species sibi a Deo inditas, quae sunt quaedam repraesentationes divinae essentiae, cognoscant res, tam universales quam particulares.” Paris, BnF lat. 15805, f. 18rb.

regens in theology there.⁶ He went on to head the English Dominican province for two periods (1282–87, 1290–96) and was nominated to be archbishop of Dublin in April 1296; he died in 1298.

Peter of Tarentaise

The last of these early Dominican *quodlibeta*, and the only one of them that has been edited nearly in its entirety, is that of Peter of Tarentaise, parts of which are found in three manuscripts.⁷ Perhaps part of the reason that Glorieux took the trouble to edit most of Peter's text is the fact that he was, in the five months prior to his death on 22 June 1276, Pope Innocent V. Peter's *Quodlibet* was in fact listed as anonymous in Glorieux I, pp. 305–06 ("Anonyme VIII" found in Paris, BnF lat. 16149, ff. 77r–81v), but an explicit reference in John of Paris' *Mémoire justificatif* to a position found in Peter's *Quodlibet* allowed Glorieux to identify it as Peter's in Glorieux II, pp. 225–27. In the article in which he edited a good deal of Peter's *Quodlibet*, Glorieux maintained that it was disputed in 1264 (probably at Easter) during Peter's first Parisian regency in 1259–64.⁸ But already in 1947, L.-B. Gillon not only showed how dubious Glorieux' evidence for that dating was, but

⁶ "Explicunt quaestiones de quolibet disputatae a fratre Guillelmo de Hozum die lunae proxima post festum beati Nicholai, videlicet in crastino conceptionis beatae Mariae virginis anno gratiae MCCLXXX." On William's *Quodlibet* and the manuscript in which it is found, see A. Noyon, "Théologiens et philosophes Dominicains du Moyen Âge (Notes, analyses et extraits)," *RSPT* 8 (1914–19), pp. 467–76, esp. 467–9; G.J. Etzkorn, "The Codex Paris Nat. Lat. 15.805," *AFH* 80 (1987), pp. 321–33, on these questions, p. 322.

⁷ The *Quodlibet* is edited on pp. 242–75 of P. Glorieux, "Le Quodlibet de Pierre de Tarentaise," *RTAM* 9 (1937), pp. 237–80. The order of the questions as found in both the question list in Glorieux II and the edition in "Le Quodlibet" follows the ordering in the Paris manuscript, and hence the fifteen Vatican questions are not listed according to the order in which they are actually found in their manuscript. In addition to the two manuscripts of the work mentioned in the main text below, Kaeppli, *Scriptores*, lists without further specification: ms. Angers 212 (xv), f. 39v. H.-D. Simonin, "Les écrits de Pierre de Tarentaise," in *Beatus Innocentius PP. V (Petrus de Tarantasia O.P.)*. *Studia et documenta* (Rome 1943), pp. 163–335, esp. pp. 236–9, gives a good description of the way Glorieux identified the *Quodlibet* as Peter's, but his suggestion (p. 239) that we are dealing here with remnants of more than one *Quodlibet* has been rebutted by Gillon (art. cit. n. 9 below, p. 370).

⁸ See Glorieux, "Le Quodlibet" (cit. n. 7), pp. 237–41. Glorieux establishes his dating primarily on the basis of q. 2 in the *Quodlibet*, which he claims refers obliquely to events leading up to St Louis' intervention in a dispute on 24 January 1264—but even a glance at the text shows that the reference, if it is a reference at all, is very oblique indeed.

also conducted a more thorough investigation of the *Quodlibet* in the Parisian theological context and determined that it was most probably disputed during Peter's second Parisian regency in 1267–69.⁹ Gillon's evidence rests on question 36 of Peter's *Quodlibet*, "An omnes et soli qui modo salvantur, salvarentur in statu innocentiae," which he notes is by no means a typically asked quodlibetal question, but which was nevertheless discussed by Gerard of Abbeville in his *Quodlibet* IX (V), q. 12, and Thomas Aquinas in his *Quodlibet* V, q. 5. The best dating for Aquinas' *Quodlibet* V is Christmas 1271, and Aquinas is clearly rebutting precisely Peter of Tarentaise's *Quodlibet*, q. 36.¹⁰ Thus, it seems to be an almost inescapable conclusion that Peter disputed this *Quodlibet* during his second regency. Of course, further work with other questions from Peter's *Quodlibet* may help to dispel any remaining doubt.¹¹

One point of note about this *Quodlibet* is that it gives us a window onto the way quodlibetal disputations were redacted and perhaps also conducted. The *Quodlibet* survives in two distinct redactions: thirty-six questions are found in Paris, BnF lat. 16149 (xiii), ff. 77r–81v, in a raw *reportatio* form—the way it would have been copied down directly by the student *reportator* present at the disputation—, while BAV, Borgh. 139 (xiii–xiv), ff. 134va–137va, gives fifteen of the *Quodlibet*'s questions (qq. 10–11, 15–17, 21–28, 36, plus one extra question = q. 37) in an ordained version of the text, i.e., one that Peter himself had worked through. As Glorieux was able to show, the first version—the one found in the Paris manuscript and the one that he edited in its entirety—records the questions in no particular order, i.e., as they were asked during the actual disputation; only the second, incomplete but ordained redaction includes Peter's introductory remarks and his own organization of the questions to impose some order on them (and it is these remarks, plus the entirety of questions 36–37, that Glorieux edits from the second version). Thus, the differences between the two versions clearly show the work a medieval theologian had to do in

⁹ See L.-B. Gillon, "Sur les écrits de Pierre de Tarentaise et leur chronologie," appendix in M.-H. Laurent, *Le bienheureux Innocent V (Pierre de Tarentaise) et son temps* (Studi e testi, 129) (Vatican City 1947), pp. 361–90, esp. pp. 370–7.

¹⁰ On Aquinas' *Quodl.* V and its dating, see Kevin White's chapter in the first volume of this book, esp. p. 54.

¹¹ One could suggest as a possible starting point Peter's q. 11 ("Utrum accipere usuras sit contra ius naturale"), which Giovanni Ceccarelli in his chapter on "Whatever Economics" in the first volume of this book (pp. 483–4 n. 17) mentions together with quodlibetal questions by Aquinas and Pecham from around 1270.

order to transform the records of the disputation itself into the type of polished *Quodlibet* that we are more accustomed to seeing.

In addition, but much less convincingly in my opinion, the differences between the versions of Peter's *Quodlibet* have been considered by Glorieux, perhaps by Lottin, and by Wippel as evidence in favor of the conclusion that quodlibetal disputations comprised two temporally distinct oral sessions, the first the disputation proper, the second the master's determination. Although it seems to be generally accepted today that this was indeed how quodlibetal disputations were conducted, this has been challenged in the past by such experts as Pelster and Pelzer.¹² Peter's *Quodlibet* has been included among much other evidence that has been marshaled in favor of the theory. The basic idea is that the *reportatio* version of Peter's text, unorganized and raw as it is, must reflect the first day's oral disputation, while the second, ordained version must be based on a final oral session. While the view that quodlibetal disputations took place over two days seems to me quite secure on the basis of other evidence,¹³ nevertheless introducing Peter of Tarentaise's *Quodlibet* in support of this conclusion is highly suspect. Let us say for the sake of argument that there was only one session in a medieval quodlibetal debate: then the first, *reportatio* version of Peter's *Quodlibet* is simply an account of that session; the second, worked-through version, on the other hand, is a purely written text, i.e., a reworking of the very *reportatio* version that we have, with no intervening second session. Thus, I cannot see that Peter's *Quodlibet* offers any compelling reason to postulate a second quodlibetal session. On the other hand, it

¹² On the challenges to the view, see Wippel, "Quodlibetal Questions," p. 160 and n. 7. With respect to Peter's process of reworking the material into an organized unity (including the suggestion that this speaks in favor of a two-part disputation), see especially Glorieux, "Le Quodlibet" (cit. n. 7), pp. 275–80; Glorieux, "Le Quodlibet et ses procédés rédactionnels," *Divus Thomas* (Piacenza) 42 (1939), pp. 61–93, esp. pp. 73–5; Wippel, "Quodlibetal Questions," pp. 161–2, 187 (Wippel, p. 161 n. 10, refers to O. Lottin, *Bulletin de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* 3 [1937–40], pp. 531*–2*, no. 1185 [a review of Glorieux's article on "Le Quodlibet et ses procédés rédactionnels"] as agreeing with Glorieux' interpretation of the two versions of Peter's text, but in fact Lottin does not explicitly do so). It might be objected to my argument here that the actual texts as found in both redactions of Peter's *Quodlibet* are similar enough to suggest that they are both pure *reportationes*; but it could be responded that, e.g., q. 36 as found in the Vatican version (see Glorieux, "Le Quodlibet" cit., pp. 271–4) is very elaborate and appears to have been completely reworked; proof would need to be offered that both versions are pure *reportationes* in order for Glorieux's arguments to hold.

¹³ For much more solid evidence, see, e.g., Wippel "Quodlibetal Questions," pp. 161–2.

seems to me that Wippel is absolutely right to point out that, given that the *reportatio* version of Peter's *Quodlibet* is a *reportatio* of the first day's events, then this appears to indicate that sometimes the presiding master played a large role even in this first day of disputation, since it seems to be Peter himself who draws the conclusions and who responds to objections, not a bachelor of the *Sentences* acting as "respondent."¹⁴ For my purposes here the most important point is that Peter's *Quodlibet* has been appealed to in trying to settle some of the fundamental questions about the genre itself and the disputations on which it was based.

Dominican Quodlibeta and Anti-Quodlibeta, ca. 1280–1310

The years 1280–1310 were an extremely active period for Dominicans writing quodlibetal literature, and we have examples from both Paris and Oxford, and even one from the order's provincial *studia* in Italy. Here we will begin with Paris, move on to Oxford, and end with Remigio dei Girolami in Italy.

Bernard of Trilia

A significant set of quodlibetal questions appeared in the middle of the 1280s from the hand of the French Dominican Bernard of Trilia (†1292). Pius Künzle, who has studied Bernard's life and works in the greatest depth to date, proposes that Bernard read the *Sentences* at Paris in 1281–83 and was Dominican regent master in theology there in 1283–86.¹⁵ These were the years, then, in which Bernard's three quodlibetal disputations took place. Glorieux I, pp. 101–04, relying on the early work of G.S. André,¹⁶ listed Bernard's three *Quodlibeta* in the order and with the titles of questions as they are found in just one Vatican

¹⁴ Wippel, "Quodlibetal Questions," p. 185.

¹⁵ "Prolegomena" to P. Künzle, ed., *Bernardi de Trilia Quaestiones disputatae de cognitione animae separatae* (Corpus philosophorum medii aevi, Opera philosophica mediae aetatis selecta, 1) (Bern 1969), pp. 3*–11*, esp. 9* for these dates. It should be noted that these were also the dates given by Glorieux (I, p. 101) for Bernard's regency.

¹⁶ G.S. André, "Les Quolibeta de Bernard de Trilia," *Gregorianum* 2 (1921), pp. 226–65; in addition to providing a question list for the *Quodlibeta* from BAV, Borgh. 156, André edited four questions from the *Quodlibeta* and devoted a brief survey (pp. 239–48) to some of the important philosophical and theological themes found there, also discussing Bernard's debt to Aquinas.

manuscript (BAV, Borgh. 156 [xiv]). In 1957, however, Künzle was able to present evidence found in a Florence manuscript (BNC, Conv. Soppr. A.3.1153 [xiii–xiv]) that the *Quodlibet* that Glorieux labeled *Quodlibet* II was in fact Bernard's *Quodlibet* III, and vice-versa, Glorieux's *Quodlibet* III was in fact Bernard's *Quodlibet* II. Moreover, Künzle could show that Glorieux's question lists were missing one question for Bernard's *Quodlibet* I (for twenty-four questions total), thirteen questions for *Quodlibet* II (= Glorieux's *Quodlibet* III, for eighteen questions in all), and no fewer than thirty-eight questions for *Quodlibet* III (= Glorieux's *Quodlibet* II, for a total of sixty-two questions!).¹⁷

In addition, in this same Florence manuscript (ff. 286ra–299vb), there is a fourth *Quodlibet* (*quartum quodlibet*), which, however, is not directly attributed to Bernard. Grabmann, who did the earliest work on this particular manuscript and its relation to Bernard of Trilia, maintained rather categorically that this fourth *Quodlibet* was also written by Bernard.¹⁸ Künzle, however, dismissed Grabmann's position, claiming in fact that the fourth *Quodlibet* could not have been written before 26 March 1322, since a bull of Pope John XXII promulgated on that date (*Quia nonnunquam*) is cited in one of the questions contained in it (q. 16: "Utrum deceat viros perfectos transferre in alium dominium eorum quae acquirunt mendicando cum spe habendi totum").¹⁹ More recently, however, Emilio Panella, in his research on Remigio dei Girolami, has looked once again at the issue of the fourth *Quodlibet*. The Florentine manuscript in which all this material is contained actually belonged to Remigio, who probably had it made for him while studying and teaching in Paris around the turn of the fourteenth century. In fact, Remigio made many autograph notes and corrections throughout the

¹⁷ See for this, P. Künzle, "Neu aufgefundene Quaestiones quodlibetales Bernhards von Trilia," *FZPT* 4 (1957), pp. 52–6. I have included in Appendix I to this article a question list that takes into account the changes that Künzle's findings would seem to require. Note that the *Quodlibet* of Bernard's that André and Glorieux called "*Quodl. II*" is in fact called "*Quodl. II*" in the Vatican manuscript (see Appendix I, n. 216, below), while it is called *Quodl. III* in the Florence manuscript. Thus, there is some doubt about the relative order of the second and third of Bernard's *Quodlibeta*. Nevertheless, I have accepted the ordering of the Florence manuscript, keeping in mind that it was copied for and studied by Remigio dei Girolami shortly after Bernard's death (see on this below).

¹⁸ M. Grabmann, "Bernhard von Trilia O.P. (†1292) und seine Quaestiones de cognitione animae conjunctae corpori und de cognitione animae separatae," *Divus Thomas* (Freiburg) 13 (1935) (pp. 385–99), p. 389.

¹⁹ See the "Prolegomena" to Künzle, ed., *Bernardi de Trilia* (cit. n. 15), pp. 16*–17*.

entire manuscript; since Remigio died in 1319, it is not possible that the fourth *Quodlibet* refers to documents written in 1322. Upon looking again at question 16 of this *Quodlibet*, Panella claims that it definitely refers to Nicholas III's bull *Exiit qui seminat* of 14 August 1279, but that it is "very likely anterior to the promulgation of the *Liber sextus decretalium* (3 March 1298)."²⁰ Although Panella does not explicitly say that Bernard of Trilia might indeed be the author of this *Quodlibet*, it is nevertheless clearly worth further study.²¹

Putting aside the issue of Bernard's possible fourth *Quodlibet*, the three *Quodlibeta* that are securely assigned to the Dominican are contained in four manuscripts, and there are a number of fragments.²² Thus—as Remigio dei Girolami and Florence A.3.1153 suggest—the three *Quodlibeta* that we know to be Bernard's probably had readers at the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth, although they were by no means bestsellers. Bernard's three *Quodlibeta* are as yet mostly unedited, a rather strange fact inasmuch as his *Quaestiones disputatae XIII de cognitione animae separatae* were edited twice in the 1960s.²³

²⁰ See Panella's "Introduzione" to his edition of Remigio's *Quodlibeta* ("I Quodlibeti di Remigio dei Girolami," cit. n. 84 below), pp. 1–11, esp. p. 11: "quodlibeto IV, a. 16 suppose certamente l'*Exiit qui seminat* (14.VIII.1279) di Niccolò III ma non contiene elementi che implicino conoscenza o utilizzazione della *Quia nonnunquam* (26.III.1322) di Giovanni XXII; molto verosimilmente è anteriore alla promulgazione del *Liber sextus decretalium* (3.III.1298)."

²¹ A list of the twenty questions contained in this *Quodlibet* is found in Künzle, "Neu aufgefundene Quaestiones" (cit. n. 17), pp. 57–8.

²² The following manuscripts contain all three *Quodlibeta*: Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona de l'Aragó, San Cugat 54 (xiv), ff. 31va–72rb; Firenze, BNC, Conv. Soppr. A.3.1153 (xiii–xiv), ff. 3ra–84va; Pisa, Biblioteca Cateriniana del Seminario 45 (xiv), ff. 1–37v; BAV, Borgh. 156 (xiv), ff. 154r–181v. Fragments are found in Praha, Národní knihovna XII.F.6 (xv), f. 207v (excerpt I.16); Venezia, BN Marciana 139 (2010) (xiv), ff. 110vb–112ra (I.24); as well as Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska 770, f. IIr (excerpt III.20 = Glorieux II.20)—this last fragment is found on an extra leaf at the end of the manuscript (see *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum medii aevi Latinorum qui in Bibliotheca Jagellonica Cracoviae asservatur* V [Warsaw 1993], pp. 355–62, esp. p. 360).

Glorieux II, pp. 66–7, claims that the qq. 7–14 found in Nicholas of Bar's compendium of Paris opinions (in Paris, BnF lat. 15850, ff. 12r–16r) are probably part of Bernard's *Quodlibet* IV, but Künzle (op. cit. n. 15, pp. 16*–17*) points out that Glorieux' original grounds for assigning the questions to Bernard no longer hold, and that stylistically these questions do not appear to belong to Bernard (on Nicholas of Bar and his compendium, see the literature cited in n. 26 below).

²³ S. Martin, ed., *Quaestiones de cognitione animae separatae a corpore. A Critical Edition of the Latin Text with an Introduction and Notes* (Studies and Texts, 11) (Toronto 1965); Künzle, ed., *Bernardi de Trilia Quaestiones* (cit. n. 15). Künzle ("Prolegomena" to op. cit., p. 83*, and see further pp. 83*–8*) claims that he published a fresh edition, because Martin's

As for Bernard's doctrinal stance, already in the Middle Ages Bernard had the reputation of being Thomistically inclined; Bernard Gui, for example, writing a little more than a decade after Bernard of Trilia's death, said that he was "steeped chiefly in the nectar of brother Thomas' doctrine" (*... imbutus potissime nectare doctrinae fratris Thomae*).²⁴ Gui's appreciative judgment on this score has in general been borne out by more recent work. In the *Quodlibeta*, as in his other scholastic works, Bernard never mentions Aquinas by name, but the Angelic Doctor's ideas are always at work in the background and sometimes appear verbatim or in paraphrase. Nevertheless, it has also been the consensus of such scholars as André, Grabmann, Künzle, and more recently Wouter Goris that Bernard develops the main lines of Aquinas' thought in interesting ways, expanding and expounding them to meet challenges from thinkers contemporary with him like Henry of Ghent.²⁵ With all this said, given the little study that has been devoted to Bernard's work, and to his *Quodlibeta* in particular, the extent and the nature of his Thomism as well as his more general position in later thirteenth-century thought remain largely an object for future research.

Bernard of Auvergne

From Nicholas of Bar's collection of questions in Paris, BnF lat. 15850, we know of quodlibetal questions debated during this period at Paris by two Dominicans: Oliver of Tréguier (regency 1291–92) and Raymond Guilha (1293–95).²⁶ But for these two thinkers we have no more than

earlier edition contained many and serious errors, and this may explain the fact that Martin's edition is not to be found listed in Kaeppli, *Scriptores*.

²⁴ S. de Salaniaco et B. Guidonis, *De quatuor in quibus Deus Praedicatorum Ordinem insignivit*, ed. T. Kaeppli (Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historia, 22) (Rome 1949), p. 35; cf. Künzle, ed., *Bernardi de Trilia Quaestiones* (cit. n. 15), p. 19*.

²⁵ For André, see n. 16 above; for Grabmann and Künzle, see Künzle, ed., *Bernardi de Trilia Quaestiones* (cit. n. 15), pp. 19*–22*. Although it focuses on a question from Bernard's incomplete *Quaestiones disputatae de cognitione animae coniunctae corpori* and not his *Quodlibeta*, it is worthwhile mentioning here the only recent study of Bernard's thought of which I know: W. Goris, "Die Kritik des Bernhard von Trilia an der Lehre von Gott als Ersterkanntem. Einleitung und Textausgabe," *RTPM* 65.2 (1998), pp. 248–319, which includes an edition of q. 8 of the treatise (for a list of manuscripts and the 20 qq. in this treatise of Bernard's, see Künzle, ed., *Bernardi de Trilia Quaestiones* [cit. n. 15], pp. 12*–14*). Goris shows that in this question Bernard was responding to Henry of Ghent.

²⁶ On the collection, and for the dates, see S. Piron's chapter on "Nicholas of Bar's Collection" in the present volume, as well as Piron's article in the first volume of this book: "Franciscan *Quodlibeta* in Southern *Studia* and at Paris," pp. 421–2. Oliver of

the question titles and a rough knowledge of their dates. Far more significant are the extensive, if still mainly unedited, anti-*Quodlibeta* of the French Dominican Bernard of Auvergne: his *reprobationes* of Godfrey of Fontaines's *Quodlibeta* V–XIII and III–IV, of James of Viterbo's *Quodlibeta* I–II, and of Henry of Ghent's *Quodlibeta* I–XV.²⁷ We know extraordinarily little about Bernard's life.²⁸ He was prior of St Jacques in Paris in 1303, and had been so for no more than one year at that time. In 1304, upon the death of Peter of Auvergne, bishop of Clermont, Bernard appears to have been selected as his replacement, but the election was contested, and, in 1307, Pope Clement V quashed Bernard's election and selected his own candidate instead. That is the last we hear of Bernard. We can only surmise when he might have read the *Sentences*, although we can be sure that he read them at Paris. Whether he ever was *magister actu regens* is unknown.

Although a part of his *Sentences* commentary is extant,²⁹ and although there are references to several of his other works and to sermons, Bernard of Auvergne's fame will undoubtedly always rest on his three *reprobationes*. Based on Adriaan Pattin's careful reading of all three, we can establish a relative chronological order between them. The refutations of both Henry of Ghent and James of Viterbo refer the reader to the refutation of Godfrey; the refutation of Henry refers the reader to that of James. Thus, Bernard wrote the texts in the following order:

Tréguier's questions are nos. 67–9 listed at Glorieux I, p. 235 (cf. Glorieux II, p. 211), Raymond Guilha's are qq. 36–41 in Glorieux I, p. 233 (cf. Glorieux II, p. 239). See also n. 22 above.

²⁷ I use the term *reprobationes* to denote Bernard's works; the terms *improbationes* or *impugnations* have also been used to describe the works, but as P.T. Stella in "Teologia e teologia nelle 'Reprobationes' di Bernardo d'Auvergne ai quodlibeti di Goffredo di Fontaines," *Salesianum* 19 (1957) (pp. 171–214), p. 172 n. 5 points out, Bernard himself uses *reprobatio* quite consistently.

²⁸ On Bernard's life and works, see A. Pattin, "La structure de l'être fini selon Bernard d'Auvergne, O.P. (†après 1307)," *Tijdschrift voor Filosofie* 24 (1962), pp. 668–737, esp. pp. 668–87, reprint in idem, *Miscellanea* (Leuven 2000), vol. II (*Metafysische Thema's en notities*), pp. 64–133. One point of note about Pattin's article: he casts doubt (pp. 683–6) on the common attribution to Bernard of the anonymous *impugnatio* of Giles of Rome, edited by G. Bruni as *Incerti auctoris impugnatio contra Aegidium Romanum contradicentem Thomae super primum Sententiarum* (Bibliotheca Augustiniana Medii Aevi, Series I, 1) (Rome 1942); he is likewise sceptical of Franz Pelster's suggestion ("Thomistische Streitschriften gegen Aegidius Romanus und ihre Verfasser: Thomas von Sutton und Robert von Orford, O.P.," *Gregorianum* 24 [1943] [pp. 135–70], pp. 136–52) that Thomas of Sutton is the author.

²⁹ A. Pattin argues that the short commentary on I *Sent.* in Praha, Národní Knihovna XIII.D.5, ff. 1–17, is Bernard's (or an abbreviation of Bernard's) in *RTAM* 31 (1964), pp. 135–7.

Contra Godfrey, *Contra* James, *Contra* Henry.³⁰ Moreover, Valens Heynck, through his study of the controversy between Bernard and Godfrey on a point of sacramental theology, as well as early fourteenth-century literary echos of that controversy, was able to suggest that Bernard's *Reprobatio* of Godfrey was written between 1298 and 1304; recent work by Paul Bakker would seem to confirm fully Heynck's conclusion.³¹ As far as I know, the *terminus ante quem* for all three writings is around 1315, this on the basis of the fact that Peter Auriol in his *Scriptum super primum Sententiarum*, substantially complete by 1316, refers no fewer than five times to Bernard "in impugnationibus *Contra* Henricum."³² Thus, it appears that Bernard was working on his three *reprobationes* right around the turn of the century, and was finished with them at latest in the middle of the second decade of the fourteenth century. As the case of Auriol illustrates, what is very important about Bernard's *reprobationes*, especially those against Godfrey and Henry, is that they were *read*. Among those Pattin lists as having explicitly cited these works of Bernard are Peter of Palude, Henry of Herford, Pico della Mirandola (!), and most extensively John Capreolus;³³ Heynck, Bakker, and Schabel have added the Dominicans James of Metz, Hervaeus

³⁰ See Pattin, "La structure" (cit. n. 28), esp. pp. 677–8, 682–3.

³¹ V. Heynck, "Die Kontroverse zwischen Gottfried von Fontaines und Bernhard von Auvergne OP um die Lehre des hl. Thomas von der confessio informis," *Franziskanische Studien* 45 (1963), pp. 201–42; Heynck (relying on Stella, "Teologi e teologia" [cit. n. 27], p. 186 n. 38) points out (p. 209 n. 17) that Bernard refers to Boniface VIII's constitution *Cum ex eo quod felicitis recordationis* of 3 March 1298 and claims (pp. 239–40) that both the anonymous Dominican commentary on IV *Sent.* from 1305–06 found in BAV, Vat. lat. 985, and the first redaction of Durand of St Pourçain's commentary on IV *Sent.* from no later than 1308 rehearse the positions of both Godfrey and Bernard. P.J.J.M. Bakker, *La raison et le miracle. Les doctrines eucharistiques (c. 1250–c. 1400)* (Nijmegen 1999), vol. I, pp. 218–21, maintains that Bernard's *reprobatio* of Godfrey was instrumental in Hervaeus Natalis', James of Metz's, and Durand of St Pourçain's reading of Godfrey of Fontaines on the issue of eucharistic change, which would again place Bernard's work in the first few years of the fourteenth century (it has been suggested that the anonymous author of the commentary on IV *Sent.* in Vat. lat. 985 may have been a student of James; see L. Hödl, *Die Grundfragen der Sakramentenlehre nach Hervaeus Natalis O.P. (†1323)* [Münchener theologische Studien, II. Systematische Abteilung, 10] [Munich 1956], pp. 12, 135–6, 163–5, 257–60).

³² See Auriol's *Scriptum*, Prologue, q. 4, a. 1, ed. E. Buytaert (St Bonaventure, NY 1953), vol. I, p. 275, no. 78, *Scriptum*, d. 9, q. 1, a. 1 (as found on the "Electronic Scriptum" of *The Peter Auriol Homepage* [http://www.igl.ku.dk/~russ/auriol.html], l. 170); *Scriptum*, d. 24, a. 1; *Scriptum*, d. 27, q. 2, a. 1 ("Electronic Scriptum," URL cit., l. 254); *Scriptum*, d. 44, a. 4—this last mention of Bernard is to both the *reprobatio* of Henry and that of Godfrey.

³³ Pattin, "La structure" (cit. n. 28), pp. 678–81.

Natalis, Durand of St Pourçain, the Carmelite John Baconthorpe, and the Augustinian Hermit Michael of Massa.³⁴ Undoubtedly as we come to know better the literature of this understudied period, we will find further evidence of Bernard's influence. Just the number of manuscripts of his three *reprobationes*, and especially of that against Henry, would indicate that he was being read: of the *Contra* Godfrey we know of two full manuscripts and four fragments;³⁵ the *Contra* James is found in five manuscripts;³⁶ and the *Contra* Henry is preserved in no fewer than nine manuscripts.³⁷

³⁴ See n. 31 above for Heynck and Bakker. Schabel pointed out to me that Baconthorpe in a version of his *Sentences* commentary refers at least twice to Bernard, and that Massa in d. 24, q. 1, of his *I Sent.* refers to Bernard (see for the latter, D. Trapp, "Notes on Some Manuscripts of the Augustinian Michael de Massa (†1337)," *Augustinianum* 5 [1965], pp. 58–133, esp. p. 86).

³⁵ The following list is compiled from Pattin, "La structure" (cit. n. 28), pp. 672–5, corrected by T.W. Köhler, "'Reprobationes' Bernhards von Auvergne O.P. in einer Harburger Handschrift," *RTAM* 38 (1971), pp. 196–210, and C. Zuckerman, "Some Texts of Bernard of Auvergne on Papal Power," *RTAM* 49 (1982) (pp. 174–204), p. 190 (asterisk note). Main manuscripts: Firenze, BNC, II. II. 182 (xiv), ff. 313r–418r, and BAV, Borgh. 298 (xiv), ff. 1r–153. Excerpts in Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona de Aragó, San Cugat 54 (xiv), ff. 19vb–26va (*Quodl.* VII, q. 5); Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek (formerly: Harburg, Fürstlich Oettingen-Wallerstein'schen Bibliothek), II.1.2°.1, ff. 98ra–109vb (27 *reprobationes* to qq. from *Quodl.* V–VII, different text from that found in the main manuscripts, and some texts with a different abbreviation of Godfrey's text); Praha, Národní knihovna XII.F.6 (xv), ff. 89–156v (contains abridgements of several of Bernard's *reprobationes*); BAV, Vat. lat. 772 (xiv), f. 63va (*Quodl.* IV, q. 22). On the basis of his manuscript study for several questions from the *reprobationes* to *Quodl.* V and VI, Köhler (art. cit., p. 206) ranks the manuscripts in terms of quality: BAV (Borgh.), Barcelona, Florence, Augsburg.

³⁶ For the following list, see Pattin, "La structure" (cit. n. 28), pp. 681–3, and cf. Kaeppli, *Scriptores*, no. 585. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, theol. fol. 226 (xiv), ff. 77r–125v; Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska 1577 (expl. f. 132); Erfurt, Universitätsbibliothek, Dep. Erf. CA F.321 (xiv), ff. 63ra–92ra (Pattin has: 63r–108v); Toulouse, Bibliothèque Municipale 744 (xiv), ff. 156ra–191ra; BAV, Borgh. 298 (xiv), ff. 157r–201r (in addition, Kaeppli lists Prague, Národní knihovna XII.F.6 (xv), ff. 156v–162v as qq. selectae).

³⁷ Cp. Kaeppli, *Scriptores*, no. 583, with Zuckerman, "Some Texts" (cit. n. 35), p. 202 (asterisk note). See also on the manuscripts, R. Macken, *Bibliotheca Manuscripta Henrici de Gandavo* (Leuven 1978), entries listed in the index s.v. Bernard d'Auvergne (vol. II, pp. 1185–6, of Macken's work contains a short description of Bernard's *Reprobatio*). Zuckerman notes there that his edition of the text is based solely on Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio A.943, since he collated his text against all but two of the other manuscripts, and found that they "were all so inferior to" the Bologna manuscript that to have included their readings "would have resulted in heaping up variant readings without point." P. Mazzearella, *Controversie medievali. Unità e pluralità delle forme* (I Principi, 13) (Naples 1978), pp. 333–91, who edits on a much smaller manuscript basis two questions from the *Reprobatio Henrici* (and one from the *Reprobatio Godfredi*), also claims that he found the Archiginnasio manuscript to offer the best text.

In addition to showing the direct influence that Bernard had, historians of medieval thought have used his work to create a general historical trajectory for the development of some medieval ideas; for instance, Charles Zuckerman has indicated how Bernard's ideas on papal power are an intermediate stage between the rather desultory thirteenth-century comments on the issue and the pointed and detailed discussions of the 1310s and 1320s.³⁸ Pattin judged Bernard's responses to Godfrey and to Henry on the subject of the real distinction between essence and existence to be "clear, profound, and interesting" and that Bernard's criticisms were made with "moderation and serenity."³⁹ Indeed, with regard to Bernard's moderation, although at times the Dominican's criticism can be rather sharp and categorical—he begins his response to James of Viterbo's *Quodlibet* I, q. 10, by saying that James "says many unintelligible things here"⁴⁰—, nevertheless most often he is quite measured in his response, taking up substantial issues that separate him from his opponents, sometimes pointing to lack of clarity in their arguments, sometimes conceding the force of some of their arguments while objecting to more general conclusions, sometimes admitting the conclusion while rejecting the reasoning that led to it.⁴¹ In nearly all cases studied to date what comes across is that Bernard was seriously interested in engaging with his opponents' arguments and views.⁴² Given the historical significance of at least two of these three

My own work with the manuscripts of Bernard's *Reprobationes Henrici* also indicates that the Bologna manuscript presents an excellent text (thanks to Marco Forlivesi for help in procuring photographs of the Archiginnasio manuscript).

³⁸ Zuckerman, "Some Texts" (cit. n. 35).

³⁹ Pattin, "La structure" (cit. n. 28), p. 689.

⁴⁰ Bernard of Auvergne, *Reprobatio Quodlibetorum I–II Iacobi de Viterbo, Quodl. I*, q. 10: "Hic dicit multa inintelligibilia..." Toulouse 744, f. 173vb.

⁴¹ *Lack of clarity*: "...argumenta non bene clara..." (*Reprobatio Quodl. VI*, q. 8, Godofridi, ed. Köhler, "Reprobationes" Bernhards" (cit. n. 35), p. 209, l. 6. *Conceding the force... objecting to more general conclusions*: "Lumen quod aliqui ponunt bene reprobatur; sed quod theologia non sit scientia nisi sicut dicit, non videtur verum, nec tenetur communiter..." *Reprobatio Quodl. VIII*, q. 7, Godofridi, ed. Stella, "Teologi e teologia" (cit. n. 27), p. 193 (the 'lumen' is a reference to Henry of Ghent's theory about how theology can be a science in this life). *Admitting the conclusion... rejecting the reasoning*: "Licet conclusio vera sit, scilicet quod esse non prius creatur quam essentia nec e converso, hoc tamen non est propter identitatem realem esse et essentiae, quae realiter differunt, ut ostensum est in praecedenti quaestione..." *Reprobatio Quodl. III*, q. 2, Godofridi, ed. Pattin, "La structure" (cit. n. 28), p. 701, ll. 1–3.

⁴² In addition to the other works cited here, see P. Bayerschmidt, *Die Seins- und Form-metaphysik des Heinrich von Gent in ihrer Anwendung auf die Christologie. Eine Philosophie- und Dogmengeschichtliche Studie* (BGPTM, 36) (Münster 1941), esp. pp. 159–64, 298–313, which

works of Bernard's, as well as their proven intellectual value, a critical edition of them would serve the dual purpose of making his thought readily available and allowing us to see better his historical influence.

Perhaps the best way to give a sense of what one of Bernard's anti-*Quodlibeta* looks like is to examine one question. In Appendix II to this chapter is a transcription of Bernard's entire response to two of Henry of Ghent's quodlibetal questions dealing with trinitarian theology: *Quodlibet* V, q. 9 (dealing with the *Filioque*), and *Quodlibet* VI, q. 1 (on the psychological model of the Trinity), both transcribed from Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio A.943. The first thing to notice about the texts is that they are composed of two main parts: an *abbreviatio* of Henry's text and a *reprobatio* of that same text. This is typical for Bernard's replies to the *Quodlibeta*: he gives first an abbreviated version of the text to which he will reply and only then does he reply to it. Interestingly, we do not actually know who made the abbreviation of Henry's text that Bernard presents, whether Bernard himself or someone else. Prospero T. Stella, who to date has studied the abbreviations most thoroughly, focusing on the abbreviations in Bernard's *Contra* Godfrey, shows that the two main manuscripts (Florence and Vatican) of this work of Bernard's have each their own abbreviation, the Vatican abbreviation being a further abbreviation of the Florence abbreviation. Stella has also argued that Hervaeus Natalis is the ultimate source of these abbreviations, arriving at this conclusion by comparing abbreviations of Godfrey's *Quodlibeta* that are explicitly attributed to Hervaeus (in, e.g., Firenze, BNC, Conv. Soppr. E.5.532, ff. 1r–102r) with the abbreviations in Bernard's *Reprobationes* of Godfrey. Theodor Köhler has further studied the abbreviations in the *Contra* Godfrey and has confirmed Stella's results concerning the existence of and relationship between the two different sets of abbreviations; moreover, Pattin appears to have accepted Stella's conclusion also about Hervaeus' ultimate authorship of these abbreviations.⁴³ As

deals with Bernard's *Reprobatio* of Henry; Bayerschmidt concludes (p. 313): "Bernhard von Auvergne übt seine Kritik mit ruhiger Sachlichkeit."

⁴³ Stella, "Teologi e teologia" (cit. n. 27), esp. pp. 174–86; Köhler, "'Reprobationes' Bernhards" (cit. n. 35), pp. 201–5 (Köhler notes that in the Augsburg manuscript the *reprobationes* are usually not preceded by an abbreviation, but an inserted abbreviation there to *Quodl.* VII, q. 5, is yet another redaction of the base abbreviation); Pattin, "La structure" (cit. n. 28), p. 674. On the same issue, see also Heynck, "Die Kontroverse" (cit. n. 31), p. 210, and Wippel, "Quodlibetal Questions," pp. 187–9. Already Teetaert, "La littérature," p. 104, expressed his regret that Glorieux II did not pay any atten-

far as I know, it remains to be explored just how many abbreviations there are in the *Reprobationes* of Henry (or those of James).

To see Bernard's *modus operandi* in more detail, we can look at the abbreviation in *Quodlibet* VI, q. 1 below (§§1–15). This abbreviation is, in fact, a heavy compression of a large question: Henry's question takes up more than thirty pages in the *Henrici de Gandavo Opera Omnia*; I estimate the entire question to be a little over 6000 words in all.⁴⁴ In contrast, the abbreviation in Bernard's work is some 1500 words in length. Bernard achieves this reduction by ignoring many of Henry's lengthy citations of authorities; for example when "Dionysius, 5 cap. *De divinis nominibus*" is mentioned in the text below (§6), some thirty lines of quotation in Henry's text are being dropped. Not just quotations, but also argumentation that the abbreviator considered to be non-essential is frequently dropped. Indeed, at many points the abbreviation below is less an abbreviation and more a paraphrase of Henry's text. With all that said, the abbreviation is skillfully done, inasmuch as it covers the major points of Henry's theory—that we can show that there are three divine persons, neither fewer nor more, on the basis of the fact that God the Father has *ex se* in Himself the divine intellect and the divine will as productive sources ready to issue into the acts producing the Son and the Holy Spirit respectively, acts that completely exhaust the fecundity of these two productive sources. The abbreviation even manages to touch on some more peripheral points in Henry's treatment that Bernard will take up and refute in his *reprobatio* (e.g., §7, with Bernard's response in §22). After the abbreviation comes Bernard's *reprobatio*, beginning in this case with the words (§16): "He says many dubious things" (*multa dubia dicit*). Bernard has several lines of response, but his main reply (§16) relies on an argument that goes back to Aquinas: given that the divine will and intellect are only rationally distinct from each other (which Henry admits), they cannot be the source of *real* distinction between the persons, since the sources of two distinct things must be just as distinct as that which they are making distinct.

tion to the abbreviated *quodlibeta* (and their refutations), and offered a great number of examples of the abbreviations, including those mentioned here by Hervaeus Natalis of Godfrey of Fontaines, and those of Hervaeus' own *Quodl.* I, in BAV, Vat. lat. 829, ff. 61v–65v (qq. 2, 4, 3, 15), ff. 66v–67r (q. 7), ff. 67r–68r (q. 10), ff. 69v–71v (qq. 6, 5). Wippel, loc. cit., points to the abbreviations as a worthy object of study, if only because we need to know who compiled them in order to assess their reliability.

⁴⁴ See *Henrici de Gandavo Quodlibet VI*, ed. G.A. Wilson (*Henrici de Gandavo Opera Omnia*, 10) (Leuven 1987), pp. 1–32.

Given this structure for Bernard's questions, one can easily understand why Valens Heynck called Bernard's *Reprobatio* of Godfrey "an edition of Godfrey's *Quodlibeta* furnished with critical commentary."⁴⁵

John Quidort of Paris

A final *Quodlibet* from this period by a Parisian Dominican is that of John Quidort of Paris (†1306). Quidort is best known for his work of political philosophy, *De potestate regia et papali*, as well as his contribution to the *Correctoria* literature, the *Correctorium* "Circa." His tenure as Dominican regent master of theology in 1304–06 was marked by controversy over his positions on, among other things, the Eucharist, and he in fact died while still awaiting a papal verdict on an injunction imposed on him neither to teach nor to dispute at Paris. During the period of his regency, however, in either 1304 or 1305, John produced his short *Quodlibet*, containing ten mostly physical and metaphysical questions, and edited by Heiman.⁴⁶ The Eucharist gets only a mention in passing in John's *Quodlibet* (q. 5, on whether God could make a will without a soul), but there are short but interesting questions on, for example, God's ability to make a creature last just one instant (q. 6, including an *incipit/desinit* discussion), whether anything positive can be produced from non-being (q. 8, with a discussion on the intention and remission of forms), and whether the rational soul is directly united with the body (q. 10, on the plurality/unicity of forms, and with explicit reference to Aquinas). As far as we know the *Quodlibet* is contained in one manuscript only, Paris, BnF lat. 14572 (xiv), ff. 1r–4v, and hence could not have had a great deal of impact.

Richard Knapwell

If Parisian Dominicans from the period ca. 1280–1310 made significant contributions to quodlibetal literature, their brethren across the chan-

⁴⁵ Heynck, "Die Kontroverse" (cit. n. 31), p. 210 n. 20: "...eine mit kritischem Kommentar versehene Ausgabe der Quodlibeta Gottfrieds..."

⁴⁶ A.J. Heiman, "The First Quodlibet of Jean Quidort," in *Nine Mediaeval Thinkers. A Collection of Hitherto Unedited Texts*, J.R. O'Donnell, ed. (Toronto 1951), pp. 271–91. The reason that Heiman calls this John's *First Quodlibet* is because a Klosterneuberg manuscript assigns to John what is better known as Hervaeus Natalis' *Quodl.* VIII; see on this below, at and around n. 114. On John and his controversial eucharistic theory of "impanation," see, e.g., Bakker, *La raison et le miracle* (cit. n. 31), vol. I, pp. 253–69.

nel, specifically in Oxford, were no less industrious.⁴⁷ For example, a small *Quodlibet* from the mid-1280s by the English Dominican Richard Knapwell (†1288) survives in one manuscript: Cambridge, Peterhouse Library 128, ff. 106r–113v. Knapwell became an important early advocate in England for the doctrines of Thomas Aquinas, authoring the first *Correctorium corruptorii* (the *Correctorium* “*Quare*”) in response to William de la Mare’s *Correctorium fratris Thomae*, as well as a significant treatise on the issue of the plurality of forms.⁴⁸ It was in large part because of his support for Aquinas’ position on the unicity of substantial form in human beings that Knapwell ran into trouble with the (Franciscan) archbishop of Canterbury, John Pecham; in 1286, upon the condemnation of several propositions taken from Knapwell’s work, Knapwell, with the support of the Dominican provincial, William Hothum, went to Rome to appeal his case to the pope. Unfortunately for Knapwell, Nicholas IV, who eventually heard the case, was a former Franciscan; unsympathetic to Knapwell’s appeal, Nicholas imposed perpetual silence on the Dominican. Knapwell’s *Quodlibet* of twenty-nine brief questions was probably disputed around 1284–85, which is the year that we know he incepted as Dominican master of theology at Oxford.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ See on the theology of this period at Oxford, and the specific theologians mentioned below, J.I. Catto, “Theology and Theologians 1220–1320,” in *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. 1, *The Early Oxford Schools*, J.I. Catto, ed. (Oxford 1982), pp. 471–517; also W.J. Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars in Fourteenth-Century England* (Princeton 1987), passim. One of the best sources for Oxford theology of this period, A.G. Little and F. Pelster, *Oxford Theology and Theologians c. A.D. 1282–1302* (Oxford 1934), with its detailed study of manuscripts Assisi 158 and Worcester, Cathedral and Chapter Library Q. 99 (and cf. the article by Glorieux mentioned in n. 49 below), nevertheless contains nothing on Dominican *quodlibeta*. In fact, Assisi 158 contains nothing explicitly quodlibetal at all (op. cit., p. 31) and the Worcester manuscript contains only the *Quodlibet* of the Carmelite Peter of Swantonington (op. cit., pp. 248, 277, and see on Swantonington, Chris Schabel’s chapter on “Carmelite *Quodlibeta*” in this volume).

⁴⁸ Glorieux edited Knapwell’s *Correctorium corruptorii* in *Les premières polémiques thomistes. I. Le correctorium corruptorii “Quare”* (Bibliothèque thomiste, 9) (La Saulchoir, Kain 1927), along with the text of William de la Mare’s *Correctorium fratris Thomae*. F.E. Kelley, in his Introduction to *Richard Knapwell, Quaestio disputata de unitate formae* (Paris 1982), pp. 18–23, shows conclusively that Knapwell authored the *Correctorium* “*Quare*.”

⁴⁹ See on Richard and his *Quodlibet*, F. Pelster, “Richard von Knapwell, O.P. Seine Quaestiones disputatae und sein Quodlibet,” *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 52 (1928), pp. 473–91, which also goes some way to painting a picture of the intellectual context. The date of his inception comes from a notice in Assisi, Biblioteca del Sacro Convento 158 (f. 30r); see P. Glorieux, “Le manuscrit d’Assise, Bibl. comm. 158. Date et mode de composition,” *RTAM* 8 (1936), pp. 282–95, esp. p. 287.

Robert of Orford

Another author of a *Correctorium*, Robert of Orford (also known as Robert of Colletorto and Robert of Torto Collo), has left us an anti-*Quodlibet*, in the form of a virtually question-by-question rebuttal of Henry of Ghent's *Quodlibeta* I–XIV.⁵⁰ We know practically nothing about Orford, except that he died sometime after 22 February 1293, the date on which he held a sermon at the Dominican church in Oxford, probably when he was regent master there. That he was still active into the 1290s is confirmed by the fact that his anti-*Quodlibet* includes responses to questions in Henry of Ghent's *Quodlibet* XIV, disputed in 1290 or 1291.⁵¹ He was certainly studying theology at Oxford in the period 1284–86, and was perhaps bachelor of the *Sentences* then, and it is likely that he became regent master in the later part of the same decade or the early 1290s. Orford's anti-*Quodlibet* is found complete in two manuscripts, Cambridge, Peterhouse Library 129 (xiv), and BAV, Vat. lat. 987 (xiv), and there is at least one substantial fragment in Roma, Biblioteca Vallicelliana E.30 (xiv), ff. 119ra–178rb; thus, it was probably read, although not widely read. Indeed, in confirmation of this fact, Bayerschmidt has shown that passages from a question written by Remigio dei Girolami are so extremely similar, in some cases verbatim so, to passages from Robert's anti-*Quodlibet* that "one must assume that the Florentine master knew" Robert's work and "used it here."⁵² We have no firm dates for the composition of Robert's work, although Vella pointed out that Robert refers to Henry as a living author, which would indicate that it was completed before Henry's death in 1293; Vella suggests a date of 1289–93.⁵³

⁵⁰ The best readily available information on Orford's life and works is to be found in the introduction to A.P. Vella's edition of Orford's *Reprobationes dictorum a fratre Egidio in primum Sententiarum* (Bibliothèque thomiste, 38) (Paris 1968), pp. 9–13 (life), 13–24 (works). On the manuscripts, one can consult Macken, *Bibliotheca Manuscripta* (cit. n. 37), entries listed in the index s.v. Robert d'Orford (vol. II, pp. 1205–6, of Macken's work contains a short description of Robert's *Reprobatio*). Orford's *Correctorium Corruptorii* "*Sciendum*" has been edited by Glorieux (Bibliothèque thomiste, 31) (Paris 1956).

⁵¹ See on the date for Henry of Ghent's *Quodl.* XIV Pasquale Porro's chapter in the first volume of the present work, pp. 174–9.

⁵² See Bayerschmidt, *Die Seins- und Formmetaphysik* (cit. n. 42), pp. 167–8; the question of Remigio that Bayerschmidt was studying is his "Determinatio de uno esse in Christo," on which see Kaeppli, *Scriptores*, no. 3444. Bayerschmidt deals with Robert of Orford directly in op. cit., esp. pp. 151–9, 287–98.

⁵³ On the work in general, see most completely Vella's introduction to *Reprobationes dictorum a fratre Egidio in primum Sententiarum* (cit. n. 50), pp. 13–17. Vella claims (p. 17)

Structurally this work and Bernard of Auvergne's have much in common, inasmuch as they both include abbreviations of a large number of Henry's questions in the order given them by Henry, each abbreviation usually immediately followed by replies from a Thomistic standpoint, although Robert's questions are in general considerably shorter than Bernard's. Despite its being a substantial work—in the Vatican manuscript, for example, it takes up 129 folios—, very little attention has been devoted to it. In the studies to date, it has been noted that Robert often appears to have worked in haste, and his criticisms (not just of Henry, but also of Giles of Rome and William de la Mare) can be either beside the point or poorly argued.⁵⁴

One can see some of these features in the transcription of one question by Orford included in Appendix III below, a rebuttal of Henry's *Quodlibet* V, q. 9, dealing with the *Filioque* and parallel to one of the two questions from Bernard of Auvergne found in Appendix II. For instance, the question—both the abbreviation and the *reprobatio* itself—is considerably shorter here than those we examined from Bernard, and to this extent the criticism comes across as somewhat less developed than Bernard's does. Nevertheless, Robert employs some of the same

that we have two certain dates for the work: it cannot have been written before 1283–84 when Henry of Ghent released the first seven of his *Quodlibeta*; but it cannot have been written after 1293, since Henry is referred to as a living author. Probably Vella's dating of 1289–93 is pretty close to the mark (and cf. Roensch, *Early Thomistic School*, p. 43, who gives the same dates), since it seems unlikely that Robert would have composed his work over more than a three- or four-year period. Unfortunately, it is now accepted that Henry released his *Quodlibeta* one at a time (see Porro's article in the first volume of this book, p. 177), so there is no real *terminus a quo* apart from Henry's first *Quodlibet*. Moreover, Vella gives no examples of Orford's referring to Henry as a living author; thus, only a close reading will reveal whether Henry might have died during the work's composition, and whether this is reflected in the work itself. For an excellent account of the attribution of this and other works to Orford, see F.E. Kelley, "The Egidean Influence in Robert Orford's Doctrine on Form," *The Thomist* 47 (1983), pp. 77–99, esp. pp. 77–86.

⁵⁴ See e.g. Kelley, "The Egidean Influence" (cit. n. 53), p. 99, who says, "Robert Orford... so often appears hurried in his exposition of theological and philosophical points"; as Kelly notes, Vella (*Reprobationes dictorum a fratre Egidio*, p. 28) says much the same about Robert's rebuttal to Giles of Rome, as did Glorieux about Robert's reply to William de la Mare (in "*Correctorium Corruptorii Sciendum*" [cit. n. 50], pp. 8–9). The same point is made in F.E. Kelley, "Two Early English Thomists: Thomas Sutton and Robert Orford vs. Henry of Ghent," *The Thomist* 45 (1981), pp. 345–87, esp. pp. 373–8, on Robert's response to Henry's ideas on the relation between the soul and its faculties, where Kelley sums up by saying that the discussion "shows the mark of a man in a hurry." A final example: C. Vollert, *The Doctrine of Hervaeus Natalis* (cit. n. 105 below), pp. 198–9, describes Robert's defense of Aquinas on the topic of original sin as "superficial and obscure."

argumentation as does Bernard; for example, they both use what can be called “the psychological argument” in order to show that the Holy Spirit necessarily proceeds from both Father and Son. The argument runs like this: the Holy Spirit is Love, and the necessary precondition for the emanation of Love is a concept or mental word (since we can only love what we know); in God the Son is the Word; hence the Holy Spirit necessarily emanates from both the Father and the Word, i.e., the Son.⁵⁵ Moreover, like Bernard, Robert takes Henry to task for believing that the merely rational distinction between the divine intellect and the divine will could serve as the basis for the real distinction between the persons.⁵⁶ Robert ends his discussion (§13) by referring his reader to the treatments of the issue in Aquinas’ major works—without, however, mentioning Thomas by name. In general, although there is nothing particularly new in the text transcribed below, Robert nevertheless gives a not inarticulate Thomistic response to Henry’s very different point of view.

Indeed, the most probing studies to date of Robert’s replies to Henry—those by Francis E. Kelley—have shown that Orford was able to inject new and not uninteresting elements into the Thomist reply to criticism on such points as the unicity of substantial form, although in other areas, like the distinction between essence and existence, the distinction between the powers of the soul, and the creation of matter without form, his contribution is less obvious. Given that Robert wrote a *reprobatio* of Giles of Rome’s *I Sentences*, it is of note that Kelley can show that Giles was in fact a large influence on Robert’s understanding of central Thomistic views.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Compare Bernard §13, 18 with Robert §8. On this “psychological argument” and its theological context, see R.L. Friedman, *Intellectual Traditions in the Medieval University: The Use of Philosophical Psychology in Trinitarian Theology among the Franciscans and Dominicans, 1250–1350*, Leiden: Brill, forthcoming, Ch. 4, §5.

⁵⁶ Compare Bernard §15 with Robert §10.

⁵⁷ See Kelley, “Two Early English Thomists” (cit. n. 54), pp. 345–87; idem, “The Egidean Influence” (cit. n. 53); although not directly dealing with the anti-*Quodlibet*, also important is idem, “Robert Orford’s Attack on Giles of Rome,” *The Thomist* 51 (1987), pp. 70–96. See also on Orford and his critique of Giles of Rome, Pelster, “Thomistische Streitschriften” (cit. n. 28), esp. pp. 153–66.

Thomas of Sutton

A large set of four *Quodlibeta* issued in this time period from the Oxford theologian Thomas of Sutton,⁵⁸ and this significant work stands out for being available in its entirety in a critical edition. Michael Schmaus was not the first scholar to look seriously at Sutton's *Quodlibeta*; nevertheless in Schmaus' attempt, published in 1930, to determine whether Sutton was the author of the *Liber propugnatorius*, an attack on book I of John Duns Scotus' *Sentences* commentary from a generally Thomistic (or Dominican) point of view written by an otherwise anonymous "Thomas Anglicus," Schmaus edited twelve trinitarian questions from Sutton's *Quodlibeta*.⁵⁹ Nearly forty years later, Schmaus, with the assistance of Maria González-Haba, brought his earlier work to completion by publishing all four of Sutton's *Quodlibeta* in their entirety, a total of eighty-five questions.⁶⁰ Although Schmaus eventually determined, and all subsequent research agrees, that Sutton was not the author of the *Liber propugnatorius*,⁶¹ nevertheless there can be no doubt that he was a major figure in the early Thomistic movement. Sutton's *Quodlibeta*, like his other works, still await a great deal of study, but the existence of a critical edition at least facilitates this process.

The major issue that must be addressed here is when Sutton disputed the *Quodlibeta*. This has been a highly controversial point, with leading researchers like Ehrle, Pelster, and Glorieux placing various of the *Quodlibeta* at various points in the period 1284–1310.⁶² Just to take one

⁵⁸ For a recent bio-bibliography on Sutton, see H.G. Gelber, *It Could Have Been Otherwise. Contingency and Necessity in Dominican Theology at Oxford, 1300–1350* (Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters, 81) (Leiden 2004), pp. 59–61.

⁵⁹ Schmaus, *Der "Liber propugnatorius"* (cit. n. 89 below), pp. 6*–85*; the material is studied throughout Schmaus' mammoth work.

⁶⁰ *Thomas von Sutton Quodlibeta*, eds. M. Schmaus and M. González-Haba (BAW, 2) (Munich 1969).

⁶¹ This was stated emphatically in the "Einleitung" to the edition of Sutton's *Quodlibeta*, p. XI; see also H. Theissing, *Glaube und Theologie bei Robert Cowton OFM* (BGPTM, 42) (Münster 1969), p. 16, and J. Schneider in the introduction to his edition of Sutton's *Quaestiones ordinariae* (BAW, 3) (Munich 1977), pp. 63*–6*, both of whom have argued that the *Liber propugnatorius* was not authored by Thomas of Sutton. C. Schabel, *Theology at Paris 1316–1345. Peter Auriol and the Problem of Divine Foreknowledge and Future Contingents* (Aldershot 2000), pp. 52–63, esp. 52–4, has tentatively attributed the work to another well-known "Thomas Anglicus," Thomas Wylton, and this attribution has already gained some support.

⁶² For a brief history of the most important views on the topic see the "Einleitung" to the edition of Sutton's *Quodlibeta*, pp. XVI–XXII; the editors of Sutton's text opt for *Quodl.* I and II in 1285–87 or 1286–88 and *Quodl.* III and IV probably at the end of the first decade of the fourteenth century (pp. XX, XXII). Wippel, "Quodlibetal

well-known example, Glorieux (I, pp. 291–96) places the *Quodlibeta* one after another in the four consecutive years between 1284 and 1287. The most recent attempt to deal with the issue is that of Johannes Schneider in the introduction to his edition of Sutton's *Quaestiones ordinariae*,⁶³ and I will summarize his results. The problem with a scenario like the one Glorieux proposed is that there is only one piece of information that suggests that Sutton could have been a master in the period 1284–87, and that piece of information seems rather to indicate that he was a master of arts, which would be odd for a Dominican; all other information that we have suggests strongly that Sutton first became a master of theology sometime between 1290 and 1295, probably 1291–93. On the basis of this and a careful study of the text of the *Quodlibeta* themselves, Schneider determines that *Quodlibet* I must have been held shortly after Henry of Ghent's death in 1293 (Henry's *Quodlibeta* are referred to as "de novo" in Sutton's *Quodlibet* I) and *Quodlibet* II must have been held only shortly thereafter.⁶⁴ On the other hand, Schneider can show in a convincing way that by the time of *Quodlibeta* III and IV Sutton had some familiarity, although not deep engagement, with the thought of John Duns Scotus, the kind of familiarity that an Oxford theologian might have obtained already in the last years of the thirteenth century.⁶⁵

Questions," p. 180 n. 65, notes the difficulties, and reports the solution given by the editors of the *Quodlibeta*.

⁶³ Schneider's masterful discussion of the dating is found in the "Einleitung" to the edition mentioned in n. 61 above, esp. pp. 44*–57*, with summary of results on p. 54* (the "Einleitung" also includes a very fine "Notizen zu den Werken Suttons," pp. 58*–89*, in which Schneider rejects Pelster's suggestion that the *Correctorium* "Quare" was actually written by Sutton, pp. 85*–9*; cf. on Richard of Knapwell as author of this text n. 48 above).

⁶⁴ A further problem with Glorieux's dates for Sutton's *Quodlibeta* is that this would mean he overlapped with Richard Knapwell as Dominican regent master of theology at Oxford, where, as far as I know, there was only one Dominican chair at the time. Schneider's evidence is as follows. Sutton is referred to as *respondens* in a 1289 theology disputation, which would make him a bachelor of theology in that year; thus, the reference by Nicholas of Ockham, around 1286, to a *determinatio* of Sutton's on the unity of form might be to Sutton as master of arts (given that masters normally "determined," although mendicants did not usually obtain the MA degree); alternatively, the *determinatio* could have been used to describe a work produced by Sutton as a bachelor of theology. Further, Henry of Ghent, whose thought is Sutton's overwhelming concern in *Quodl.* I and II, was not the main focus of Oxford debate in the period 1282–90 (as this appears in the Assisi manuscript studied in Little and Pelster, *Oxford Theology* [cit. n. 47]), thus placing Sutton's quodlibetal debates slightly later. See Schneider's "Einleitung" to *Quaestiones ordinariae*, cit., pp. 44*–8*.

⁶⁵ Schneider (p. 54*) writes: "Wir finden [in *Quodl.* III and IV] neue Gedanken; ähnliche Fragen wie in den früheren Quästionen werden unter einem anderen Aspekt diskutiert. Quodl. 3 und 4 liegen wieder eng beisammen. Es ist die Zeit der ersten

Along with other evidence (Sutton presided at the Vespers of William of Macclesfield in 1299, so he was clearly master of theology at Oxford at this time), this leads Schneider to put *Quodlibeta* III and IV close to each other and just before 1300. This is, as far as I am aware, the *status quaestionis* on the dating of Sutton's *Quodlibeta*.

Thomas of Sutton had an extraordinarily long career, writing probably into the second decade of the fourteenth century (he died sometime after 1315). If his earlier works were part of the general discussion about Thomism current in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, and if Henry of Ghent was his great opponent in, e.g., his *Quodlibeta* (even in *Quodlibeta* III and IV), in the fourteenth century Sutton perceived new threats and took to attacking the Franciscans Robert Cowton and, more to the point here, John Duns Scotus. Indeed, Johannes Schneider can show a progression from Sutton's *Quodlibeta* III and IV, in which, as mentioned above, Scotus begins to be made a focus of attack, to Sutton's *Ordinary Questions*, in which Scotus is the main object of concern.⁶⁶ Thus, Sutton's work is a nice expression of one of the types of dynamism that one finds in early Thomism: it continually updated itself in response to new threats and challenges. In line with this progression in Sutton's work, in all likelihood Sutton also wrote an anti-*Quodlibet*, a detailed rebuttal of roughly half the questions found in Scotus' sole *Quodlibet*, and this anti-*Quodlibet* has also been edited by Schneider.⁶⁷ When I write "in all likelihood," I mean to indicate that the text is unattributed in the single manuscript (Oxford, Magdalen College Library 99) in which it is found. After detailed textual comparisons between this text and other authentic writings of Sutton (as well as the *Liber propugnatorius* and quodlibetal questions of Nicholas Trivet), Schneider judges that, although there is no evidence ruling out that the treatise was written by another author, e.g., a student of Sutton's, on the other hand, neither is there any evidence speaking against Sutton's authorship. While leaving the question open, he is confident enough to attribute the text to Sutton "ohne Fragezeichen" and says that we can hardly contest the attribution ("wir... kaum bestreiten können").⁶⁸

Berührung mit Duns Scotus." Schneider then goes on to compare Sutton's much fuller knowledge of Scotus in the later *Quaestiones ordinariae*.

⁶⁶ See n. 65 above.

⁶⁷ *Thomas von Sutton Contra Quodlibet Iohannis Duns Scoti*, ed. J. Schneider (BAW, 7) (Munich 1978). Sutton replies to qq. 1, 2, 4–8, and 15 of Scotus' *Quodlibet*.

⁶⁸ For the quotations, see Schneider's "Vorwort" to ed. cit., p. V and "Einleitung," p. 56; the discussion of the treatise's authorship is in "Einleitung," pp. 5–20, and the

Assuming, then, that Sutton is the author, what does his work look like? First, there is hardly any summation, let alone abbreviation, of Scotus' text: Thomas launches right into his criticism of Scotus' thought, sometimes telling the reader to look in Scotus' text for particular points, e.g., "Vide ibi dicta contra Thomam."⁶⁹ As this last quotation shows, Sutton thought of his text very much as a defense of Thomistic teaching on, e.g., trinitarian theology, the distinction of the divine attributes, divine omnipotence, and philosophical psychology.⁷⁰ The critique found in the anti-*Quodlibet* tends not to deal with the overarching issues that Scotus himself was attempting to explain in his quodlibetal questions, but rather picks out points in Scotus' exposition where it appeared to Sutton that Scotus went wrong. Although at times Sutton is willing to concede a conclusion to Scotus or to agree that what Scotus said was true,⁷¹ for the most part the text is anything but gentle in its criticism of the Subtle Doctor, going indeed so far as to accuse Scotus of heresy!⁷²

Nicholas Trivet

A final set of Oxford *Quodlibeta* from this period issued from the pen of Nicholas Trivet (or Trevet, † after 1334). Trivet probably received his

"Einleitung" (pp. 21–56) also contains a study of the formal distinction in genuine works of Sutton and in the *Contra Quodlibet Scoti*. The only real problem for attributing the text to Sutton is that Aquinas is called *sanctus* in the text itself in three spots, which would entail the text's composition being after 1323, and this is nearly ten years later than Sutton's active career is thought to have ended; nevertheless, the copy of the text is in an early fifteenth-century hand (Schneider, "Einleitung," pp. 1–2), so scribal tampering cannot be ruled out (Schneider, "Einleitung," p. 4—scribal tampering as the explanation seems to me to be strengthened since in places Thomas is referred to as merely "frater" (e.g., q. 6, ed. cit., p. 86, par. 1) or just as "Thomas"; see below at and around n. 201 for the parallel situation with Henry of Lübeck's *Quodlibeta*).

⁶⁹ Thomas of Sutton, *Contra Quodlibet Iohannis Duns Scoti*, q. 2, ed. Schneider, p. 65, par. 1.

⁷⁰ Schneider writes (ed. cit., "Einleitung," p. 56): "Thomas von Sutton... bewährt sich hier wie in seinen früheren Schriften als entschiedener Verteidiger der thomistischen Lehre."

⁷¹ E.g., Thomas of Sutton, *Contra Quodlibet Iohannis Duns Scoti*, q. 8: "Et quantum ad dicta quae dicit in primo principali concedenda sunt," ed. Schneider, p. 95, par. 1. Ibid., q. 7: "...oportet videre quae sunt vera et quae non. Verum est quod dicit quod demonstrari potest Deum esse omnipotentem," ed. cit., p. 91, par. 1.

⁷² Thomas of Sutton, *Contra Quodlibet Iohannis Duns Scoti*, q. 1, parr. 2, 10 (Schneider, "Einleitung," pp. 2–3, judges on the basis of these accusations that "Der eifer in der Verteidigung der Lehre des Aquinaten führt gelegentlich zu einer peinlich wirkenden Schärfe...").

license to teach in Oxford, and was certainly Dominican regent master in theology at Oxford in two periods: in probably 1303–07 and again in 1314–15; perhaps between the two Oxford regencies he was in Paris in some capacity. A papal letter from 1324 places Trivet teaching in the London Dominican convent, and there is reason to believe that he was still alive into the 1330s.⁷³ Nicholas is a famous author, known for his scriptural commentaries and his important historical works; especially his commentaries on works of classical literature led Beryl Smalley to include him among the “classicizing friars” of the early fourteenth century.⁷⁴ His commentary on Boethius’ *Consolation of Philosophy* is found in some one hundred manuscripts.

That Trivet’s more or less purely scholastic works have received less attention than these other traces of his literary production is perhaps unsurprising, but it means that his six extant *Quodlibeta* are still to a large extent unedited and unstudied. This is a pity: although Trivet’s philosophy and speculative theology have not always received high marks,⁷⁵ nevertheless such students as Ehrle and Hauke have seen him

⁷³ Most of my information on Trivet is taken from F. Ehrle, “Nikolaus Trivet, sein Leben, seine Quolibet und ‘Quaestiones Ordinariae,’” in *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters, Festgabe Clemens Baeumker* (Münster 1923), pp. 1–63 (= Baeumker Beiträge Supplementband, 2); reprint in *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur englischen Scholastik*, F. Pelster, ed. (Storia e Letteratura, raccolta di studi e testi, 50) (Rome 1970), pp. 305–84 (the page numbers cited below are from the reprint). See also H. Hauke, “Die Lehre von der Beseligenden Schau nach Nikolaus Trivet” (Inaugural-Dissertation, Munich 1967), esp. pp. 52–67. Kaeppeli, *Scriptores*, s.v. Nicolaus Trevet, p. 187, claims that Nicholas “adhuc inter vivos a. 1334” (on this, see the references in R.J. Dean, “Cultural Relations in the Middle Ages: Nicholas Trevet and Nicholas of Prato,” *Studies in Philology* 45 [1948], p. 542, n. 1). A.G. Little suggested the Parisian sojourn in Little and Pelster, *Oxford Theology* (cit. n. 47), p. 284. In February 1315, Nicholas took part in a condemnation of eight trinitarian articles culled from an Oxford *Sentences* commentary, and here he is referred to as “qui tunc resumpserat lectiones suas”; on the condemnation, see Friedman, *Intellectual Traditions* (cit. n. 55), Ch. 9, and the literature referred to there. A recent bio-bibliography of Trivet can be found in Gelber, *It Could Have Been Otherwise* (cit. n. 58), pp. 62–4; Gelber (p. 63 n. 10) mentions a commentary on Lombard’s *Sentences* belonging to Trivet, but already in 1954 Victorin Doucet, in *Commentaires sur les Sentences. Supplément au Répertoire de M. Frédéric Stegmüller* (Florence 1954), p. 64, no. 594, had identified this commentary as being Alexander of Hales’ Gloss on the *Sentences* (see also Sharpe, *Handlist*, s.v. Nicholas Trevet OP, p. 398).

⁷⁴ See B. Smalley, *English Friars and Antiquity in the Early Fourteenth Century* (Oxford 1960), esp. pp. 58–65.

⁷⁵ One exception to the general praise for Trivet’s intellectual merits comes from R.C. Dales and O. Argerami, *Medieval Latin Texts on the Eternity of the World* (Leiden 1991), who say (p. 174) on the basis of Trivet’s *Quodl.* I, q. 5 (which they edit there) that on the issue of the eternity of the world Trivet presents “a badly organized and sloppily reasoned case, timidly and ambiguously maintaining the view of Aquinas.”

as a Thomistically inspired scholar of some interest. Moreover, since they are found in essentially one copy only, an edition of the *Quodlibeta* is well within the realm of feasibility. Trivet's *Quodlibeta* I–V are found in Basel, Universitätsbibliothek B.IV.4 (xiv), ff. 1–47, 53–64,⁷⁶ in the following order: II, III, IV, V, I (the explicit of the final *Quodlibet* in the series is [f. 64]: “Explicit primum quodlibet disputatum Exoniae,” i.e., in Oxford).⁷⁷ In this manuscript the questions are assigned to Trivet in a fourteenth-century table of contents and in marginal notation, although not incipits or explicits, but through internal and external references as well as stylistic considerations, Ehrle makes an essentially unassailable case that all of them must be assigned to Trivet. Indeed, two further copies are known of *Quodlibet* I, q. 13,⁷⁸ and in these copies Trivet is explicitly credited with authoring the question.⁷⁹ *Quodlibet* XI, on the other hand, is called precisely that in the only manuscript in which it is found: Worcester, Cathedral and Chapter Library F.3 (xiv), ff. 166–181. Trivet's *Quodlibet* XI begins with the words “Proponebantur in disputatione XI de quolibet quaestiones 27”; although it is anonymous in the manuscript, an index attached to and contemporary with the manuscript itself names Trivet as the author.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Ff. 47r–52v of this manuscript contain Trivet's other purely scholastic work, his set of five unedited *Quaestiones disputatae* (question list in Ehrle, “Nikolaus Trivet” [cit. n. 73], p. 384).

⁷⁷ Although Ehrle (“Nikolaus Trivet” [cit. n. 73], pp. 332–3) was aware that the fifth *Quodlibet* in the manuscript was called “primum Quodlibet” in this explicit, in his question lists he called this *Quodlibet* V. Glorieux I, pp. 246–54, gives the *Quodlibeta* in the order in which we have to assume they were held. Hauke, “Die Lehre” (cit. n. 73) follows Ehrle's numbering of the *Quodlibeta*. Thus, what Hauke in fact edits in the appendix to his dissertation is all of *Quodl.* II; *Quodl.* III, qq. 19–21; *Quodl.* IV, qq. 11, 13–15; *Quodl.* V, qq. 9 and 15.

⁷⁸ “Utrum omnia sint admittenda quae tradit Ecclesia circa passionem Christi”; copies in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library 298 (xv), ff. 74v–75v and London, British Library, Royal 6.B.xi (xiv), f. 116.

⁷⁹ On the attribution of the *Quodlibeta* to Trivet, see especially Ehrle, “Nikolaus Trivet” (cit. n. 73), pp. 327–39.

⁸⁰ Most recently on this manuscript, see *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library*, ed. R.M. Thomson with M. Gullick (Woodbridge 2001), pp. 3–4. Focusing on this *Quodlibet* is M.L. Lord, “Virgil's *Eclogues*, Nicholas Trivet, and the Harmony of the Spheres,” *Mediaeval Studies* 54 (1992), pp. 186–273, with an edition on pp. 267–73 of *Quodl.* XI, q. 19 (“Utrum corpora celestia per suum motum causent aliquam armoniam”), and intertextual plates there of the leaves in Worcester, Cathedral and Chapter Library F.3, on which this question is found (ff. 177v–78v); in this article Lord uses the quodlibetal question as evidence that Nicholas was the author of an anonymous commentary on Virgil's *Eclogues*, and to that end she studies the contents of the question loc. cit., pp. 207–14, 222–5, and passim. A further noteworthy study

The first five *Quodlibeta* were probably held by Trivet once a year in 1303–07.⁸¹ Two solid pieces of information with regard to the dating of these *Quodlibeta* are that in *Quodlibet* III Nicholas refers to Benedict XI's bull *Inter Cunctas* (17 February 1304), and in *Quodlibet* IV, q. 4, Nicholas gives a substantial but non-inflammatory reaction to John of Paris' eucharistic theory of impanation, which would place that *Quodlibet* in the period 1304–06. As for *Quodlibet* XI, here Trivet makes allusions to Henry of Harclay (chancellor of Oxford University, 1312–17) in a rather respectful tone, despite Harclay's role in the recent altercation between Oxford and the Dominicans; Ehrle reasonably suggests that the subdued character of these allusions could be explained by the *Quodlibet*'s having been disputed in 1314, when Trivet was newly installed in his second regency and wanted to get off to a good start in the position.⁸² As to what happened to Trivet's *Quodlibeta* VI–X, we really have no idea. Two possibilities have been suggested: that the missing *Quodlibeta* were held in the years intervening between Trivet's first and second regency; alternatively one could suspect that the "XI" in "Quodlibet XI" is a mistake for "VI."⁸³

Remigio dei Girolami

The two *Quodlibeta* of Remigio dei Girolami, available in a critical edition prepared by Emilio Panella,⁸⁴ are significant if for no other reason than because they are one of very few extant Dominican *Quodlibeta* that we are certain originated in *studia* outside of Paris or Oxford (others include the majority of John of Naples' *Quodlibeta* and Henry of Lübeck's three *Quodlibeta*, on which see below). After having been made master at Paris right around the year 1300, Remigio returned

of Trivet is to be found in Johannes Schneider's "Einleitung" to *Thomas von Sutton* (cit. n. 67), pp. 13–16.

⁸¹ Glorieux I, p. 246, suggested 1302–06; A.G. Little in Little and Pelster, *Oxford Theology* (cit. n. 47), pp. 283–4, proposed rather 1303–07, believing that Trivet first incepted in 1303, since Trivet does not appear as master in the manuscript that Little was investigating there (Worcester Q. 99), which is a notebook on Oxford theology ca. 1300–02.

⁸² On the dating, see Ehrle, "Nikolaus Trivet" (cit. n. 73), pp. 345–54, but summed up admirably in Glorieux I, p. 346.

⁸³ Glorieux I, pp. 246–7, suggests the first alternative; Little in Little and Pelster, *Oxford Theology* (cit. n. 47), p. 283, also offers the second.

⁸⁴ E. Panella, ed., "I quodlibeti di Remigio dei Girolami," in *Insegnamento e riforma nell'Ordine domenicano*, E. Marino, ed. (= *Memorie Domenicane* 14) (Pistoia 1983), pp. 1–149.

to Italy, where his movements can be traced in some detail, including longer stops in Rome, Viterbo, and Perugia, and a long-running stint as lector at the Florentine Dominican convent of Santa Maria Novella.⁸⁵ On the basis of its explicit (“Expl. quolibet fr. Remigii flor. Ord. pred. apud Perusium in Curia”) we can be absolutely certain that Remigio’s *Quodlibet* II was disputed at the Dominican convent in Perugia when the Papal Curia was stationed in that town; this, Panella shows, was possible between 1305 and 1307. Moreover, Panella convincingly argues that *Quodlibet* I was disputed before *Quodlibet* II, perhaps in Perugia like *Quodlibet* II, but maybe in Rome or Viterbo in the period 1303–05, again when Remigio was connected with the Papal Curia.⁸⁶ Thus, as Sylvain Piron has pointed out, as far as we know, and despite Remigio himself having prepared his literary works for public release, we possess no written *Quodlibet* that descends from a disputation held in his capacity as lector in Florence.⁸⁷ Panella shows that Remigio was, unsurprisingly, highly influenced by Aquinas, who is not named but is referred to at one juncture in *Quodlibet* II as “Magister meus quem sequor.” One prominent opponent in the *Quodlibeta* is the Franciscan theologian and Cardinal Matthew of Aquasparta.⁸⁸ In part because he may have taught the young Dante in Florence, there is a large body of secondary literature on Remigio, some of it taking into account his *Quodlibeta*. But with that said, his *Quodlibeta* (and most of his other works) could not have made a great impact, existing as they do in just one manuscript: Firenze, BNC, C.4.940 (*Quodl.* I = ff. 71r–81v; *Quodl.* II = ff. 81v–90v).

⁸⁵ For a highly detailed chronological survey of Remigio’s whereabouts and activities, see E. Panella, “Nuova cronologia remigiana,” *AFP* 60 (1990), pp. 145–311; specifically on Remigio’s time in Paris (1298–1300), pp. 204–8, and on the *Quodlibeta*, p. 239.

⁸⁶ For Panella’s arguments concerning the dates and locations of the disputations on which Remigio’s *Quodlibeta* are based, see the introduction to the edition of the two *Quodlibeta*, pp. 29–32.

⁸⁷ See Piron’s chapter in the first volume of this book, “Franciscan *Quodlibeta*,” p. 406.

⁸⁸ On Remigio’s relation with Aquinas, see Panella’s Introduction to the edition, pp. 35–42; on Matthew of Aquasparta and Remigio, loc. cit., pp. 52–6.

Hervaeus Natalis

If for no other reason, the quodlibetal production of Hervaeus Natalis deserves special attention on account of its size and its wide medieval distribution: the *Quodlibeta* bearing Hervaeus' name take up 186 folios in the early printed edition and parts of it are contained in more than forty manuscripts.⁸⁹ The large readership that his *Quodlibeta* attracted is itself a reflection of Hervaeus' enormous stature in early fourteenth-century theology. Hervaeus was born in Brittany probably in the 1250s, joining the Dominican Order in 1276. Strangely, he only began his stint reading the *Sentences* at Paris shortly after 1300, which means that when he finished his theological education he was a good ten years older than was usual at the time. Then, perhaps after having spent some of the time between ca. 1304 and 1307 teaching at one of the order's provincial *studia*, Hervaeus was regent master at Paris from around Easter 1307 until late 1309 or early 1310; he was probably regent master there yet again in the period 1316–18. Besides this important academic position, Hervaeus was an ecclesio-political figure of great significance: from 1309 to 1318 he was head of the Dominican province of France, and from 1318 until his death in 1323 he was Master General of the Dominican Order.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Abbreviations and compilations of parts of Hervaeus' *Quodlibeta* also show how significant these works were; see, e.g., n. 43 above. There is at least one further example. M. Schmaus, *Der "Liber propugnatorius" des Thomas Anglicus und die Lehrunterschiede zwischen Thomas von Aquin und Duns Scotus, II Teil: Die trinitarischen Lehrdifferenzen* (BGPTM, 29.1–2) (Münster 1930), pp. 335–6 n. 138a, suggested that the *Quodlibet* of 24 questions found in ms. Padova, Biblioteca Antoniana, 295 Scaff. XIII (xiv), was written by an otherwise unknown Dominican by the name of "Alverius"; Glorieux II, p. 319, s.v. Alverius, revealed that this *Quodlibet* was compiled out of extracts from Hervaeus Natalis' *Quodl.* I and VII, "Alverius" being a corruption of "Hervaeus." This latter example seems to constitute further evidence that in the fourteenth century, *Quodlibet* VII was considered a part of Hervaeus' literary production (see on this below, at and around n. 112).

⁹⁰ On the dating of Hervaeus' *Sentences* lectures and commentary and the period between the lectures and Hervaeus' regency, see esp. B. Decker, *Die Gotteslehre des Jakob von Metz. Untersuchungen zur Dominikanertheologie zu Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts* (BGPTM, 42.1) (Münster 1967), pp. 73–7. For an excellent biographical study of Hervaeus, see A. de Guimaraes, "Hervé Noël (†1323). Étude biographique," *AFP* 8 (1938), pp. 5–81. That at the various stages of his career Hervaeus was somewhat older than is usually the case is suggested by the fact that when he joined the Dominicans in 1276 he gave up rich ecclesiastical benefices; see Guimaraes, pp. 16–18. The dating of the beginning of Hervaeus' first regency is supplied by Bernard Gui in his list of the Dominican regent masters (see Koch, *Durandus* [cit. n. 98 below], p. 61, for the text): "Fr. Erveus Brito, licenciatus tempore paschali anno domini MCCCVII^o." The regency would have lasted either until Hervaeus was made head of the French Dominican province in September

Hervaeus' thought is characterized perhaps above all by the conscious intention of defending and promoting the views of Thomas Aquinas. Whether Hervaeus' thought itself can be described as "Thomist" in any strict sense is a matter of debate—he is often labelled an eclectic rather than a Thomist because, for instance, he does not support Aquinas' real distinction between essence and existence, he allows for only two ways in which to prove the existence of God in contrast with Aquinas' five ways, and he does not make matter the sole principle of individuation as Thomas did.⁹¹ Moreover, in some areas of his thought he clearly exhibits influences that are rather alien to Aquinas: a good example are the Scotistic influences to be found in Hervaeus' trinitarian theology.⁹² But looking at what Hervaeus himself claimed he was doing as well as what he actually did, it is difficult not to admit that he *believed* he was working to defend and to spread Thomistic philosophy and theology. As examples of this one can mention Hervaeus' treatise from 1308 or 1309, *Defensio doctrinae Thomae*;⁹³ his criticisms of Henry of Ghent, James of Metz, and Durand of St Pourçain from a Thomistic point of view (and especially his leading role on two panels of theologians assigned to assess whether various statements taken from Durand's work were orthodox and in line with Thomas' thought);⁹⁴ and finally his drive to have Thomas canonized.⁹⁵ Perhaps one way to reconcile these two perspectives on Hervaeus is to say that he thought he was remaining

1309 or until his successor, Laurence of Nantes, was licensed in February 1310 (this date also comes from Bernard Gui); see on this Guimaraes, "Hervé Noël," p. 51. See also at and around nn. 100–2 below for how the dating of his first regency may affect the dating of Hervaeus' *Quodlibeta maiora*. On the dating of Hervaeus' second regency, see at and around n. 106 below.

⁹¹ See for an example of this type of view R.J. Teske's article on Hervaeus in *A Companion to Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, J.J.E. Gracia and T.B. Noone, eds. (Oxford 2003), pp. 314–15.

⁹² See, e.g., H.G. Gelber, "Logic and the Trinity: A Clash of Values in Scholastic Thought, 1300–1335" (Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Wisconsin-Madison 1974), pp. 106–29 passim; I. Iribarren, "The Scotist Background in Hervaeus Natalis's Interpretation of Thomism," *The Thomist* 66 (2002), pp. 607–27.

⁹³ For an edition, see P. Piccari, "La *Opinio de difficultatibus contra doctrinam fratris Thome* di Erveo di Nédellec," *Memorie Domenicane* n.s. 26 (1995), pp. 5–193. For the dating of the treatise, see the first introduction in C. Schabel, R.L. Friedman, and I. Balcoyiannopoulou, "Peter of Palude and the Parisian Reaction to Durand of St Pourçain on Future Contingents," *AFP* 71 (2001), pp. 183–300, esp. p. 191 n. 16.

⁹⁴ On these aspects of Hervaeus' career and literary production, see the first introduction to Schabel-Friedman-Balcoyiannopoulou, "Peter of Palude" (cit. n. 93), esp. pp. 189–94.

⁹⁵ See Guimaraes, "Hervé Noël" (cit. n. 90), pp. 75–6. Hervaeus did not attend the canonization ceremony in Avignon on 18 July 1323 on account of illness, dying in Narbonne on 8 August of the same year.

on the whole faithful to Thomas' philosophy, while striving to update it on the basis of more recent philosophical and theological speculation. Regardless of whether we accept that Hervaeus was taking a Thomist line or not, his voluminous quodlibetal questions will necessarily play an important role in our evaluation of his thought.

We have from Hervaeus both quodlibetal and anti-quodlibetal questions. The latter will be discussed below; first I will deal with the eleven series of quodlibetal questions that have at one time or another been assigned to Hervaeus. All of these *Quodlibeta* are found in the Zimara edition of many of Hervaeus' works published in Venice in 1513 and reprinted in 1966.⁹⁶ Hervaeus' quodlibetal production is divided into two main groups: *Quodlibeta* I–IV are called the *Quodlibeta maiora*; *Quodlibeta* V–XI have been known since the fourteenth century as the *Quodlibeta minora* or *parva*. It is an assumption running throughout the literature on Hervaeus' quodlibetal production that what distinguishes the *Quodlibeta maiora* from the *Quodlibeta minora* is that the *maiora* were disputed when Hervaeus was acting as regent master. Let us first look at the *maiora* and then at the *minora*.

That the four *Quodlibeta maiora* are Hervaeus' work is confirmed both by manuscript explicit⁹⁷ and by references to them in contemporary theological works by, e.g., Peter of Palude and John of Naples.⁹⁸ If

⁹⁶ *Subtilissima Hervei Natalis Britonis theologi acutissimi quolibeta undecim cum octo ipsius profundissimis tractatibus* (Venice 1513; reprint Ridgewood, NJ 1966). The eleven *Quodlibeta* are found on ff. 1r–186v. The other works in the edition are *De beatitudine* (second part of the volume, ff. 1ra–10ra), *De verbo* (ff. 10rb–24rb), *De aeternitate mundi* (ff. 24va–33ra), *De materia caeli* (ff. 33rb–53va), *De relationibus* (ff. 53vb–70vb), *De unitate* [vel: pluralitate] *formarum* (ff. 71ra–100rb), *De virtutibus* (ff. 100va–110vb), *De motu angeli* (ff. 111ra–113vb).

⁹⁷ E.g. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, theol. lat. fol. 93 (xiv), in which each of the first three *Quodlibeta* are attributed to Hervaeus and said to have been disputed in Paris; cf. F. Pelster, "Eine Münchener Handschrift des beginnenden vierzehnten Jahrhunderts mit einem Verzeichnis von Quästionen des Duns Scotus und Hervaeus Natalis," *Franziskanische Studien* 17 (1930), pp. 253–72, esp. p. 268 n. 16. Also Madrid, BN 226 (xiv), ff. 25va–107rb, assigns each of *Quodl.* I–III explicitly to Hervaeus (see P. Beltrán de Heredia, "Crónica del movimiento tomista," *La Ciencia Tomista* 17 (1925), pp. 362–88, with description of this manuscript on pp. 377–81 (see also n. 130 below). For *Quodl.* IV, there is, e.g., Paris, BnF lat. 14572 (xiv), f. 204va: "explicit quantum quodlibetum magistri Hervei Natalis, quondam magistri ordinis praedicatorum" (Vollert, *The Doctrine of Hervaeus Natalis* [cit. n. 105 below], p. 273, claims that at least twelve manuscripts explicitly ascribe *Quodl.* IV to Hervaeus).

⁹⁸ Joseph Koch showed that in his *II Sent.*, Peter of Palude refers to Hervaeus' *Quodl.* I–III; J. Koch, *Durandus de S. Porciano O.P. Forschungen zum Streit um Thomas von Aquin zu Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts* (BGPTM, 26) (Münster 1927), p. 64 with n. 20; indeed, Koch, p. 212, claims that Hervaeus' *Quodl.* III, q. 8, can be reconstructed on the basis of Palude's *II Sent.*, d. 3, qq. 6–8. For the same point, see Guimaraes, "Hervé Noël" (cit. n. 90), p. 47. Palude's *II Sent.* was completed around 1313; see the first introduction to

we follow the assumption that the *Quodlibeta maiora* are *maiora* precisely because they were held while Hervaeus was regent master, then *prima facie* it seems likely that the first three *Quodlibeta maiora* were disputed between 1307 and 1309 during Hervaeus' first Parisian regency. Independent evidence that *Quodlibet* III was already in circulation by 1312 or 1313 seems to confirm that Hervaeus' *Quodlibeta* I–III were disputed during his first regency.⁹⁹ But when precisely? Mainly on the basis of the fact that Hervaeus took up his duties as regent master in Paris at Easter 1307, Joseph Koch proposed (and Glorieux later seconded) that Hervaeus disputed the first three *Quodlibeta maiora* as follows: *Quodlibet* I (ed. 1513, ff. 1ra–31rb) in 1307 (Christmas), *Quodlibet* II (ff. 31rb–67vb) in 1308, and *Quodlibet* III (ff. 67vb–87vb) in 1309.¹⁰⁰ But Guimaraes, in his 1938 biography of Hervaeus, suggested placing *Quodlibet* II at Easter 1309 and *Quodlibet* III at Christmas in that year; as Guimaraes noted, if Hervaeus held *Quodlibet* III at Christmas 1309, then the Dominican was most probably acting at one and the same time as regent master in theology and as head of the French Dominican province, and this situation would presumably have continued from the time of Hervaeus' election as head of the province on 17 September 1309 until his successor in the chair of theology, Laurence of Nantes, incepted in February 1310.¹⁰¹ This latter scenario was given some support by Prospero T. Stella, who noticed that in his *Quodlibet* II, q. 1, Hervaeus

Schabel-Friedman-Balcoyiannopoulou, "Peter of Palude" (cit. n. 93), esp. pp. 214–5. John of Naples in his *Quodl.* III, q. 5, which deals with individuation and is presumably to be dated sometime around 1312–13, refers to "ultimo quodlibet Hervei," a reference to Hervaeus' *Quodl.* III, q. 9 ("Utrum materia sit principium individuationis"), which was Hervaeus' last *Quodlibet* at that time (see also nn. 116 and 183 below); see for the dating of John's text, at and around n. 169 below, and for the text itself, Stella, "Zwei Unedierte Artikel" (cit. n. 170 below), p. 156, ll. 7–8.

⁹⁹ See the evidence offered in n. 98 above.

¹⁰⁰ See Koch, *Durandus* (cit. n. 98), esp. p. 64, and Glorieux II, p. 138.

¹⁰¹ Guimaraes, "Hervé Noël" (cit. n. 90), pp. 47–8, 57 (on Laurence of Nantes' inception date, see n. 90 above). Guimaraes was attempting to show there, *pace* Koch, that Durand's *Sentences* lectures began in September 1308; in order for Hervaeus to have had enough time to have responded in his *Quodl.* II to Durand's work, Guimaraes postulated the Easter 1309 dating for *Quodl.* II. The proposal appears to be otiose in this context, however, since Hervaeus was not responding to Durand's *Sentences* lectures, but rather to the written commentary that he composed between 1304 and 1307/08. It should be noted that Laurence of Nantes was assigned eleven quodlibetal questions by Glorieux (II, p. 121), on the basis of Prosper of Reggio Emilia's notebook; William J. Courtenay, in his chapter on Vat. lat. 1086 in the present volume, examines this attribution and finds it possible, but not completely convincing (another possible "Laurence" whom Prosper could have meant was Laurence of Dreux, Val-des-Écoliers), on whom see also T. Sullivan's chapter above.

replies to *Quodlibet* II, q. 2, of the secular theologian John of Pouilly. Now, if this *Quodlibet* of Pouilly's can be dated to Christmas 1308, as Stella suggests, then Hervaeus' *Quodlibet* II must be dated to Easter 1309. On the other hand, while it appears absolutely certain that Pouilly's *Quodlibet* II is from sometime in 1308, I have seen no evidence that puts it unquestionably at Christmas 1308. Until we have more secure dating for Pouilly's *Quodlibet* II (or for Hervaeus' own *Quodlibet* II), the best it seems that we can do at this point is say that Hervaeus' *Quodlibet* II was disputed either at Christmas 1308 or at Easter 1309.¹⁰² Under any circumstances, Hervaeus' *Quodlibet* III can have been disputed no later than Christmas 1309, since all agree that Hervaeus would have given up his regency before Easter 1310 (and, again, all hypotheses work from the assumption that the *Quodlibeta maiora* stem from Hervaeus' time as *magister actu regens*). Thus, if Guimaraes' and Stella's reconstruction of the chronology of *Quodlibet* II is correct, then both *Quodlibeta* II and III are locked into 1309, giving Hervaeus his quodlibetal disputation for the 1308–09 academic year and the 1309–10 academic year.¹⁰³

It should be mentioned that, whether *Quodlibet* II was disputed at Christmas 1308 or Easter 1309, there is a possibility that *Quodlibet* I was held at Easter 1308, and not Christmas 1307 as Koch originally proposed. This is indeed a possibility, although I find it rather unlikely: Hervaeus was clearly a man with a mission, going places and going fast, and thus it seems scarcely tenable that he would not take the first available opportunity as regent master at Paris to hold a quodlibetal disputation, i.e., at Christmas 1307. Thus, given the current state of research, the most likely dating for Hervaeus' first three *Quodlibeta*

¹⁰² P.T. Stella, "A proposito di Pietro da Palude (In I *Sent.*, d. 43, q. 1): La questione inedita 'Utrum Deum esse infinitum in perfectione et vigore possit efficaci ratione probari' di Erveo Natalis," *Salesianum* 22 (1960), pp. 245–325, esp. pp. 251–3. On the dating of Pouilly's *Quodl.* II, see Glorieux I, p. 223. See also the brief remarks of G. Groppo, "La teologia e il suo 'subiectum' secondo il Prologo del commento alle *Sentenze* di Pietro da Palude, O.P. (†1342) (In I *Sent.*, Prol., q. III; q. V, a. 1)," *Salesianum* 23 (1961) (pp. 219–315), pp. 302–5 esp. n. 161, who endeavors to show that Hervaeus' *Quodl.* II is roughly contemporary with Hervaeus' treatise *Defensio doctrinae Thomae* (on which see n. 93 above). On the dating of Hervaeus' *Quodlibeta* and other works, I have benefitted from the observations of Dr. Marie-Bruno Borde, O.Carm. On Pouilly's dates, see L. Hödl's chapter above and that of Schabel and Courtenay on Augustinians below, at and around n. 26.

¹⁰³ Wippel notes, "Quodlibetal Questions," p. 195, "the practice eventually developed according to which any given Master would conduct only one quodlibetal disputation per academic year"; the reconstruction offered here would allow Hervaeus to respect this general practice.

appears to be: Christmas 1307 (*Quodl.* I), Christmas 1308 or Easter 1309 (*Quodl.* II), and Christmas 1309 (*Quodl.* III), but more research needs to be done in order to verify or falsify this chronology.

Regarding the last of the *Quodlibeta maiora*, *Quodlibet* IV (ed. 1513, ff. 88ra–113rb), the major open questions have been when and with whom in mind did Hervaeus dispute it. As Guimaraes noted in his biography of Hervaeus, the main piece of evidence in favor of *Quodlibet* IV stemming from a second Parisian regency for Hervaeus is that his main opponent in the *Quodlibet* appeared to be the Franciscan Peter Auriol (†1322), bachelor of the *Sentences* at Paris in 1316–18, and hence significantly later than Hervaeus' 1307–09/10 regency. Nevertheless, Guimaraes noted that, when he was writing his biography of Hervaeus, this adversarial relationship remained to be shown definitively, although it was strongly suggested by the fact that a lost manuscript belonging to the Paris Dominican convent called Hervaeus' *Quodlibet* IV "Quantum quodlibet Hervei contra Aureolum."¹⁰⁴ Then, in his careful 1947 study of Hervaeus' ideas on original sin, Cyrill Vollert argued at length for the claim that not Auriol but Durand of St Pourçain was Hervaeus' target in *Quodlibet* IV, q. 14 ("Utrum peccatum originale habeat rationem culpae"), and noted that "[a]pparently no study proceeding by the method of comparative analysis has yet been made so as to determine the relationship of the *Quodlibet* with Peter Auriol's doctrine."¹⁰⁵ Just that sort of study has been conducted recently by Lauge O. Nielsen, who has proven beyond any doubt that Auriol was indeed one of Hervaeus' major interlocutors in this *Quodlibet*. Nielsen has further shown that the

¹⁰⁴ Guimaraes, "Hervé Noël" (cit. n. 90), pp. 65–7.

¹⁰⁵ C. Vollert, *The Doctrine of Hervaeus Natalis on Primitive Justice and Original Sin* (Analecta Gregoriana, 42) (Rome 1947), this quotation p. 174, and Vollert shows that Hervaeus' *Quodl.* IV, q. 14, is directed against Durand on pp. 271–3. On pp. 316–22, Vollert includes a discussion of "Peter Aureoli and *Quodlibet* IV of Hervaeus," concluding modestly: "...there is apparently nothing in the fourteenth question of *Quodlibet* IV definitely to indicate that Hervaeus [had Auriol's opposition to Thomistic doctrine] definitely in mind when he developed his views on the culpability of original sin." It should be noted that Vollert (pp. 271–3) rejects the suggestion made by Martin and Teetaert that *Quodl.* IV is not an authentic work of Hervaeus (see on this n. 116 below), and he (pp. 167, 173–4) supports R. Martin, *La controverse sur le péché originel au début du XIV^e s.* (Spicilegium Sacrum Louvaniense, 10) (Louvain 1930), pp. 327, 335 (cf. 34–5), vs. Joseph Koch, who in *Durandus* (cit. n. 98), p. 73, claimed that Durand of St Pourçain in his II *Sent.* (B), d. 30, q. 2, referred to Hervaeus' *Quodl.* IV, q. 14 (which would entail a date of composition for *Quodl.* IV of ca. 1310); Martin showed that Durand was citing Hervaeus' *Sentences* commentary (Pelster, "Eine Münchener Handschrift" [cit. n. 97], p. 268 n. 16, also rejects Koch's view).

strongly antagonistic relationship between the two scholastics can be traced throughout several of their works and clearly involved a great deal of intense, personal interaction, the kind of interaction that can most easily be accounted for by postulating that Auriol was bachelor and Hervaeus regent master at one and the same faculty of theology.¹⁰⁶ This would seem to clinch the case for Hervaeus having disputed his *Quodlibet* IV during his second Parisian regency sometime in the years 1316–18. And this, of course, also fits well with the governing assumption that the *Quodlibeta maiora* are “maiora” precisely because they were disputed when Hervaeus was regent master.

Hervaeus’ *Quodlibeta maiora* represent one of our best sources for the Dominican master’s thought, containing a treasure trove of *quaestiones* dealing with (among other subjects) cognitive theory and psychology, metaphysics, virtues and ethics, and philosophical theology.¹⁰⁷ Moreover,

¹⁰⁶ Besides Nielsen’s chapter on Auriol’s *Quodlibet* in the present volume, see L.O. Nielsen, “The Intelligibility of Faith and the Nature of Theology: Peter Auriol’s Theological Program,” *Studia Theologica* 53 (1999), pp. 26–39 esp. n. 10; idem, “The Debate between Peter Auriol and Thomas Wylton on Theology and Virtue,” *Vivarium* 38.1 (2000), pp. 35–98, esp. at and around nn. 53 and 64; idem, “Peter Auriol’s Way with Words: The Genesis of Peter Auriol’s Commentaries on Peter Lombard’s First and Fourth Books of the *Sentences*,” in *Mediaeval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, vol. I, G.R. Evans, ed. (Leiden 2002), pp. 149–219, esp. p. 159 n. 46 and pp. 179–84. I want to thank Nielsen for discussing with me some of the issues surrounding Hervaeus’ *Quodl.* IV. In fact, one can suggest that, in addition to Auriol being Hervaeus’ main opponent there, a corroborating reason to put *Quodl.* IV in Hervaeus’ second regency is because there would hardly be time in his first, two-year regency to conduct four full quodlibetal debates—it is not entirely outside the realm of possibility, but it would be extremely unlikely (see the comment by Wippel quoted in n. 103 above). Finally, in support of a second regency for Hervaeus, as Guimaraes (p. 67 n. 43) mentions, one can point to evidence from the Augustinian Hermit Prosper of Reggio Emilia, who in his collection of views from the Paris theological faculty in the 1310s, mentions that “haec fuerunt argumenta magistri Hervei contra me in aula episcopi...”; thus Hervaeus was present and actively participating in the Parisian academic environment in March 1316, when Prosper was conducting this *disputatio in aula* (see on this W.J. Courtenay’s chapter in this volume on Prosper’s collection); for the theological context of the remark, see also G. Alliney, “La ricezione della teoria scotiana della volontà nell’ambiente teologico parigino (1307–1316),” *DSTFM* 16 (2005), pp. 339–404, esp. p. 366.

¹⁰⁷ Several *quaestiones* from the *Quodlibeta maiora* have been republished, often with better texts than those found in the early Zimara edition (see the “Bibliography of Quodlibetal Questions,” mentioned in the first note in this chapter). K.H. Tachau, *Vision and Certitude in the Age of Ockham: Optics, Epistemology, and the Foundations of Semantics, 1250–1345* (Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters, 22) (Leiden 1988), pp. 86–7 n. 5, suggests that Hervaeus’ *Quodl.* IV, q. 11 (“Utrum cognitio intuitiva requirat necessario praesentiam rei cognitae”) should be reassigned to Peter Auriol, but this seems to me unlikely; for an analysis, emendated transcription (from the 1513 edition), and translation of precisely this question, see R.G. Wengert, “Three Senses of Intuitive Cognition: A Quodlibetal Question of Harvey of Nedellec,” *Franciscan Studies*

because Hervaeus was a combative figure at the University of Paris, the debates reflected in these four *Quodlibeta* have proven useful in providing some historical context for other thinkers and texts, and have even allowed us to date certain works with a fair degree of accuracy. Thus, in addition to the case of Peter Auriol discussed above, one can mention that the dating of the first version of Durand of St Pourçain's *Sentences* commentary relies exclusively on the fact that in his *Quodlibet* I (1307) Hervaeus does not mention any of Durand's ideas, while in his *Quodlibet* II (1308/09) he does; hence, Durand's text was made public (or at least public enough that Hervaeus heard about it) sometime in 1308, sparking a controversy between the two thinkers that would last until Hervaeus' death.¹⁰⁸

If there are still some question marks regarding the story behind the *Quodlibeta maiora*, nevertheless the story itself looks to be relatively straightforward. In contrast, that behind the *Quodlibeta minora* is fraught with difficulties. Fortunately, this issue was examined in great detail by Ludwig Hödl more than a half century ago; Hödl's article is still the starting point in any discussion of the *Quodlibeta minora*. I should note at the outset that the final word on the matter will probably not be said before full critical editions of all the texts are made, along with studies of parallel texts from other works of Hervaeus and of his contemporaries. Nevertheless, here I can indicate the problems connected with the *Quodlibeta minora* and, relying mostly on Hödl's work, suggest possible solutions.¹⁰⁹

First, some background. *Quodlibeta* V–XI in the Zimara edition of 1513 have seemed problematic, if for no other reason than that Hervaeus would not have had time in his four or five years (total) as *magister actu regens* to have conducted many more quodlibetal disputations than the four that are firmly assigned to him. But over and above this basic

43 (1983), pp. 408–31. Although I have found references to Sho Yamazaki, ed., *Hervei Natalis OP De Habitibus* (Quaestiones Quodlibetales I, qq. 13 & 14) (Osaka 1969), I have not been able to locate this work. David Piché is embarking on a project to critically edit seven questions from Hervaeus' *Quodlibeta maiora* dealing with cognition (*Quodl.* I, qq. 9 and 12; *Quodl.* II, q. 5; *Quodl.* III, qq. 1, 8, and 12; *Quodl.* IV, q. 11).

¹⁰⁸ See Koch, *Durandus* (cit. n. 98), pp. 60–7. Koch (p. 213) claims: "Wenn ich recht sehe, beschäftigt sich Hervaeus in Quolibet I in erster Linie mit Scotus, neben ihn tritt in Quol. II Durandus und in Quol. IV Petrus Aureoli"; moreover, Koch, p. 215, shows some spots in *Quodl.* III and IV where Hervaeus responds to Durand.

¹⁰⁹ L. Hödl, "Die Quodlibeta Minora des Herveus Natalis O.P. (†1323)," *Münchener theologische Zeitschrift* 6 (1955), pp. 215–29. See for remarks on Hödl's ideas Wippel, "Quodlibetal Questions," pp. 181–2, and more on this below.

worry about the *Quodlibeta minora*, there are a number of other challenges. The easiest of the *Quodlibeta minora* to deal with is *Quodlibet* XI, which Auguste Pelzer identified through his work on the Godfrey of Fontaines edition as being a concatenation of abbreviated questions taken from Godfrey's *Quodlibeta* III and IV. So, *Quodlibet* XI in the 1513 edition can in no way be attributed to Hervaeus.¹¹⁰

That leaves us with six *Quodlibeta minora* to account for. Glorieux, in the second volume of his *La littérature quodlibétique*, taking into consideration the falsely attributed *Quodlibet* XI, decided that the 1513 edition of Hervaeus' *Quodlibeta* was so flawed that we should consider Hervaeus the author of none of the *Quodlibeta minora*; it is to this claim by Glorieux that Hödl is reacting in his article, arguing that *Quodlibeta* V–X should all be linked to Hervaeus.¹¹¹ Hödl's argument can be divided into two basic parts. First, Hödl points out that there is, in fact, some evidence, manuscript and doctrinal, for linking Hervaeus with his *Quodlibeta* VI, VII, and X, and no real evidence against making that link.¹¹² Thus,

¹¹⁰ See the Introduction to *Les quatre premiers Quodlibets de Godefroid de Fontaines*, eds. M. De Wulf and A. Pelzer (Louvain-Paris 1904), p. x; Hödl, "Die Quodlibeta" (cit. n. 109), p. 216. Wippel ("Quodlibetal Questions," p. 192) notes that in Hervaeus' purported *Quodl.* XI the first eight questions follow one organizational scheme, but that this scheme is abandoned from q. 9 forward, and that this alone would show that we are dealing here with a compilation from more than one *Quodlibet*. It should be noted that it may well have been Hervaeus who made the abbreviation of Godfrey's two *Quodlibeta*; see Stella, "Teologi e teologia" (cit. n. 27), esp. p. 186.

¹¹¹ Glorieux II, pp. 138–9 (for Hödl, cf., e.g., n. 112 below).

¹¹² See Hödl, "Die Quodlibeta" (cit. n. 109), p. 217: "Das er [Glorieux] darüber hinaus auch die Autorschaft des Herveus am VI., VII. und X. Quodl. in Zweifel zieht, obgleich die beiden ersten durch die handschriftliche Überlieferung für Herveus bezeugt sind, zeigt, daß sich Glorieux in seiner Kritik nicht allein auf das Zeugnis der Überlieferung stützt..." Hödl does not specify the manuscript evidence linking *Quodl.* VI and VII to Hervaeus, but Amédée Teetaert had already offered solid manuscript evidence attributing these two *Quodlibeta* to the Dominican master; see at and around n. 119 below (and see for further evidence for *Quodl.* VII, n. 89 above). For another argument, based on doctrinal similarity, for the authenticity of *Quodl.* VI, see Koch, *Durandus* (cit. n. 98), p. 241 n. 13. On *Quodl.* VII, see W. Senko, "Les opinion d'Hervé Nédélec au sujet de l'essence et l'existence," *MPP* 10 (1961), pp. 59–74, esp. pp. 59–61, who presents manuscript evidence in favor of the authenticity of the *Quodlibet*, and who judges also on doctrinal grounds that the *Quodlibet* is genuinely Hervaeus' work; see also Velázquez Campo, "Dos Cuestiones Cuolibetales" (cit. below n. 165), p. 144, who shows that a passage from Hervaeus' *Quodl.* VII reappears verbatim in John of Naples' *Quodl.* IX, q. 6. Finally, K. Plotnik, *Hervaeus Natalis OP and the Controversies over the Real Presence and Transubstantiation* (Veröffentlichungen des Grabmann-Institutes, 10) (Munich 1970), pp. 7, 14–5, 46, 48–9, integrates into his discussion of Hervaeus' views *Quodl.* VII, qq. 3, 6, and 7, without discovering any inconsistencies. On the basis of textual similarities and correspondences, Hödl (pp. 219–20) makes a case for *Quodl.* X, q. 8 ("Utrum intellectus agens et fantasma agant in intellectum possibilem") having

it seems safe to agree with Hödl when he contends that these three *Quodlibeta* should definitely be assigned to Hervaeus.

The real challenge comes in the second part of Hödl's argument, dealing with *Quodlibeta* V, VIII, and IX, which manuscript evidence assigns to theologians other than Hervaeus. Thus, Glorieux noticed that in the important manuscript BAV, Vat. lat. 1086—the collection of theological opinions from this period at the University of Paris recorded by the Augustinian Hermit Prosper of Reggio Emilia—question titles identical to those in *Quodlibet* V are attributed to Ivo of Caen, a Dominican at Paris slightly junior to Hervaeus (Ivo became Master of Theology on 24 January 1312).¹¹³ Further, in a manuscript containing *Quodlibet* VIII (Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek 179), that *Quodlibet* is assigned to John Quidort of Paris.¹¹⁴ Finally, in manuscripts from Nuremberg and Florence containing it, *Quodlibet* IX is attributed to the Dominican Arnold of Liège (master of theology ca. 1305), although the Florence manuscript mentions that the *Quodlibet* was determined by master (*determinatum per magistrum*) Hervaeus.¹¹⁵ Thus, there are two related questions here. First and most basically, should Hervaeus be given credit for *Quodlibeta* V, VIII, and IX? Second, what mechanism can be proposed for him to have had the time to have conducted ten full quodlibetal disputations?

been composed by Hervaeus roughly simultaneously with the composition of his II *Sent.*, d. 17, q. 2, a. 2; while I don't consider the case airtight, it is suggestive (see also p. 223 for a similar example concerning the correspondence between *Quodl.* VI, q. 7, and I *Sent.*, d. 11, q. 1, both dealing with the *Filioque*). The important point—both for Hödl and for me—is that there is no good reason to deny Hervaeus the authorship of these three *Quodlibeta*, and actually some positive evidence that they ought to be assigned to him. Note, however, that A. Samaritani, in “De B.M.V. Immaculata Conceptione in *Quodlibet* XIII–XIV saec.,” *Marianum* 23 (1970) (pp. 15–49), p. 41, claims that *Quodl.* VII, q. 22, “Herveo erronee tributum, doctrinam Godefridi de Fontibus magna cum fidelitate exprimit”; Samaritani does not appear to know any of the other literature on Hervaeus' *Quodlibeta*.

¹¹³ The dates of the inception are again from Bernard Gui (see n. 90 above). See on Prosper's collection the contribution of William J. Courtenay to the present volume. Courtenay tells me that, although it is likely that the “Yvo” referred to by Prosper is Ivo of Caen, there is no absolutely solid evidence.

¹¹⁴ On f. 281 of this manuscript, the *Quodlibet*'s explicit runs: “Explicit quodlibet Johannis Parisiensis.” See Heiman, “The First *Quodlibet*” (cit. n. 46), p. 271 n. 9.

¹¹⁵ Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek Cent. I.67, ff. 270–278: “Incipiunt questiones magistri arnolphi”; Firenze, BNC, Conv. Soppr. D.4.94: “Explicit quodlibet Arnulphi determinatum per magistrum fratrem Herveum quondam magistrum Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum et sacre theologie venerabilem doctorem.” Cf. Pelster, “Eine Münchener Handschrift” (cit. n. 97), pp. 269–70.

With regard to the first question, Hödl presents a variety of evidence to support the view that these three *Quodlibeta* are indeed Hervaeus' work. Thus, for *Quodlibet* V, Hödl offers three instances in which there are references to other *Quodlibeta* of Hervaeus. One of these references (in *Quodl.* V, q. 15) mentions that the author explained a point at greater length "in quadam quaestione de quolibet primo"; a nicely matching passage can be found in Hervaeus' *Quodlibet* I, q. 13. This seems to be nearly irrefutable evidence for Hervaeus' authorship of *Quodlibet* V, and it should be noted that both Joseph Koch and Amédée Teetaert were convinced on similar grounds that this *Quodlibet* belonged to Hervaeus.¹¹⁶ Moreover, Hödl offers textual comparisons of *Quodlibeta* V, VIII, and IX with other genuine *Quodlibeta* of Hervaeus as well as with his *Sentences* commentary.¹¹⁷ Although there is no definitive proof here, and indeed some of Hödl's evidence is not as strong as one might like, nevertheless, the cumulative effect is clear: at least in the questions that have been examined to date, the resemblances between these three *Quodlibeta* and other works of Hervaeus are so striking that there can be no reasonable doubt that they are Hervaeus' own work.¹¹⁸ Finally, as

¹¹⁶ Hödl, "Die Quodlibeta" (cit. n. 109), p. 218. Hödl finds in *Quodl.* III (qq. 12, 9) passages corresponding to the other two references found in *Quodl.* V (qq. 10, 14 respectively). Koch, *Durandus* (cit. n. 98), p. 213, mentions that "Herveus sich in Quol. V q. 10 auf Quol. III q. 12 beruft." Also Teetaert, "La littérature," p. 90, makes mention of the same internal references that Hödl uses. Note that the *Quodl.* V, q. 10, reference is to a *quaestio* "ultimi quodlibeti," which would make *Quodl.* III the last *Quodlibet* at the time; far from being evidence in support of rejecting *Quodl.* IV's authenticity (as Martin, *La controverse* [cit. n. 105], pp. 215–16, and more hesitantly, Teetaert, "La littérature," p. 90, take this to be), this rather supports the late, second regency date for *Quodl.* IV argued for above (see for a parallel case, n. 98 above and n. 183 below, and see n. 105 above for Vollert's rejection of Martin and Teetaert's view); hence, Hervaeus' *Quodl.* V falls between *Quodl.* III and *Quodl.* IV.

¹¹⁷ Hödl, "Die Quodlibeta" (cit. n. 109), pp. 220–3; for *Quodl.* IX and VIII, further evidence pp. 224–8.

¹¹⁸ Hödl, "Die Quodlibeta" (cit. n. 109), p. 223: "Gerade jene minora, die Glorieux auf Grund der handschriftlichen Überlieferung aus dem Korpus der echten Schriften des Hervaeus ausscheidet, das V, VIII. und IX. Quodl. der Venediger Ausgabe, sprechen mit aller wünschenswerten Klarheit und Deutlichkeit für die Autorschaft des Hervaeus. Die quodlibeta minora gehören zum corpus quodlibetale des Hervaeus Natalis." As mentioned in the main text, I find less than convincing Hödl's arguments about the resemblance between the "Gliederungen" of the various text samples he gives (esp. p. 221), but his comparisons focusing on the actual philosophical content (pp. 222–3) are far more convincing. I think that Hödl is right that these *Quodlibeta* belong to Hervaeus, but a sceptic will only be convinced (if at all) by a still more comprehensive examination of the issue. I should note that Wippel, "Quodlibetal Questions," pp. 181–2, appears to accept Hödl's conclusion about the authenticity of Hervaeus' *Quodlibeta minora*. See also T.W. Köhler, *Der Begriff der Einheit und ihr ontologisches Prinzip*

evidence independent from that given by Hödl, it should be mentioned that Amédée Teetaert, in an important article in response to Glorieux's volume II, noted that a Berlin manuscript explicitly attributes *Quodlibeta* VI, VII, and VIII to Hervaeus. Teetaert, like Hödl, rejected Glorieux's reassignment of *Quodlibeta* V, VIII, and IX to Ivo of Caen, John of Paris, and Arnold of Liège, respectively.¹¹⁹

But how could Hervaeus have held ten full quodlibetal disputations in his relatively short stints as regent master of theology? And what to do about the unexplained manuscript evidence attributing *Quodlibeta* V, VIII, and IX to Ivo of Caen, John Quidort of Paris, and Arnold of Liège respectively? Hödl's attempt to make sense of the complex surviving evidence relies almost entirely upon the fact that quodlibetal disputations were school exercises involving, in addition to the master who determined the questions, a "respondent" and an "opponent." The respondent made an initial answer to the question posed by the audience; the opponent then offered objections to the respondent's arguments. The respondent, at least, was usually a bachelor of the *Sentences*, i.e., a highly advanced student of theology. With regard to *Quodlibet* V, Hödl, convinced on the textual grounds mentioned above that Hervaeus was the master determining the disputation, tentatively suggests that Ivo of Caen, a theology student during Hervaeus' first regency, played a major role as respondent, thereby explaining why the *Quodlibet* was assigned to Ivo by Prosper of Reggio Emilia.¹²⁰

With regard to *Quodlibeta* VIII and IX, on the other hand, Hödl's more firm proposal is that Hervaeus, as bachelor of the *Sentences*, was the respondent in a disputation under the masters whose names have come down to us in the manuscripts, i.e., John Quidort of Paris and Arnold of Liège, respectively. Thus, if Hödl is correct, *Quodlibet* VIII

nach dem Sentenzenkommentar des Jakob von Metz O.P. (Studia Anselmiana, 58) (Rome 1971), pp. 350–2, who treats *Quodl.* VIII, qq. 4 and 11, as authentically Hervaeus' and shows a remarkable overlap between the text of these questions and passages from James of Metz' II *Sent.*, d. 3, q. 2.

¹¹⁹ See Teetaert, "La littérature," pp. 90–1, specifically p. 91 for the remarks on ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, theol. lat. fol. 226 (xiv). On Ivo of Caen, see further loc. cit. pp. 100–1; Arnold of Liège, pp. 84–5; John of Paris, p. 91. Hödl does not mention Teetaert's excellent work, but see above n. 112.

¹²⁰ Hödl, "Die Quodlibeta" (cit. n. 109), pp. 228–9; Hödl leaves as an open question for future research Ivo's possible role in the disputation. Hödl, following Koch (*Durandus* [cit. n. 98], p. 213), notes that Hervaeus' *Quodl.* V is lacking the formal literary traits characteristic of Hervaeus' other *Quodlibeta*, i.e., an opening formula, and ends on a phrase that seems in no way to reflect an oral disputation.

would have been disputed during John Quidort's regency in 1304 or 1305 (like Quidort's genuine *Quodlibet*), with Hervaeus playing an extremely—one might even say, overwhelmingly—important role as respondent, as is indicated by Hödl's evidence in favor of assigning the *Quodlibet* to Hervaeus. As corroboration for his view, Hödl mentions that several questions in *Quodlibet* VIII center on themes closely associated with Quidort, e.g., sin, excommunication, and absolution, as one might expect if Quidort was the one officially taking the questions.¹²¹ A similar scheme can be postulated for *Quodlibet* IX on Hödl's view: Arnold of Liège as master, with Hervaeus as extremely active respondent, in a disputation taking place sometime in the period 1303–07.¹²² In both of these cases, Hödl offers evidence that Hervaeus was the respondent in the quodlibetal disputations. While some of Hödl's evidence is inconclusive, nevertheless textual comparisons showing that the positions assigned to the respondent match up with known positions of Hervaeus appear very promising.¹²³

Hödl's thesis is attractive, and if it is true, then the scenario it describes “would mark an important step in the evolution of the *Quodlibet* in the early fourteenth century,”¹²⁴ since it would mean a responding bachelor, and not a presiding master, was viewed as the author of a series of quodlibetal questions. As we will see below, Hödl's thesis makes a sort of reappearance when we deal with John of Naples, so the thesis may have more general applicability. But in the specific case of Hervaeus, Hödl's thesis may have its problems. One of the original difficulties with Hervaeus' *Quodlibeta* is that there are so many of them that he would not have had time during his scant four or five years of regency to have held them all. Although Hödl's thesis would make room for two of Hervaeus' six genuine *Quodlibeta minora*, i.e., *Quodlibeta* VIII and IX, by moving them to Hervaeus' years as a bachelor, nevertheless there are still four other *Quodlibeta minora* to account for: when did they take

¹²¹ Hödl, “Die Quodlibeta” (cit. n. 109), pp. 226–8; Hödl (pp. 227–8) also mentions that in q. 2 of *Quodl.* VIII (“Utrum Deus posset conferre creaturae potentiam creandi”), Hervaeus mounts an attack on views of John Duns Scotus.

¹²² Hödl, “Die Quodlibeta” (cit. n. 109), pp. 224–6.

¹²³ As an example of inconclusive evidence, Hödl takes the formula in the solution to *Quodl.* VIII, q. 1, “respondeo respondendo ad istam quaestionem,” to indicate that Hervaeus is the “respondent” in the quodlibetal debate, but this turn of phrase is so common in scholastic works that it is impossible to use it one way or the other (Wippel, “Quodlibetal Questions,” p. 182 n. 72, is also unconvinced).

¹²⁴ Wippel, “Quodlibetal Questions,” pp. 181–2, which deals with Hödl's thesis.

place? Hödl really has no answer to this question. Now, it should be said that today we accept that masters were not required to be regent in Paris in order to hold quodlibetal disputations there (and much less at other centers of higher education)—we have examples of non-regent *Quodlibeta* in Paris, e.g., with the Franciscan Gerard Odonis—, so Hervaeus, head of the French province and presumably often in Paris, would in fact have had ample time to have held four more quodlibetal disputations in the years in which he was a non-regent master.¹²⁵

But with that said, it is worthwhile to note that there are other explanations for the number of Hervaeus' *Quodlibeta*, explanations that compete with Hödl's thesis and may eventually have to be appealed to. For instance, on the basis of a note in a Basel manuscript, Guimaraes suggested, and Bruno Decker concurred, that Hervaeus disputed *Quodlibeta* VI, VII, VIII, and IX outside of Paris while he was a lector at one of the Dominican Order's provincial *studia*.¹²⁶ Hödl rejects this theory as not explaining how Hervaeus could have been *author* of these texts given the manuscript evidence attributing some of them to other writers (something Hödl thought he could explain by appealing to Hervaeus' role as respondent).¹²⁷ But as Wippel has noted, it appears that something like this must have been going on with at least some of these *Quodlibeta*, and it offers us a relatively easy way to explain how Hervaeus could have presided over so many quodlibetal disputations.¹²⁸ Perhaps it is necessary to entertain some kind of combination of Hödl's and Guimaraes' theories.

Moreover, even Hödl's specific scenario about Hervaeus' participation as respondent in Arnold of Liège's quodlibetal disputation (*Quodlibet* IX)

¹²⁵ Thanks to Chris Schabel and William J. Courtenay for discussing this possibility with me. On Gerard Odonis, see William Duba's chapter in the present volume on Franciscan *Quodlibeta*.

¹²⁶ Guimaraes, "Hervé Noël" (cit. n. 90), p. 50 and nn. 101–2; Decker, *Die Gotteslehre* (cit. n. 90), pp. 74–5. Basel, Universitätsbibliothek FI.15 (xiv) contains Hervaeus' *Quodl.* I–III and VI–IX, and on f. 115ra has the remark: "Quae alibi existens baccalarius disputavit." Guimaraes also appeals to a manuscript in Upsala with the notice "Item [fecit Herveus] octo [quodlibeta] parva, lector existens." See on this also Wippel, "Quodlibetal Questions," p. 181 n. 71.

¹²⁷ Hödl, "Die Quodlibeta" (cit. n. 109), pp. 216.

¹²⁸ Wippel, "Quodlibetal Questions," p. 182: "Perhaps some of the [Quodlibeta minora] did not result from his official University functions either as Master or as Bachelor, but from private disputations carried out by him only for his Dominican colleagues, either before or after his career as Regent Master." Wippel (loc. cit., n. 73) invokes this sort of explanation as a possible way of dealing with the strange literary characteristics of *Quodl.* V (on which, see n. 120 above).

is not entirely satisfactory, since one explicit attributing the *Quodlibet* to Arnold of Liège mentions expressly that it was determined by *Master Hervaeus* (*quodlibet... determinatum per magistrum fratrem Herveum*).¹²⁹ It was for this reason that Franz Pelster suggested, and Amédée Teetaert accepted, that in 1307 Arnold, occupant of the Dominican chair for foreigners, had scheduled the quodlibetal disputation, but was prevented for some reason from determining it, and thus his new colleague, Hervaeus, recently made regent master in theology in the Dominican French chair, determined the *Quodlibet*. This would mean, then, that *Quodlibet* IX was the very first *Quodlibet* that Hervaeus determined as regent master in theology—and indeed a Madrid manuscript labels this *Quodlibet* “Primum quodlibet parvulorum.”¹³⁰ One possibly fatal problem for Pelster’s thesis, however, is that Arnold was a member of the *French* Dominican province and hence occupied the French Dominican chair of theology.¹³¹ But perhaps some variant on the idea is close to the truth.

Clearly, the final story of Hervaeus’ *Quodlibeta minora* has yet to be told. Taking stock: *Quodlibeta* V–X of the Zimara edition seem to be securely attributed to Hervaeus, *Quodlibeta* V, VI, and VII unassailably so, *Quodlibeta* VIII, IX, and X with only a slightly lesser degree of certainty. Despite the secure attribution, more research, both manuscript and doctrinal studies, is necessary, research that may turn up either still firmer evidence or further problems for this attribution. And clearly only more research has any chance of untangling the highly difficult issue of the precise way that these *Quodlibeta* fit into Hervaeus’ academic career, although this latter point may remain forever in the realm of conjecture.¹³²

¹²⁹ See n. 115 above.

¹³⁰ See Pelster, “Eine Münchener Handschrift” (cit. n. 97), pp. 269–70; Teetaert, “La littérature,” pp. 84–5; Wippel, “Quodlibetal Questions,” p. 182 n. 72. The Madrid manuscript is Biblioteca Nacional 226 (xiv); for a description see Stella’s edition of Durand of St Pourçain’s *Quodlibeta Avenonensia* (cit. n. 140 below), pp. 5–8, where Stella notes the following explicit numbering for Hervaeus’ *Quodlibeta minora*: *Quodl. minor* I (Madrid) = *Quodl.* IX (Zimara), *Quodl. minor* II = *Quodl.* VI, *Quodl. minor* III = *Quodl.* VII, *Quodl. minor* IV = *Quodl.* VIII (see also the earlier description of this manuscript in Beltrán de Heredia, “Crónica,” cit. n. 97 above). This information (and similar information from other manuscripts containing the *Quodl. minora*) may also prove significant in coming to any final understanding of Hervaeus’ *Quodlibeta minora*.

¹³¹ As Guimaraes, “Hervé Noël” (cit. n. 90), pp. 39–40, pointed out, explicitly contradicting Pelster and Teetaert.

¹³² In the category of “further evidence,” I should note that I also include possible references to Hervaeus *Quodlibeta minora* by scholastic authors roughly contemporary

So much for the works of Hervaeus that, in one way or another, descend from quodlibetal disputations. Hervaeus, however, also made important contributions to the Dominican anti-*Quodlibet* literature that we have already seen in Bernard of Auvergne, Robert of Orford, and Thomas of Sutton. Since Hervaeus himself in several of his works was a staunch critic of Henry of Ghent,¹³³ it can come as no surprise that he wrote a series of *determinationes* in reply to Henry's *Quodlibeta*, a series of *determinationes* known as the *De quatuor materiis*. Despite its name, this still mostly unedited work focuses on five major issues:¹³⁴ *de formis*, *de esse et essentia*,¹³⁵ *de intellectu et specie*, *de voluntate et intellectu*, and *de voto religiosorum*. As Prospero T. Stella, in his edition of *De intellectu*

with Hervaeus, like the verbatim quotation by John of Naples of Hervaeus' *Quodl.* VII mentioned in n. 112 above.

¹³³ Many of Hervaeus' quodlibetal questions are directed against Henry's views; Hervaeus' treatise *De peccato originali*, edited by Martin in *La controversie* (cit. n. 105), pp. 50–130, critiques Henry's ideas; moreover, Hervaeus authored the treatise known as the *De divinis personis* against aspects of Henry's trinitarian theology as found in the secular master's *Summa quaestionum ordinariarum* (Isabel Iribarren and I are preparing a critical edition of this text). Interestingly, there is a reference from the *De divinis personis* to Hervaeus' "treatise on the will," which must be the treatise *De intellectu et voluntate* in Hervaeus' *De quatuor materiis* (*De personis divinis*, q. 5: "Et quando ipsi [i.e., Henricus] probant quod natura agit cum impetu qui repugnat libertati quae voluntati competit, hoc nihil est, sicut in *Tractatu de voluntate* fuit tactum").

¹³⁴ These five "matters" are now generally considered to be part of this treatise (see, e.g., Kaeppli, *Scriptores*, no. 1892), but there is a great deal of confusion concerning the name even in the manuscripts containing these replies. BAV, Vat. lat. 987, for instance, calls the first four treatises taken together *De quatuor materiis*, but several other manuscripts add the *De voto religiosorum*, and even other questions (e.g., *De materia et forma*, *De peccato veniali*). Stella, "La prima critica" (cit. n. 136 below), pp. 132–4, examines some of the evidence and comes to the conclusion that this group of determinations against Henry should be called the *Contra Henricum de Gandavo, ubi impugnatur Thomam*. See also, Roensch, *Early Thomistic School*, pp. 158–9.

¹³⁵ As far as I am aware, to date the *De ente et essentia* has received the most attention of any of these treatises; see, e.g., Bayerschmidt, *Die Seins- und Formmetaphysik* (cit. n. 42), pp. 168–75, 314–30; W. Senko, "Les opinion" (cit. n. 112), passim (with edition of part of the treatise, pp. 63–8), and Senko's article (in Polish) in *Studia Mediewistyczne* 11 (1970), esp. pp. 260–79 (with edition of part of the treatise on pp. 260–73—thanks to Elzbieta Jung for this information); Velázquez Campo, "Dos Cuestiones Cuolibetales" (cit. n. 165 below), pp. 144–5, who shows that John of Naples in his *Quodl.* IX, q. 6, echos Hervaeus' text. Apparently, in 1957 S. Mangiapane edited the entire text as part of his unpublished thesis entitled "Il 'De esse et essentia' nel 'De quatuor materiis' di Erveo di Nédellec. Studio e testo critico" (Rome, Ateneo Salesiano); cf. Stella, "La prima critica" (cit. n. 136 below), p. 130 n. 31, and Velázquez Campo (art. cit.), p. 143 n. 66—I have unfortunately not had access to Mangiapane's work. Finally, the *De ente et essentia* was apparently also edited in a University of Toronto Ph.D. dissertation: E.B. Allen, "The Notion of Being in Hervaeus Natalis," 2 vols. (1958)—I have not had access to Allen's work.

et specie, shows, Hervaeus subordinates Henry's *Quodlibeta* to his own purpose. Thus, unlike Bernard or Robert, who methodically replied to nearly each and every question in its proper order, Hervaeus groups together a selection of Henry's questions, first abbreviating them *en masse* and then replying to them *en masse*. For example, in *De intellectu et specie*, Hervaeus calls attention to more than fifteen questions from throughout Henry's *Quodlibeta*; after presenting abbreviations of these questions, Hervaeus makes clear why he chose precisely them: "all these questions have been moved for the most part in order to investigate whether we ought to posit intelligible species in the intellect" (*Omnes istae quaestiones pro magna parte motae sunt ad investigandum utrum sit ponere in intellectu speciem intelligibilem*).¹³⁶ Hervaeus then makes what is, in effect, an independent treatise taking up specific points that need to be dealt with in order to clarify his disagreement with Henry of Ghent's doctrine, e.g., "De specie, an sit, quid sit," "De comparatione verbi ad actum intelligendi," etc. Only after Hervaeus has set down this material does he deal with the specifics of Henry's positions as found in the relevant quodlibetal questions (e.g.: *Ad decima quartam quaestionem quinti quolibet... dico quod videtur mihi...*). Thus, although the *De quatuor materiis* is clearly in the same anti-quodlibetal genre as we saw in Bernard or Robert, Hervaeus' mode of proceeding is quite different from that of the other two Dominicans (or, for that matter, from Thomas of Sutton's).

It appears from manuscript evidence that Hervaeus composed the treatise while still a bachelor of theology at Paris, which puts the treatise sometime between 1302 and 1307.¹³⁷ Some eleven manuscripts contain significant parts of this work of Hervaeus, so it had a fairly large readership.¹³⁸ It is clearly a work of major interest, seeing that it pits perhaps the most significant early Thomist, Hervaeus, against a major theologian who had a very different view from Thomas on nearly all

¹³⁶ See P. Stella, "La prima critica di Hervaeus Natalis O.P. alla noetica di Enrico di Gand: Il 'De intellectu et specie' del cosiddetto 'De quatuor materiis'," *Salesianum* 21 (1959), pp. 125–70; the mapping of the entire *De quatuor materiis* is found on pp. 130–2. Now outdated on the treatise is R.-M. Martin, "La table des matières de l'ouvrage *De quatuor materiis* d'Hervé de Nédellec, O.P.," *RSPT* 18 (1929), pp. 291–5.

¹³⁷ Stella, "La prima critica" (cit. n. 136), p. 135, quoting notices claiming the work to be by Hervaeus when he was bachelor at Paris from BAV, Vat. lat. 859, ff. 22r (*Determinatio Hervei bachalarei parisiensis, ordinis praedicatorum, contra magistrum Henricum de Gandavo*) and 40r (*Determinatio Hervei bachalarei parisiensis contra Gand*).

¹³⁸ On the manuscripts one can see the descriptions in Macken, *Bibliotheca Manuscripta* (cit. n. 37), entries listed in the index s.v. Hervé Nédellec, and see esp. vol. II, pp. 1191–6, of Macken's work for a nice description of Hervaeus' treatise.

aspects of medieval intellectual endeavor. For all these reasons, it is good news that L.M. de Rijk is currently working on a critical edition of the entire treatise.¹³⁹

A final work of Hervaeus that belongs to the genre of quodlibetal literature is his response to Durand of St Pourçain's first Avignonese *Quodlibet*. Hervaeus and Durand had a history of confrontation from the time that the first version of Durand's *Sentences* commentary reached Hervaeus right up until Hervaeus' death. As mentioned above, beginning in his *Quodlibet* II, disputed at Christmas 1308 or Easter 1309, Hervaeus took every opportunity to try to rebut Durand, and he even organized two committees to sit in judgment on Durand's *Sentences* commentary. Apparently, when Hervaeus received a copy of Durand's first Avignonese *Quodlibet*, disputed at Christmas 1314, he found it provocative enough to warrant an extended written reply. Out of the eighteen questions contained in Durand's *Quodlibet*, Hervaeus only attacks questions 1–2, 5–7, and 9–10, but in Prospero T. Stella's critical edition, the replies to the first two questions, dealing with trinitarian issues, take up thirty pages, while the remainder of Hervaeus' text makes up a mere four pages.¹⁴⁰ In short, this is by and large a referendum on Durand's trinitarian theology.¹⁴¹ The text can be dated with great certainty to the first half of 1315, given the solid dating of the *Quodlibet* it is rebutting.¹⁴² Hervaeus' text is interesting on several planes: on a doctrinal plane as a specification of Hervaeus' objections to some of Durand's views, on an historical plane as another stage in the ongoing controversy between the two thinkers, and on a textual plane as a source of useful information about other works of both Hervaeus and Durand. The text could not, however, have had much of an impact in the Middle Ages, given

¹³⁹ De Rijk announced his edition in *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale* 45 (2003), p. 346 (no. C65).

¹⁴⁰ Stella's edition is an appendix to his *Magistri D. Durandi a Sancto Porciano Quolibeta Avenionensia tria* (Textus et studia in historiam Scholasticae cura pontificii Athenaei Salesiani) (Zürich 1965), specifically pp. 293–326 (cf. below n. 148 for more on Stella's edition). For an excellent description of the treatise and how it fits into Durand and Hervaeus' altercation, see Koch, *Durandus* (cit. n. 98), pp. 229–36.

¹⁴¹ On trinitarian theology in Durand's *Quodlibet Avenionense* I and Hervaeus' response to it, see now I. Iribarren, *Durandus of St Pourçain. A Dominican Theologian in the Shadow of Aquinas* (Oxford Theological Monographs) (Oxford 2005), pp. 220–34; compare Koch's stage-by-stage recapitulation of Durand and Hervaeus' discussion on trinitarian theology, *Durandus* (cit. n. 98), pp. 234–5.

¹⁴² See Koch, *Durandus* (cit. n. 98), pp. 235–6, and below at and around n. 149.

that it exists today in just one manuscript (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional 226 [xiv], ff. 217ra–222rb).

Dominican Quodlibeta in the 1310s

Durand of St Pourçain

Durand of St Pourçain (†1334) is one of the most colorful figures in later medieval intellectual history. His seeming lack of concern with towing a Thomist line on many important issues led to official censure by the Dominican Order, as well as numerous written attacks by such theologians as Peter of Palude, John of Naples, and, as we have just seen, Hervaeus Natalis. Even the process through which Durand's many works came into existence makes for a fascinating story, as told by Joseph Koch in his classic *Durandus de Sancto Porciano* from 1927. Not only did Koch reveal that Durand's troubles with his order were the reason that he produced no fewer than three versions of his *Sentences* commentary,¹⁴³ Koch also proved that we have written remains from no fewer than five quodlibetal disputations that Durand held. Indeed, to see the impact of Koch's work, one has only to compare the first volume of Glorieux's *La littérature quodlibétique*, in which only one Parisian *Quodlibet* was assigned to Durand, with the second volume, in which Durand is credited with two quodlibetal disputations in Paris and three in Avignon. There is no need for me to go over in detail the evidence that convinced Glorieux, since it is all found in Koch's book in his inimitable mixture of careful and wide-ranging manuscript study with precise doctrinal comparisons.¹⁴⁴

Koch's results can be summarized as follows. Durand conducted two quodlibetal disputations while *magister actu regens* in theology in Paris in 1312–13. The first, which is referred to as Durand's first *Quodlibet* by Hervaeus Natalis in one of his writings against Durand, was disputed in 1312 (probably Easter) and is now found in two redactions, a lightly reworked one from 1312–13 and a thoroughly reworked one

¹⁴³ For this story and further literature, see the first Introduction to Schabel-Friedman-Balcioyannopoulou, "Peter of Palude" (cit. n. 93).

¹⁴⁴ See Koch, *Durandus* (cit. n. 98), pp. 93–128.

from sometime after 1317.¹⁴⁵ The four questions found in the second redaction, all of which deal with the category of relation, were edited in 1968 from the four manuscripts known to contain the text.¹⁴⁶ A second Parisian *Quodlibet*, and the one that Glorieux originally believed to be Durand's sole *Quodlibet*, was disputed at Christmas 1312 or (less likely, according to Koch) Easter 1313. Durand does not appear to have revised this *Quodlibet* at all, since we seem to possess in a single manuscript exclusively a *reportatio* of Durand's actual determinations. Koch judges that the special value of this *Quodlibet* is the picture it gives us of Durand's style of oral presentation.¹⁴⁷

In early 1313, Durand was called to Avignon to be *lector sacri palatii*, a position he retained until 1317 when he was raised to the episcopate. From the more than three years that Durand taught theology at the papal school, we have three sizable *Quodlibeta*, all of which have been critically edited by Prospero T. Stella.¹⁴⁸ The first of these three

¹⁴⁵ Koch, *Durandus* (cit. n. 98), pp. 105–17. It is in his *Reprobationes excusationum Durandi* that Hervaeus mentions Durand's first Parisian *Quodlibet*. The Carmelite Guy Terrena, in his *Quodl. I* from 1313, uses the early redaction of Durand's *Quodl. I*, thus giving a *terminus ante quem*. Glorieux II, pp. 70–1, n. 2, mistakenly claims that the second redaction is found in BAV, Vat. lat. 1076, when in fact this manuscript contains the first redaction. For the second redaction, Koch suggests "1317 (?)," but freely admits that we can only surmise that it was finished sometime after the three Avignonese *Quodlibeta*, on the basis of the fact that this *Quodlibet* is actually called *Quodl. IV* and follows the three *Quodl. Av.* in Vat. lat. 1075, which contains all four, and that in his *Quodl. Av. III* Durand refers to his own *Quodl. Av. I* as his "first *Quodlibet*" (*in primo quolibet*; see on the dating, Koch, pp. 95–6, 116–17).

¹⁴⁶ *Durandi de S. Portiano O.P. Quol. Paris. I* (q. 1–q. 4), Takeshiro Takada, ed. (Kyoto 1968). This is volume 4 in the extremely rare "Series of Hitherto Unedited Texts of Medieval Thinkers." It should be noted that volume 3 in that same series contained a highly flawed edition of Durand's *Quodl. Paris. I*, q. 2; the text was heavily revised for its republication in volume four of the series. I would like to thank Iwakuma Yukio and Sekizawa Izumi for their help in obtaining these (and several other) very rare editions. Two questions from Durand's first Parisian *Quodl.* that appear to be found only in the first redaction remain to be edited (Vat. lat. 1076, ff. 17r–18): q. 5 = "Utrum numerus ternarius personarum divinarum vel creaturarum sit aliquid unum realiter" and q. 6 = "Utrum motio ultimi finis et motio efficientis sint motiones eiusdem rationis, supposito quod finis et efficiens sint idem realiter" (also found in Tortosa, Archivo Capitular 43, f. 85va).

¹⁴⁷ Koch, *Durandus* (cit. n. 98), pp. 93–5, esp. pp. 117–19. The *Quodlibet* is found in Paris, BnF 14572, ff. 5ra–7va. In this manuscript, Durand's *Quodlibet* follows directly after John Quidort's *Quodlibet*.

¹⁴⁸ See n. 140 above for a reference to Stella's edition, which contains a detailed discussion of the tradition found in the four manuscripts containing the text, pp. 1–39 (the table of contents for *Quodl. Av. I*, ed. cit., records only 17 questions when there are in fact 18 in the *Quodl.*; Stella failed to record q. 13, ed. cit., pp. 134–6). Since Stella made his edition, several more copies of questions from Durand's *Quodlibeta* have been

Quodlibeta can be dated with some precision to Christmas 1314, and there is a high degree of probability that the second and third took place at Christmas 1315 and Christmas 1316, respectively.¹⁴⁹ The three Avignonese *Quodlibeta* are overwhelmingly theological in nature, with substantial questions on, e.g., trinitarian theology, Christ in the tomb, sin, bigamy, and monks' vows. It is noteworthy, however, that question 1 of *Quodl. Av. III* is Durand's most extensive discussion of the problem of universals, and given his reputation as an early nominalist (or conceptualist), this question will be of crucial significance in any evaluation of Durand's position in one of the major developments in fourteenth-century thought.¹⁵⁰

Peter of Palude

Peter of Palude (†1342) was the bachelor from the French Dominican province reading the *Sentences* at Paris just slightly after Durand, probably in 1310–12. Palude was heavily involved in the Dominican Order's controversy with Durand. He participated actively in both the first

found, including Münster, Universitätsbibliothek 175 (xiv), ff. 216va–217vb (*Quodl. Av. I*, q. 8) and Pamplona, Biblioteca de la Catedral 28 (xv), ff. 88v–93r (*Quodl. Av. III*, qq. 5–6), ff. 157r–159v (*Quodl. Par. I*, q. 2), ff. 159v–160v (*Quodl. Av. III*, q. 5), and the two manuscripts mentioned in n. 150 below; Kaeppli, *Scriptores*, no. 936. Koch deals with these three *Quodlibeta* in *Durandus* (cit. n. 98), pp. 119–28.

¹⁴⁹ Koch shows that the questions found in *Quodl. Av. I* are very tightly connected to the list of errors published on 3 July 1314 by the commission examining his *Sentences* commentary and the *Excusationes* that Durand himself wrote in response (and are now no longer extant). Thus, this *Quodlibet* is basically a second, and expanded, reply to the commission, and an undertaking like this would have only been pressing for Durand in the immediate aftermath of the commission's criticism; Christmas 1314 is the date that best fits this criterion. There is less evidence for the other two *Quodl. Av.*, but there is no dispute about the order in which they come, and they must have been disputed between Easter 1315 and Easter 1317 (Durand was raised to the episcopate on 26 August 1317): Christmas 1315 and Christmas 1316 are "wahrscheinlich." See Koch, *Durandus* (cit. n. 98), pp. 119–21, 126–7. It is interesting to note that Girard J. Etzkorn has recently argued that William of Ockham's *Quodl. V* is a sort of reply, written by Ockham at Avignon, to the criticism of Ockham's philosophy and theology made at the Franciscan provincial chapter in 1321; see Etzkorn's "Ockham at Avignon: His Response to Critics," *Franciscan Studies* 59 (2001), pp. 9–19.

¹⁵⁰ Koch, *Durandus* (cit. n. 98), p. 128, notes the importance of this question. Interestingly, copies of this question are found in Pelplin, Biblioteka Seminarium Duchownego 53/103 (xiv), ff. 225ra–230va, and Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati G.VII.40 (xv), ff. 94ra–101vb, with the incipit: "Quoniam in omni inquisitione veritatis" (pace Kaeppli, *Scriptores*, no. 936); thanks to Chris Schabel I have been able to look at copies of the Pelplin folios, and I can say that they clearly contain another redaction of this question, and the divergences will be worthwhile examining more fully.

(1314) and the second (1316/17) of the order's committees assembled by Hervaeus Natalis to review Durand's *Sentences*, drafting in each case along with John of Naples a list of problematic articles for the commission as a whole to review. Moreover, in his own massive *Sentences* commentary, redacted in 1310–11 and thereafter, Palude made a heroic effort to answer Durand's commentary at length, incorporating large portions of Durand's *Sentences* commentary into his own. Palude was regent master in theology at Paris 1314–16/17.¹⁵¹ During this period of regency, Palude held at least one and probably two quodlibetal disputations. According to its incipit, the *Quodlibet* that we have from Palude's pen contained originally fifteen questions, but today only eleven of its questions are found in one Toulouse manuscript (Toulouse, Bibliothèque Municipale 744 [xiv], ff. 75r–118v); even shorter fragments are contained in two other manuscripts found in Leipzig (Universitätsbibliothek 529 [xiv], ff. 122vb–126vb = fragment of q. 1)¹⁵² and Naples (BN XIII. A.17 [xiv], ff. 154–162 = q. 4). Moreover, we can be relatively sure that at one time two written *Quodlibeta* bore Palude's name, since, according to an eighteenth-century catalogue, the now lost fourteenth-century manuscript 216 of the Venetian Dominican Convent of San Giovanni e Paolo contained on ff. 223–260 two of Peter's *Quodlibeta*.¹⁵³

Palude's surviving *Quodlibet* is unedited, and as far as I know only its fourth question has been studied in any detail. This question, "Utrum episcopus possit committere audientiam confessionum sine licentia curatorum," is one of Palude's written contributions in the controversy between the mendicants and the seculars over mendicant privileges, and

¹⁵¹ These dates are based on the following observations: Palude received his licence to teach on 13 June 1314, and it seems likely that Hervaeus Natalis reclaimed the French Dominican chair in 1316 or 1317, while Peter Auriol was reading the *Sentences* (see at and around n. 106 above); Guimaraes, "Hervé Noël" (cit. n. 90), p. 64 (cf. p. 66), gives 1317 as the date upon which Palude vacated his chair for good, since the order's General Chapter that year in Pamplona, which began on 22 May and which Palude attended, explicitly ordered Palude to give up his chair to the next bachelor to be licensed. For a general look at Palude's life, see J. Dunbabin, *A Hound of God: Pierre de la Palud and the Fourteenth-Century Church* (Oxford 1991). On Palude's *Sentences* commentary and its relation to Durand, see esp. the introductions to Schabel-Friedman-Balcoyannopoulou, "Peter of Palude" (cit. n. 93).

¹⁵² See on this manuscript P. Burkhart, *Die lateinischen und deutschen Handschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek Leipzig. Band 2: Die theologischen Handschriften. Teil 1 (Ms 501–625)* (Wiesbaden 1999), pp. 46–51, esp. p. 48, which claims that the text breaks off in mid-question.

¹⁵³ This appears to have been noticed first by Guimaraes, "Hervé Noël" (cit. n. 90), p. 64 n. 34 (cp. with p. 6 n. 2, for the catalogue information).

in particular it is directed almost exclusively against the views of the important secular theologian John of Pouilly. Thus, Joseph Koch studied this question in his attempt to elucidate the juridical process against Pouilly, and more recently Brian Tierney, Charles Abraham Zuckerman, and Thomas Turley have studied it for its more general church political significance.¹⁵⁴ Through his close reading of this question, Koch was able to give solid evidence that this was Peter's first *Quodlibet* as regent master, being disputed at Christmas 1314 (Peter became master on 13 June 1314), and further that the written version of the *Quodlibet*—to which John of Pouilly responded—was available during the first half of 1315.¹⁵⁵ On the basis of this question, Turley claims that Palude was apparently the founder of a group of pro-papal proponents of papal infallibility, a group that Turley dubs “curial infallibilists.” This question appears to have been seminal in the development of Palude's ideas on Pouilly and on ecclesiology more generally, since at least two later

¹⁵⁴ J. Koch, “Der Prozess gegen den Magister Johannes de Polliaco und seine Vorgeschichte (1312–1321),” *RTAM* 5 (1933), pp. 391–422, esp. pp. 391–3 n. 6, 400–3, reprint in Koch, *Kleine Schriften* (Storia e Letteratura, 127–128) (Rome 1973), vol. II, pp. 387–422; B. Tierney, *Origins of Papal Infallibility 1150–1350* (Studies in the History of Christian Thought, 6) (Leiden 1972), pp. 149–53; C.A. Zuckerman, “Dominican Theories of the Papal Primacy 1250–1320” (Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University 1971), esp. pp. 197–205 = App. 1 “The Episcopal Writings of Peter of La Palu”; T. Turley, “Infallibilists in the Curia of Pope John XXII,” *Journal of Medieval History* 1 (1975), pp. 71–101, on Palude esp. pp. 74–8, 87–9, but also passim; in addition, J.T. Marrone, “The Ecclesiology of the Parisian Secular Masters 1250–1320” (Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University 1973), p. 251, in his discussion of John of Pouilly's ecclesiology, quotes from Palude's *Quodl.* q. 4. According to Koch (art. cit., p. 402), the question is divided into three main parts: 1) a general rejection of Pouilly's position on preaching and confession (ff. 84va–86va), 2) a specific reaction to a question (now lost) on confession that Pouilly determined in 1314 (ff. 86va–96va), and 3) a specific reaction to Pouilly's *Quodl.* V, q. 14, of 1312 on preaching (ff. 96va–98va). A still worthwhile discussion of the opposition between the two thinkers is J.G. Sikes, “John de Pouilli and Peter de la Palu,” *English Historical Review* 49 (1934), pp. 219–40.

¹⁵⁵ Koch, “Der Prozess” (cit. n. 154), pp. 400–3; Koch shows that Peter reports John of Pouilly's reference to the Council of Vienne (adjourned 6 May 1312) having taken place two years before, and that Peter himself refers to the papal bull *Inter cunctas* (13 February 1304) being ten years old. Given Koch's early dating, Turley's suggestion (“Infallibilists” [cit. n. 154], p. 91 n. 24) that the one *Quodlibet* that we have from Palude is his second *Quodlibet* (since it replies to criticism already made of the view Palude is defending, and, as far as we know, the only place that Palude could have aired his view previously was in an earlier *Quodlibet*, since the view does not appear in his *Sentences* commentary) seems unlikely but needs to be considered; Turley also claims (loc. cit.) that Guimaraes “gives evidence for a lost first quodlibet,” but Guimaraes does not specify whether he thinks that the lost *Quodlibet* was Palude's first or second.

works of Palude's are little more than rewrites of what he says here.¹⁵⁶ Although Turley says that Palude's presentation of his ecclesiological views in question 4 of his *Quodlibet* is poorly organized and obscure, nevertheless Turley can show that the position that Palude develops there played a significant role in the Carmelite Guy Terrena's thought on the subject, although the influence was undoubtedly through personal contact and not through the written *Quodlibet*. Finally, it can be mentioned that Palude's *Quodlibet* provides evidence for the rather sharp backlash in the period after 1312/13 against Durand of St Pourçain's theories both on the relationship between direct and reflexive cognitive acts and on our enjoyment of God as a reflexive act; at least four questions in the *Quodlibet* (qq. 6, 8–9, 11) deal with this issue directly.¹⁵⁷

Francis Caracciolo

The name of one Dominican theologian from whom we have written quodlibetal questions is nowhere to be found in Glorieux I or II. This is Francis Caracciolo of Naples, master of theology at Paris around 1308 and chancellor of the University from 1309 until 1316, the year of his death. He apparently only became a Dominican towards the very end of his life, since he is referred to as *canonicus Parisiensis* in letters from 1308 and 1309, and later as University chancellor (reserved for a secular), and nevertheless the Dominicans remembered him as one of their own after his death.¹⁵⁸ Out of six quodlibetal disputations that we know Francis held, we have in BAV, Vat. lat. 932, written remains of

¹⁵⁶ Koch, "Der Prozess" (cit. n. 154), p. 392 n. 5, says that Palude's *Responsiones ad ea quae sibi imposuit mag. Ioannes de Polliaco* (= Kaeppli, *Scriptores*, no. 3294) merely repeats what Palude writes in this quodlibetal question, while Turley, "Infallibilists" (cit. n. 154), p. 91 n. 25, draws attention to the fact that Palude's *De audientia confessionum* (= Kaeppli, *Scriptores*, no. 3295) is "essentially a revision of" Palude's *Quodl.*, q. 4.

¹⁵⁷ See on the issues, R.L. Friedman, "On the Trail of a Philosophical Debate: Durand of St. Pourçain vs. Thomas Wylton on Simultaneous Acts in the Intellect," in *Philosophical Debates at the University of Paris in the First Quarter of the Fourteenth Century*, S.F. Brown and T. Kobusch, with T. Dewender, eds., Leiden: Brill, forthcoming 2007; on Palude see there around n. 45. Thomas Jeschke of the University of Cologne's Thomas-Institut is currently writing a Ph.D. dissertation on these early fourteenth-century debates, which will include a discussion of the material in Palude's *Quodlibet*. It can be mentioned that the early date of Christmas 1314 which Koch gives to Palude's *Quodlibet* would agree well with his interest in this very debate that Durand's view from 1312–13 brought to a head.

¹⁵⁸ For the most complete discussion of Francis' life and works, see P. Glorieux, "François Caracciolo, chancelier de l'Université de Paris," *RTAM* 33 (1966), pp. 115–36; on the two letters, pp. 115–16. The acts of the Dominican Chapter General for 1316 include "...pro ven. Patre fratre Francisco ordinis nostri, condam cancellario Parisiensi,

two, his fifth and sixth, held ca. 1315–16. In Glorieux II (pp. 300–01), these two *Quodlibeta* are listed as Anonymous *Quodlibet* XXI and XXII, respectively. Only some thirty years later did Glorieux determine through textual comparisons with other authenticated works that these questions were written by Francis Caracciolo, and he even published an edition of one question in his article on the chancellor.¹⁵⁹

John of Naples

One of the most extensive and, despite increasing interest, least known sets of fourteenth-century *Quodlibeta* are those of John of Naples († ca. 1350). Thirteen *Quodlibeta*, comprising some 300 questions on virtually every conceivable subject, make this a mammoth collection, but the fact that it is for the most part unedited has made investigation of it difficult. Indeed, until around 1925 it was believed that John had authored only two *Quodlibeta*, and Glorieux first included an entry on him in the second volume of his *La littérature quodlibétique* (pp. 159–73).¹⁶⁰ Despite these obstacles, John's clear importance in the early fourteenth century has meant that his works, including the *Quodlibeta*, have been the object of significant study over the last century. John was at Paris during the years of Durand of St Pourçain's controversy with his order: he probably read the *Sentences* at Paris between 1309 and 1311, and he, along with Peter of Palude, drafted two lists of suspect articles from Durand's

nuper defuncto..."; cf. Kaeppli, *Scriptores*, s.v. Franciscus Caracciolo de Neapoli; cf. Glorieux, art. cit., p. 129.

¹⁵⁹ Glorieux, "François Caracciolo" (cit. n. 158), pp. 125–37, for Glorieux's arguments for attributing these two *Quodlibeta* to Francis, using *Quodl.* V, q. 5 ("Utrum beata virgo contraxerit peccatum originale") as his basis of comparison. For more on Francis, and the identification of several of his views, see A. Maier, "Literarhistorische Notizen über P. Aureoli, Durandus und den 'Cancellarius' nach der Handschrift Ripoll 77bis in Barcelona," *Gregorianum* 29 (1948), pp. 213–51 (reprint in Maier, *Ausgehendes Mittelalters* I, pp. 139–73, see esp. 153–73); R.J. Long, "Utrum iurista vel theologus plus proficiat ad regimen ecclesie". A *Quaestio Disputata* of Francis Caraccioli. Edition and Study," *Mediaeval Studies* 30 (1968), pp. 134–62.

¹⁶⁰ Thus, Jellouschek, "Quaestio Magistri Ioannis" (cit. n. 168 below), believed that John had only two *Quodlibeta*. In 1927, Joseph Koch announced that there were thirteen *Quodlibeta* on the basis of his correspondence with J.M. March who had found the important Tortosa manuscript containing them. In 1933, Thomas Kaeppli found in Naples the second major manuscript containing all thirteen of John's *Quodlibeta*. Glorieux incorporated all of this information into his question lists in Glorieux II. See n. 165 below for references to these works.

Sentences commentaries in 1314 and 1316/17.¹⁶¹ He was made master of theology in the Dominican chair for foreigners at Paris probably in late 1315, but was transferred by the order to the Dominican *studium* in Naples in the autumn of 1317. In the process leading up to the canonization of Aquinas, John was the main Dominican representative, and he continued to be a papal consultant on such issues as apostolic poverty (1322) and the beatific vision (1332–33).¹⁶² In 1347 John was chaplain for Pope Clement VI, for whom he gave a sermon the next year; this is the last we hear of him.¹⁶³

John's *Quodlibeta* and his large set of disputed questions¹⁶⁴ are his two principal scholastic works. The *Quodlibeta* are contained in two major manuscripts—Naples, BN VII. B. 28 (xiv) and, more complete, Tortosa, Archivo Capitular 244 (xiv)—with substantial fragments in some ten further manuscripts.¹⁶⁵ The greatest challenge with regard to John's

¹⁶¹ John's *Sentences* commentary appears to be no longer extant; on the dates of his lectures, see Guimaraes, "Hervé Noël" (cit. n. 90), pp. 38, 45–7, and T. Kaeppli, "Note sugli scrittori domenicani di nome Giovanni di Napoli," *AFP* 10 (1940), pp. 48–76, esp. p. 50, who concurs with Guimaraes. On the two commissions and John's part in them, see Koch, *Durandus* (cit. n. 98), pp. 18–19, 200–8.

¹⁶² For this information, see Koch, *Durandus* (cit. n. 98), pp. 285–314, esp. 285–6, in conjunction with Kaeppli, "Note sugli scrittori domenicani" (cit. n. 161), esp. p. 51.

¹⁶³ Much of this information is from Kaeppli, *Scriptores*, s.v. Ioannes de Napoli (I); for more detail see Kaeppli, "Note sugli scrittori domenicani" (cit. n. 161), pp. 48–71.

¹⁶⁴ The *Quaestiones disputatae* were printed by D. Gravina in Naples 1618 (reprint Ridgewood, NJ 1966); for a question list, see Koch, *Durandus* (cit. n. 98), pp. 306–9. Koch dates most of these disputed questions to John's Parisian regency, but several are reworked *responsiones* that John made upon the request of figures such as Pope John XXII on pressing issues of the day, like marriage (1322 = q. 40), Franciscan poverty (*De paupertate*, 1324 = q. 42), the relation between Church and State (*De potestate papae*, 1328 = q. 39), and the beatific vision (*De visione beatifica*, 1332 = q. 41); see on these questions especially A. Maier, "Zur Textüberlieferung einiger Gutachten des Johannes de Neapoli," *AFP* 40 (1970), pp. 5–27 (reprint in Maier, *Ausgehendes Mittelalters* III, pp. 481–504).

¹⁶⁵ For manuscripts, see Kaeppli, *Scriptores*, no. 2528; some of these manuscripts are described in Koch, *Durandus* (cit. n. 98), pp. 287–93. More recently on the Tortosa manuscript: J.M. March, "Cuestiones cuolibéticas de la Biblioteca Capitular de Tortosa. Otros códices de Juan de Nápoles, Durando y Santo Tomás," *Estudios eclesiásticos* 5 (1926), pp. 15–25, 150–63, and 6 (1927), pp. 151–6, on manuscript 244, esp. the second and third installment; much of March's article was reused by E. Bayerri-Bertomeu, *Los códices medievales de la Catedral de Tortosa. Novísimo inventario descriptivo* (Barcelona 1962), pp. 398–412. Koch did not know of the Naples manuscript, which was announced and described by T. Kaeppli in "Handschriftliche Mitteilungen über Werke von Dominikanerschreibern in der Biblioteca Nazionale in Neapel," *Divus Thomas* (Fribourg) 11 (1933), pp. 445–56, on the Naples manuscript, pp. 449–55, but Glorieux II was able to take it into account, and hence Glorieux's question list is more complete than the one found on pp. 293–306 of Koch. Later studies of the two main manuscripts can be found in Maier, "Zur Textüberlieferung" (cit. n. 164), in *Ausgehendes Mittelalters*, vol. III,

Quodlibeta is establishing their dating. Two of the *Quodlibeta* present less of a difficulty than the other eleven: these are the ones called in all modern lists of questions for and references to John's *Quodlibeta* (e.g., Glorieux II, pp. 164–66; Koch, pp. 293–306) “*Quodlibet VI*” and “*Quodlibet VII*,” following the numbering found in the Naples and Tortosa manuscripts. What is striking about these numeral designations is that there is no disagreement among the experts that these two *Quodlibeta* were disputed during John's Parisian regency of 1315–17. Thus, normally we would expect these two *Quodlibeta* to be John's first and second (not sixth and seventh). We will pick up this mystery below, after seeing how we can date these two *Quodlibeta* with some exactitude.¹⁶⁶ The reason that it is generally agreed that *Quodlibeta VI* and *VII* stem from John's regency is that both the Naples and the Tortosa manuscript (as well as several others) claim that they were disputed at Paris. Now, on medieval testimony, John became master ca. November 1315, and an explicit in yet another manuscript containing *Quodlibet VII* (Firenze, BNC, Conv. Soppr. J.X.10 [xiv]) claims that this *Quodlibet* was *editum* at Paris in 1317. This leads Koch to place the disputation for *Quodlibet VII* at Christmas 1316, and further to conclude that *Quodlibet VI* (which precedes *Quodlibet VII* in all the manuscripts that carry both) was disputed at Christmas 1315 or Easter 1316.¹⁶⁷

esp. pp. 493–501; P.T. Stella, “Giovanni Regina di Napoli, O.P., e la tesi di Giovanni XXII circa la visione beatifica,” *Salesianum* 35 (1973), pp. 53–99, on the manuscripts esp. pp. 55–62; L. Velázquez Campo, “Transcripción y estudio de dos cuestiones cuodlibetales inéditas de Juan Regina de Nápoles, O.P.,” *La ciencia tomista* 107 (1980), pp. 117–50 (and see on this article nn. 112, 135 above).

¹⁶⁶ A minor point that should be made is that these two *Quodlibeta* are called *Quodl. I* and *Quodl. II* in several manuscripts containing only them (e.g., Firenze, BNC, Conv. Soppr. J.X.10 [xiv], ff. 99ra–140vb; Toulouse, Bibliothèque Municipale 744 [xiv], ff. 1r–51v). This probably cannot be used to trump the evidence of the Naples and Tortosa manuscripts, but it should be noted.

¹⁶⁷ On the dating, see Koch, *Durandus* (cit. n. 98), pp. 75, 309–14. It is on this basis that Koch (pp. 75–6) argues that John gives us a *terminus a quo* of 1317 for the third and final version of Durand's *Sentences* commentary (C), based on Durand's citation (in the Prologue to I *Sent.* [C]) of John's *Quodl. I*, since we can be certain that Durand, residing outside of Paris, could have seen John's *Quodl. I* by 1317. Long, “‘Utrum iurista’” (cit. n. 159), p. 138 n. 24, claims that “[t]he dating of John of Naples' licence is given by two different manuscripts of Bernard Gui, both indicating the month of November, 1316; Hauréau wants to read ‘1315,’” but Long offers no manuscript references there (which Koch does), and a date of November 1315 for John's license fits better with the story (related by Long, loc. cit.) that Francis Caracciolo (†31 May 1316) granted John his license (there are still problems with the dating, as Long recognizes).

That *Quodlibet* VI was disputed at an early date in John's career as regent master is perhaps confirmed by the rather cautious attitude that John takes when, in the second question there, he discusses the articles condemned at Paris in 1277, and especially nine articles that appear to run against Aquinas' views. Here John asks whether all of Thomas' conclusions can be taught in Paris, a pressing issue for Dominicans who were admonished in 1286 and in 1309 to hold and defend Thomas' views. In contrast with the caution of the early *Quodlibet* VI, in which John explains how either Thomas or the condemned articles can be construed in such a way that there is no contradiction between them, in his slightly later *Quaestio disputata* 22 (probably disputed sometime in 1316) John says outright that some of the articles were wrongly condemned and that the current bishop of Paris should correct them or remove them from the list.¹⁶⁸ This evidence may make Christmas 1315 the best dating for John's *Quodlibet* VI, a point at which he had probably possessed his chair in theology for little over a month.

If it is possible to give relatively firm dates for John's *Quodlibeta* VI and VII, no such clarity can be found with regard to the eleven other *Quodlibeta* that we have from him. The main problem with *Quodlibeta* I–V, as noted above, is as follows: if we take the numbering of the *Quodlibeta* in the Naples and Tortosa manuscripts as governing, then John appears to have held no fewer than five quodlibetal disputations before he even became master of theology. This would almost necessarily mean that they were held during John's bachelor years at Paris, 1310–15, when he was definitely studying theology, reading the *Sentences*, and participating in the commissions studying Durand's works, as well as perhaps teaching at one of the order's provincial *studia*.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁸ For a study and edition of *Quodl.* VI, q. 2 (called there *Quodl.* I, q. 2), see C. Jellouschek, "Quaestio Magistri Ioannis de Neapoli, O. Pr. 'Utrum licite possit doceri Parisius doctrina fratris Thomae quantum ad omnes conclusiones eius' hic primum in lucem edita," *Xenia thomistica* 3 (Rome 1925), pp. 73–104, especially p. 86 for a comparison between John's two questions. More recently, and taking into account all of the manuscripts that Jellouschek in 1925 could not have known of, see P.T. Stella, "Gli 'Articuli Parisienses, qui doctrinam eximii doctoris beati Thomae de Aquino tangunt vel tangere asseruntur' nella accezione di Giovanni Regina di Napoli," *Salesianum* 37 (1975), pp. 39–67, with a reedition (pp. 45–57) and manuscript study of this question from all manuscripts known to contain it, also offering other mentions of the condemned articles found in John's *Quodlibeta*. See on this also Koch, *Durandus* (cit. n. 98), p. 312, and for other examples like this one, pp. 312–13; for the dating of the *Quaestiones disputatae*, see *ibid.*, pp. 309–10.

¹⁶⁹ M. Mantovani, "Due questioni inedite di Giovanni di Napoli su temi gioachimiti," *Florentia* 13/15 (1999–2000), pp. 259–80 (with editions of *Quodl.* I, q. 13; II, q. 5), esp.

Prospero T. Stella has presented some evidence that may corroborate this chronology for the first five *Quodlibeta*. In brief, Stella has contended that argumentation from *Quodlibet* III, q. 5, dealing with the principle of individuation, reappears in augmented form in *Quodlibet* VII, q. 6, which would make *Quodlibet* III the earlier of the two *Quodlibeta*. Stella argues for a similar type of development with regard to John's engagement with the articles condemned in Paris in 1277 that appeared to go against Thomas: from the early *Quodlibet* III, q. 10, to *Quodlibet* V, q. 8, and further to *Quodlibet* VI, q. 2.¹⁷⁰ Thus, given what we know today, it seems highly likely that John disputed his first five *Quodlibeta* before becoming master.

As for how it could possibly be that a bachelor held quodlibetal disputations, there are at least two serious alternatives. One of these two alternatives was suggested by Glorieux (II, p. 159), who in his short discussion of John's *Quodlibeta* proposed applying to John something like Hödl's thesis for dealing with Hervaeus Natalis' *Quodlibeta minora*: John's first five *Quodlibeta* were held when he, still a bachelor of theology, took on the role of respondent in these quodlibetal disputations. On the other hand, we seem to have in Giles of Rome a good precedent for John having held quodlibetal disputations in his own right at a provincial *studium* or on some major occasion like a general or provincial chapter of the order: Giles held such a disputation in Padua in 1281, before

p. 263, claims that the disputations on which *Quodl.* I and II (which in accordance with the explanation being advanced here, he dates to 1310–11 and 1311–12 respectively) were based “presumibilmente potrebbe essere Napoli”—for corroborating evidence see below at n. 172. Mantovani, it should be noted, announces in this article (p. 261 n. 3) a critical edition of the *Corpus Quaestionum disputatarum de quolibet* of John of Naples. Don Mantovani tells me that Prospero T. Stella, who originated the idea for the critical edition (see “Gli ‘Articuli Parisienses’” [cit. n. 168], p. 42), continues work on the edition.

¹⁷⁰ On development in John's theory of individuation, see P.T. Stella, “Zwei unedierete Artikel des Johannes von Neapel über das Individuationsprinzip,” *Divus Thomas* (Fribourg) 29 (1951), pp. 129–66, esp. pp. 131–7. On p. 132 n. 3 of that article, Stella holds explicitly to the view that *Quodl.* I–V were chronologically earlier than *Quodl.* VI and VII, and rejects a suggestion by T. Kaeppli (“Handschriftliche Mitteilungen” [cit. n. 165], pp. 452–3) that *Quodl.* VII was chronologically earlier than *Quodl.* VI. Kaeppli's suggestion was made because *Quodl.* VI, q. 16, refers to a treatment elsewhere (...in alio nostro quolibet...), and Kaeppli can only see either *Quodl.* III, q. 5, or *Quodl.* VII, q. 6, as possibilities, and rejects *Quodl.* III since it could not be chronologically earlier than either *Quodl.* VI or *Quodl.* VII. On development in John's approach to the Parisian articles, see “Gli ‘Articuli Parisienses’” (cit. n. 168), pp. 57–60.

his rehabilitation and subsequent Parisian magistracy.¹⁷¹ Perhaps the suggestion by J.M. March that John's *Quodlibet* V, q. 13 ("Utrum facto statuto de novo in aliqua civitate de non asportando frumento extra portum eius, navis quae ante statutum onerata frumento de portu reces- sit et tandem orta tempestate post statutum ad portum rediit, possit licite cum frumento de portu recedere"), was likely disputed in some maritime city, e.g., Naples, would make us lean towards the second of these two alternatives at least for this particular *Quodlibet*.¹⁷² We can hope that deeper study of these five "early" *Quodlibeta* will turn up further evidence as to when and where John held these disputations.

One fruitful way that such research might be conducted has been shown recently by Mauro Mantovani for *Quodlibeta* VIII–X,¹⁷³ which have been presumed to be later than John's Parisian period and probably held in Naples, where he was teaching. Mantovani uses two basic strategies in tandem for establishing some solid dating for especially *Quodlibet* VIII: he takes advantage of the fact that John often makes internal references to his own *Quodlibeta*, thereby confirming the order of the individual *Quodlibeta* vis-à-vis each other, and he looks for historical and doctrinal references in the texts of the *Quodlibeta* that will allow us to date them in absolute terms. Thus, Mantovani found that in *Quodlibet* X, q. 9, which Mantovani edited, John cites his own *Quodlibet* VIII on at least two occasions. *Quodlibet* VIII, q. 2, in turn, mentions "ut in secunda quaestione, VII Quodlibet, disputata Parisius, probatum est," which shows both that *Quodlibet* VIII was not disputed in Paris (but rather, presumably, in Naples, as we already believed) and that *Quodlibet* VII preceded *Quodlibet* VIII. More significantly still, following Mantovani, we can argue that *Quodlibet* VIII was disputed at Christmas 1317 on the basis of a reference in *Quodlibet* VIII, q. 20, to a text "in constitutionibus novellis Concilii Viennensis"; since after 25 October 1317 this text was officially promulgated as part of the *Constitutiones clementinae*, had John written much later than Advent 1317 he

¹⁷¹ See on Giles' Paduan *Quodlibet* Giorgio Pini's chapter in the first volume of the present book, esp. pp. 233, 236–9. Thanks to Chris Schabel for having drawn my attention to Giles' Paduan *Quodlibet*.

¹⁷² March, "Cuestiones cuolibéticas" (cit. n. 165), part 2 (1926), p. 151, repeated by Bayerri-Bertomeu, *Los códices medievales* (cit. n. 165), p. 398–9, and Velázquez Campo, "Dos Cuestiones Cuolibetales" (cit. n. 165), pp. 119, 137.

¹⁷³ M. Mantovani, "'Veraciter, sed non evidenter'. Due questioni quodlibetali inedite di Giovanni di Napoli sul tema della creazione," *Salesianum* 61 (1997), pp. 463–82 (with editions of John's *Quodl.* X, qq. 8–9); on the dating see pp. 466–9.

would have cited the *constitutiones novellae* as the *Constitutiones clementinae*. In fact, Mantovani's dating would mean that John disputed *Quodlibet* VIII very soon after his transfer from Paris to Naples. In line with this, Mantovani dates *Quodlibet* X—the main object of his interest—to “posteriore al 1318.”

For *Quodlibeta* IX–XIII we can supplement Mantovani's findings based on the studies of Anneliese Maier, Prospero T. Stella, and Thomas Turley. Thus, Thomas Turley has suggested that evidence given by Anneliese Maier concerning a spate of *responsiones* in the first half of 1320 dealing with witchcraft and demonology should allow us to place John's *Quodlibet* IX not much later than that year.¹⁷⁴ Maier also gives evidence that would place *Quodlibet* X in 1322 or more probably in 1323, focusing on question 23 dealing with the sacrament of marriage.¹⁷⁵ Finally, building on the work of Maier and Stella, Turley has proposed a dating of Christmas 1332 for John's *Quodlibet* XI, based on the fact that its question 7 refers to John's treatise *De visione beatifica*, written in early 1332 at the request of Pope John XXII and now found as question 41 of John's *Quaestiones disputatae*.¹⁷⁶ As far as I know, no dating work has been done specifically on *Quodlibeta* XII and XIII, but they would presumably be dated to after 1332. Indeed, Thomas Kaeppli has gone through all of *Quodlibet* XIII and shown that there are references in it to questions in John's *Quodlibeta* II, VII, VIII, X, and XII (as well as

¹⁷⁴ For Turley's claim, see “Infallibilists” (cit. n. 154), pp. 96–7 n. 83, referring to Maier's “Eine Verfügung Johannis XXII. über die Zuständigkeit der Inquisition für Zaubereiprozesse,” *AFP* 22 (1952), pp. 226–46 (reprint in Maier, *Ausgehendes Mittelalters* II, pp. 59–80). Maier never actually mentions John in this article, but Turley is probably indicating the overlap between John's *Quodl.* IX, q. 24 (“Utrum invocare, conjurare, et consulare daemones et eis sacrificare et baptizare imagines secundum formam et ritum Ecclesiae ad interficiendum vel affiliandum, sapiat haeresim vel infidelitatem”), and several of the five questions that John XXII put to his theologian advisors in 1320 as found listed in Maier's article, p. 64. Glorieux II, p. 168 n. 2, asks whether this very question in John's *Quodl.* IX has to do with “l'affaire de Hugues Gérard (1317).”

¹⁷⁵ Maier, “Zur Textüberlieferung” (cit. n. 164), pp. 483–4, esp. n. 10.

¹⁷⁶ T. Turley, “An Unnoticed *quaestio* of Giovanni Regina di Napoli,” *AFP* 54 (1984), pp. 281–91, esp. pp. 286–7; see also Maier, “Zur Textüberlieferung” (cit. n. 164), pp. 492–501, and especially Stella, “Giovanni Regina” (cit. n. 165), pp. 55–8, 90–6—with reference in Stella's text edition of *Quodl.* XI, q. 7, on p. 98 to the disputed question; Turley's argument is more complicated than I have presented it here, making use of the fact that John seems to have wanted to *suppress* this particular question in the published version of the *Quodlibet*, which only makes sense in the charged atmosphere of 1332–33 on the issue of the beatific vision. See on John's *De visione beatifica*, n. 164 above.

one of the disputed questions), thus establishing that *Quodlibet* XIII is the last of John's *Quodlibeta*.¹⁷⁷

That these later *Quodlibeta* were disputed by John in his role as lector at the Dominican *studium* in Naples seems relatively certain. Nevertheless, there is strong evidence to suggest that several of the questions in these *Quodlibeta* were first written as *responsiones* to requests for a theological opinion by, e.g., Pope John XXII, and only later incorporated into the *Quodlibeta* proper. This is what Thomas Turley convincingly argues is the case with *Quodlibet* XI, q. 13, a question dealing with papal provisions and specifically with whether canons of a cathedral chapter after taking an oath to resist the installation of a papal claimant could, upon papal admonishment, legitimately break their oath. Turley shows on the basis of manuscript evidence that the question was written first as a *responsio* and then with a minimum of editing was included in the *Quodlibet*.¹⁷⁸ Turley mentions several other cases in John's *Quodlibet* X where the Dominican was clearly constructing his "quodlibetal" question on the basis of an earlier text made in response to a request for theological advice. This is not unknown in quodlibetal literature—the Carmelite Guy Terrena is also known to have done this type of "recycling"—but it seems a characteristic especially to be associated with John of Naples, and one that can help us with the dating of his *Quodlibeta*.¹⁷⁹

It seems likely that study of John of Naples' *Quodlibeta* will repay the effort, since in the research to date he has been noted to be intelligent and interesting. Joseph Koch, for example, was full of praise for him as a thinker. For Koch, John was "the most significant Thomist of the beginning of the fourteenth century," praised for the clarity of his Thomistic views and for his extraordinarily wide-ranging knowledge of Thomas' many works.¹⁸⁰ A steady flow of books and articles on John's thought, most taking their point of departure in John's *Quodlibeta*, has tended to confirm the view that he was a significant thinker, one who developed Thomistic philosophy and theology in interesting ways in

¹⁷⁷ See Kaeppli, "Handschriftliche Mitteilungen" (cit. n. 165), pp. 451–2; these internal references were essential to Kaeppli's proof that *Quodl.* XIII actually belonged to John.

¹⁷⁸ See Turley, "An Unnoticed *quaestio*" (cit. n. 176), pp. 284–5.

¹⁷⁹ Turley, "An Unnoticed *quaestio*," p. 285 n. 19, refers to Maier, "Zur Textüberlieferung" (cit. n. 164), esp. p. 484 n. 10 for *Quodl.* X, q. 23, and he suggests that qq. 23–24, 26 of that *Quodlibet* are also *responsiones* on the basis of their being posed as *casus*, as well as q. 22, which has none of the trappings of a quodlibetal question.

¹⁸⁰ Koch, *Durandus* (cit. n. 98), pp. 207, 285, 287.

response to new challenges—not least the challenge posed by Durand of St Pourçain. Thus, some aspects of John's thought that have been studied to date include his ideas on scientific knowledge,¹⁸¹ trinitarian theology,¹⁸² individuation,¹⁸³ creation and the relationship between God and the world,¹⁸⁴ the beatific vision,¹⁸⁵ political philosophy and philosophy of economics,¹⁸⁶ education,¹⁸⁷ and natural law.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸¹ J. Beumer, "Die Kritik des Johannes von Neapel O.P. an der Subalternationslehre des hl. Thomas von Aquin," *Gregorianum* 37 (1956), pp. 261–70, who shows that John, like Hervaeus Natalis, rejects that theology is a science, and more particularly a subalternate science, in any strict sense, thus fundamentally rejecting Aquinas' view on the issue.

¹⁸² R. Schneider, *Die Trinitätslehre in den Quodlibeta und Quaestiones disputatae des Johannes von Neapel O.P. († 1336)* (Veröffentlichungen des Grabmann-Institutes, N.F. 16) (Munich 1972).

¹⁸³ Stella, "Zwei unedierte Artikel" (cit. n. 170); H.J. Weber, *Die Lehre von der Auferstehung der Toten in den Haupttraktaten der scholastischen Theologie* (Freiburg 1973), pp. 243–4 n. 406, claims that John's *Quodl.* VII, q. 6, edited by Stella (pp. 156–66), is dependent upon the Augustinian Hermit James of Viterbo as well as the Dominican Nicholas Trivet (*Quodl.* III, q. 37)—indeed, John in the text of his *Quodl.* III, q. 5 (ed. Stella, "Zwei unedierte Artikel," p. 156, ll. 6–9) cites "penultimo articulo primi quodlibeti Jacobi de Viterbio" as well as "ultimo quodlibet Hervei"; the latter, as mentioned above (nn. 98, 116), must be a reference to Hervaeus' *Quodl.* III, q. 9 ("Utrum materia sit principium individuationis"), which gives a *terminus ante quem* for John's question of 1316–17, when Hervaeus' "last *Quodlibet*" would have been *Quodl.* IV and no longer *Quodl.* III.

¹⁸⁴ M. Mantovani, "'Veraciter, sed non evidenter'" (cit. n. 173). On the same theme, although concentrating on John's disputed questions, is C.J. Jellouschek, *Johannes von Neapel und seine Lehre vom Verhältnis zwischen Gott und Welt* (Vienna 1918) (note that when Jellouschek wrote this book, John was only recognized to have had two *Quodlibeta*).

¹⁸⁵ See Maier, "Zur Textüberlieferung" (cit. n. 164) (Maier discusses John's contributions to the discussion on the beatific vision in several of the articles collected in her *Ausgehendes Mittelalters* III; see the index there); Stella "Giovanni Regina" (cit. n. 165); F. Merta, "Die Lehre von der Visio beata in den *Quodlibeta* und *Quaestiones disputatae* des Johannes von Neapel O.P. († 1336)" (Inaugural-Dissertation, Munich 1964), with generous quotations of texts from the *Quodlibeta*. More recently, C. Trottmann, *La vision béatifique des disputes scolastiques à sa définition par Benoît XII* (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 289) (Rome 1995), pp. 574–83, who, however, does not appear to know Merta's work.

¹⁸⁶ See the chapters by Roberto Lambertini and Giovanni Ceccarelli in the first volume of the present book for discussions of John's *Quodlibeta* in later medieval political and economic debates. Turley, "Infallibilists" (cit. n. 154), p. 98 n. 91, claims that John's argument for papal infallibility in *Quodl.* XI is very sophisticated, and that he will deal with it in a projected article; but I have not run across that article.

¹⁸⁷ P.T. Stella, "Puer quasi res parentum. Breve contributo alla storia della pedagogia medievale," *Orientamenti Pedagogici* 8 (1961), pp. 910–27 (*Quodl.* X, q. 21)—I have not examined this article.

¹⁸⁸ P. Michaud-Quantin, "Le droit naturel chez Jean de Naples," *RTAM* 29 (1962), pp. 268–87.

Late Dominican Quodlibeta

Dominican quodlibetal production seems to have begun to taper off after around 1320; at any rate, there is not as great a density of texts surviving from this period as from the earlier period. With that said, there are some Dominican contributions to the genre from this later period. As we just saw, John of Naples was writing and probably disputing *Quodlibeta* in the 1320s and well into the 1330s. Moreover, in Avignon in 1328, Armand of Belvezer held a quodlibetal disputation, five questions of which are preserved in BAV, Borghese 10, ff. 110v–115v.¹⁸⁹ Across the channel, in the mid-1330s, Robert Holcot held a series of quodlibetal disputations of which we have considerable written remains, largely unedited and in a confusing state.¹⁹⁰ Much later still, Herman of Augsburg (Hartmannus de Augusta) held a series of quodlibetal disputations during his period of teaching in Cologne around 1355, and we find *Quodlibeta* IV and VI in Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska 748, ff. 24ra–47ra.¹⁹¹ While bearing in mind that also these are late Dominican *Quodlibeta*,¹⁹² nevertheless here I will concentrate on three other major authors of the period: Raymond Bequini, Henry of Lübeck, and Bernard Lombardi.

Raymond Bequini

Although Glorieux (II, p. 238) associates only nine quodlibetal questions with the Parisian master Raymond Bequini (†1328), we have good reason to believe that twelve questions are extant from two separate *Quodlibeta*. In 1955 Franz Pelster announced that there were not just

¹⁸⁹ See on the manuscript and the questions, the relevant entry in A. Maier, *Codices burghesiani bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Studi e testi, 170) (Vatican City 1952), and the on-line *Quodlibase*. Sylvain Piron tells me that Martin Morard is currently working on this *Quodlibet*, and may edit it.

¹⁹⁰ On Holcot's *Quodlibeta*, see Rondo Keele's contribution to this volume.

¹⁹¹ See on Herman, Z. Włodek, "Hermann d'Augsbourg et ses 'Quaestiones de Quodlibet' dans le ms. BJ 748," *MPP* 6 (1960), pp. 3–50, with discussion of Herman and his thought (pp. 3–10), detailed description of the manuscript (pp. 11–27), and edition of *Quodl.* IV, q. 6 ("Utrum intellectus agens sit aliquid animae humanae") and q. 7 ("Utrum verbum mentis sit idem quod actus intelligendi vel non"), on pp. 28–50. For a complete list of questions, see M. Kowalczyk, "Hartmanus de Augusta," *MPP* 3 (1959), pp. 25–6. A description of Krakow 748 can also be found in *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum... Cracoviae* V (cit. n. 22), pp. 285–92 (on these *Quodlibeta*, p. 286).

¹⁹² One can finally mention that the seven questions contained in Firenze, BNC, Conv. Soppr. B.VI.340 (xiv), vol. 2, ff. 81r–137v, and attributed to the English Dominican Thomas Claxton († after 1414), may be quodlibetal (see Kaeppli, *Scriptores*, no. 3783, and Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 1725).

the nine questions that Glorieux knew, but in fact eleven questions; on the other hand, Pelster also observed that only the eleventh and final question (“*Utrum intellectus creatus videndo divinam essentiam visione beata de necessitate videat omnia quae possunt in divina essentia repraesentari*”) was explicitly marked as belonging to Bequini’s *Quodlibet* II. On this basis, Pelster was doubtful as to whether the other ten questions were quodlibetal questions at all.¹⁹³ More recently, Lauge O. Nielsen has been working on this material as part of his study of Peter Auriol and his contemporaries. Nielsen has found yet another question, bringing the total up to twelve; moreover, he has found a reference from the question known to belong to *Quodlibet* II to question 4 of *Quodlibet* I, and this matches with material that we have.¹⁹⁴ Thus, we can be quite certain that we have from Bequini a *Quodlibet* I of eleven questions and a *Quodlibet* II of one question. Parts of Bequini’s *Quodlibeta* are found in six manuscripts,¹⁹⁵ so it appears to have had some readership. Perhaps the most significant feature of Bequini’s quodlibetal questions, however, is that they are primarily attempts to rebut the theology, psychology, and metaphysics of Peter Auriol. Bequini read the *Sentences* at Paris probably in 1317–19, and was regent master there shortly thereafter; he thus overlapped with Auriol, which explains his preoccupation with the Franciscan in these questions, which may themselves date from 1321 or 1322. Indeed, Bequini wrote a fourteen-question *Correctorium* of the beginning of Auriol’s *Scriptum*, criticizing the Franciscan master from a generally Thomistic point of view.¹⁹⁶ Thus, once again we see that early Thomism “retooled” itself in order to focus on the newest and most challenging threats: after Henry of Ghent, Durand of St Pourçain and John Duns Scotus, and after them, Peter Auriol.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹³ F. Pelster, “Zur ersten Polemik gegen Aureoli: Raymundus Bequini O.P., seine Quästionen und sein *Correctorium* Petri Aureoli, Das *Quodlibet* des Jacobus de Apamiis O.E.S.A.,” *Franciscan Studies* 15 (1955), pp. 30–47 (pp. 31–9 on Bequini), esp. p. 35; updated question list on p. 34.

¹⁹⁴ Thanks to Nielsen for conveying this information to me.

¹⁹⁵ Avignon, Bibliothèque Municipale 314 (xiv), ff. 1–21v; Basel, Universitätsbibliothek B.VIII.28 (xiv), ff. 1–37v; Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek 529 (xiv), ff. 93–94; Pamplona, Biblioteca de la Catedral 28 (xv), ff. 129–145; Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale 502 (xiv), ff. 49–77; Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale 129 (xv). For information on the Pamplona manuscript, I am grateful to Chris Schabel.

¹⁹⁶ Kaeppli, *Scriptores*, has not listed the *correctorium* of 14 questions from Peter Auriol’s I *Sent.* that Pelster, “Zur ersten Polemik” (cit. n. 193), p. 35, securely identified as Bequini’s.

¹⁹⁷ It should be noted that Bequini’s *quaestio* “*Utrum Christus et Apostoli habuerunt aliqua temporalia in communi quantum ad proprietatem et dominium*,” which Pelster (“Zur ersten Polemik” [cit. n. 193] pp. 32, 35) suggested is a separate treatise on apostolic

Henry of Lübeck

As far as we know Henry of Lübeck never taught in Paris—all of our information about his life locates him in Germany: in 1312 we find him as vicar for the provincial of the Dominican province of Saxony, in 1325 and 1336 as prior provincial of Saxony, and in 1336 as vicar general of the same province. Indeed in the manuscripts containing his major work, his three *Quodlibeta*, Henry is described as a Dominican from the province of Saxony. This is what has led most scholars to place Henry's quodlibetal disputations in the order's *studium generale* in Cologne, rejecting suggestions of Paris or England for which there is no evidence at all.¹⁹⁸ The last we hear of Henry is in the document just mentioned from 1336.

In line with this sparse information about his life, the dating of Henry's *Quodlibeta* is somewhat problematic. In one of the three manuscripts containing the work, Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 1382 (ff. 114r–198r), the explicit to *Quodlibet* II (f. 171r) runs as follows: "Explicit secundum quodlibet fratris H. de Lubecke ordinis fratrum predicatorum de provincia Saxonie. Quod fecit scribi frater Johannes de Dyscove Bononie anno Domini 1326."¹⁹⁹ This gives us a *terminus ante quem* of 1326.²⁰⁰ On this basis, Glorieux (II, pp. 134–37)

poverty, is now recognized to be such by Kaeppli, *Scriptores*, no. 3389 (and on the treatise see U. Horst, "Raimundus Beguin OP und seine Disputation De paupertate Christi et apostolorum aus dem Jahr 1322," *AFP* 64 [1994], pp. 101–18).

¹⁹⁸ For a fine summation of the evidence about Henry's life and works, see L. Sturlese, "Gottebenbildlichkeit und Beseelung des Himmels in den *Quodlibeta* Heinrichs von Lübeck OP," *FZPT* 24 (1977), pp. 191–233, esp. pp. 191–3; for more detail, see W. Bucichowski, "Le principe d'individuation dans la question de Henri de Lubeck 'Utrum materia sit principium individuationis'," *MPP* 21 (1975), pp. 89–113, esp. pp. 89–94.

¹⁹⁹ See M. Grabmann, "Forschungen zur Geschichte der Ältesten Deutschen Thomistenschule des Dominikanerordens," in *Mittelalterliches Geistesleben* I (Munich 1926) (pp. 392–431), p. 422; more generally on Henry, pp. 421–8.

²⁰⁰ Knowing when Henry became a master of theology might help with the dating of his work; unfortunately there is some disagreement about this in the secondary literature. Bucichowski, "Le principe" (cit. n. 198), p. 89 n. 7, claims "le titre de maître (sans plus de précision) est accolé pour la première fois au nom de Henri de Lubeck dans un document de 1330"; Sturlese, "Gottebenbildlichkeit" (cit. n. 198), p. 191, claims "Seit 1325 bezeichnen ihn die Urkunden übereinstimmend als Magister der Theologie." As far as I can tell, Bucichowski is correct that the first time Henry is referred to as Master is in 1330, and not in 1325, but in any case he is *not* referred to as master in the document from 1336 in which he is made the vicar general of the order's province of Saxony (B. Reichert, ed., *Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica* IV [Rome 1899], p. 242), so it is difficult to know what one can conclude on this basis.

conjectured that the three *Quodlibeta* were disputed in 1323, 1324, and 1325, supporting the thesis by noting that in his text as found in the Vienna codex Henry referred to “sanctus Thomas,” which would require that they took place after Thomas’ canonization in July 1323. But already Grabmann in 1926 had written that the many instances in which Thomas is referred to merely as “doctor” or “brother” in Henry’s text in the same Vienna manuscript might indicate that the instances of “saint” were a later addition; Grabmann suggested on this basis that “die Quodlibeta schon vor 1323 entstanden sind.” Loris Sturlese pursued this line of research by comparing those spots in the text where Thomas is described as “saint” in the Vienna manuscript with the same spots as found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Misc. 540 (xiv), ff. 1–101, which also contains the three *Quodlibeta*: not once is Aquinas referred to as “saint” in the Oxford manuscript.²⁰¹ Thus 1323 is no solid *terminus post quem*, and it may even be, as Grabmann suggested, a *terminus ante quem*. Although Grabmann notes that Henry explicitly refers frequently to Giles of Rome, as well as to Albert the Great, Henry of Ghent, Godfrey of Fontaines, Peter of Auvergne, and even Robert Grosseteste, these relatively early figures do not help us with a *terminus post quem* for Henry’s *Quodlibeta*.²⁰² More promising with regard to determining a chronology for Henry’s *Quodlibeta* will be tracing the anonymous *doctores moderni* he mentions. For example, Sturlese has established that Henry had first hand knowledge of Dietrich of Freiburg’s *De animatione caeli* from the end of the thirteenth century.

More useful for giving a more exact date to the *Quodlibeta* is that Henry, in his *Quodlibet* I, q. 23 (“Utrum in intellectu possint esse plures simul actus ut actus”), quotes extensively and sometimes verbatim from the third question of Durand of St Pourçain’s “Quaestiones de libero arbitrio,” composed while Durand was regent master in Paris in 1312 or 1313.²⁰³ I present here some non-exhaustive evidence of this influence of Durand on Henry:

²⁰¹ Grabmann, “Forschungen” (cit. n. 199), p. 424; Sturlese, “Gottebenbildlichkeit” (cit. n. 198), pp. 192–3 (esp. nn. 7–8).

²⁰² Grabmann, “Forschungen” (cit. n. 199), pp. 424–5.

²⁰³ See on the treatise, my “On the Trail” (cit. n. 157), *passim*; on Henry, see there around n. 41.

Henry of Lübeck, <i>Quodlibet</i> I, q. 23 (W = Wien 1382, ff. 142rb–143va) f. 142va–b <1> Secundum <motivum> est quod cum potentia intellectiva non sit minoris capacitatis quam potentia sensitiva, si in potentia sensitiva possunt esse plures actus simul, non erit hoc inconveniens de aliqua potentia intellectiva. Quod autem in potentia sensitiva possunt esse simul plures actus patet de sensu communi, qui simul percipit immutationes omnium sensibilium particularium. Patet etiam hoc de aliis sensibus. Visus enim videt simul scutum quod est album in una mediante et nigrum in alia; sed illos duos colores non potest²⁰⁴ videre uno actu. Probatio, quia perfectius et intensius videt album quam nigrum eo quod album fortius movet; idem autem actus non potest esse intensior et remissior simul; ergo diversis actibus eadem potentia visiva percipit simul album et nigrum in uno scuto. <2> Tertium motivum est de intellectu angelico, qui semper intelligit essentiam suam per se ipsam. Sed alia quae intelligit per speciem illam, quandoque intelligit, quandoque non intelligit. Ergo saltem in intellectu angelico possunt esse plures actus respectu plurium obiectorum.	Durand of St. Pourçain “Quaestiones de libero arbitrio,” q. 3²⁰⁵ <p. 486.9–17> Tertio sic: plures actus sentiendi possunt esse simul in sensu. Ergo et plures actus intelligendi in intellectu. Consequentia patet, quia intellectus non est minoris capacitatis quam sensus, nec actus intelligendi sunt maioris repugnantiae quam actus sentiendi. Minor probatur, quia videns scutum partim album et partim viride vel rubeum, videt simul totum scutum, ut experimentum docet, et tamen non videt uno actu videndi totum; ergo ibi sunt plures actus videndi. Probatio minoris, quia idem actus non potest esse simul intensus et remissus. Sed videns scutum partim album et partim viride seu rebeum, maxime si sit remotum, videt intensius album quam viride seu rubeum. Ergo non est unus actus solus. <p. 486.17–20> Quarto sic: angelus simul intelligit se et alia a se. Sed illud non potest esse nisi per diversos actus intelligendi. Ergo ibi sunt diversi actus; nam semper intelligit se, quandoque autem intelligit alia a se....
---	---

²⁰⁴ potest] possunt *ms.*

²⁰⁵ Page- and line-number references are to the edition found in P.T. Stella, “Le ‘Quaestiones de libero arbitrio’ di Durando da S. Porciano,” *Salesianum* 24 (1962), pp. 450–524.

<3> Quartum motivum est de actu reflexo et recto ... eo quod possint **/W 142vb/** separari. Potest enim esse actus rectus sine reflexo [sed actus sine reflexo], sed actus reflexus semper supponit rectum quia est obiectum suum. Nullus autem actus potest esse sine suo obiecto. Ideo saltem in eadem potentia potest esse simul actus rectus et reflexus...

<4 = 142vb> Similiter dicunt de intentionibus albi et nigri quod non magis compatiuntur in eodem secundum idem quam album et nigrum, quia utrobi<que> est formalis repugnantia, nec plus se compatiuntur in esse distincto parvus calor et parvum frigus quod magnus calor et magnum frigus. Dicunt ergo quod duae similitudines albedinum efficiuntur una intentio in puncto medio ubi concurrunt. Similiter intentio albi et nigri in medio faciunt unam intentionem in qua includuntur, sicut calidum et frigidum quando concurrunt in idem subiectum faciunt unam formam mediam, puta tepidum. *Et si dicatur* contra hoc quod si intentio albi et nigri concurrunt in unam qualitatem mediam quae sit utraque virtute, sicut calidum et frigidum in eodem subiecto faciunt tepidum, tunc illa intentio media non perfecte repraesentaret nec album nec nigrum. Et ideo si in aliqua domo esset unus paries albus, alius niger, non ita perfecte videretur in illa domo color albus aut niger, sicut si uterque paries esset albus et niger, quod non est verum, ut docet sensus, dicitur ad hoc...

<5 = ~1 = 143ra-b> ... Ad illud quod dicimus quod visus simul videt scutum album et nigrum—dicendum quod si videt tales duos colores pluribus visionibus, hoc est ratione extensionis, ut iam dictum est. Et ideo

<p. 486.25–27> Quinto sic: actus rectus et reflexus sunt duo actus. Sed isti sunt simul et unus est causa alterius. Ergo duo actus possunt esse in eadem potentia simul, quorum unus est causa alterius...

<p. 494.3–13> Dicendum ergo est quod sicut calidum et frigidum respectu eiusdem subiecti non causant calorem et frigus, quae sunt contraria, sed causant tepidum, quod est qualitas media, uno impediante puram actionem alterius, sic album et nigrum causant in eadem parte medii speciem mediam. *Sed contra* hoc arguitur quia species media a duobus contrariis imperfecte et deficienter repraesentat utrumque, sicut patet de tepido respectu calidi et frigidi. Si ab albo et nigro causaretur in eadem parte medii una species media, illa deficienter et imperfecte repraesentaret tam album quam nigrum, et ita tam album quam nigrum imperfecte videretur per talem speciem. Experimur autem quod aequae perfecte videmus albedinem unius anguli domus, existente nigro in alia parte domus, et quolibet immutante totum medium, sicut si esset ibi albedo solum...

<pp. 495.46–496.11> ...ad probationem, cum dicitur quod videns scutum partim album et partim rubeum, intensius videt album quam rubeum, idem autem actus non potest esse intensior et remissior—

non sequitur quod idem contingat de intellectu. Nihilominus dici potest quod videlicet illos colores in uno corpore unita visione et ut unum. Et cum arguitur quod videt album intensius quam nigrum, et idem actus pro eodem instanti non potest esse intensior se ipso—dicitur a quibusdam quod idem actus numero potest intensius referri ad unum obiectum quam ad aliud, ita quod actus qui refertur non diversificatur in se, sed habet essentialiorem habitudinem ad unum obiectum quam ad aliud. Quod patet in exemplo sic: unus et alii duo cum eo quorum unus habeat albedinem in eodem gradu, alius habeat albedinem non in eodem gradu, talis albus similior est uni quam alteri per eandem albedinem /W 143rb/ non-mutatam. Modo in proposito actus videndi cum absoluto importat respectum, et ideo unus actus videndi numero potest habere essentialiorem habitudinem ad obiectum unum quam ad aliud, nulla variatione in se facta.

<6 = ~3 = f. 143va> Ad quartum motivum dicendum quod, cum intelligo me intelligere, non sunt simul plures actus sed unus tantum, quod sic potest patere: eadem intellectione intelligitur aliquod obiectum et ordo illius ad alterum, sicut eadem intellectione intelligitur homo et ordo hominis ad albedinem quam habet, sicut est in propositione vera affirmativa cum dicitur 'homo est albus' et ordo eius ad nigredinem quam non habet, cum dicitur non esse nigrus, sic eadem intellectione intelligitur rosa in se et in ordine ad intellectum a quo intelligitur. Cum autem intelligo rosam

dicendum quod visio illa cum sit quanta, aut est intensior in una parte quam secundum aliam, et illud non est inconveniens si albedo est intensior in una parte quam in alia; aut, si penitus videtur per eandem partem album intensior quam rubeum, hoc non est ex intensione actus secundum se, sed ex essentialiori et perfectiori habitudine actus ad album quam ad rubeum. Quia, licet ab albo et a rubeo fiat in oculo una immutatio, efficacius tamen fit ab albo quam ab altero, et quia apprehensio eorum respondet immutationi, ideo unum efficacius apprehenditur quam reliquum, quamvis actus secundum se non sit perfectior et minus perfectus. In illis enim quae cum absoluto includunt respectum, invenitur magis et minus respectu diversorum absque aliqua variatione circa illud quod dicitur magis et minus.

<p. 497.6–7, 13–17> Quando autem cognosco me cognoscere rosam, nec tunc sunt duo actus sed unus. . . .

habere ordinem actualem ad intellectum meum, intelligo me intelligere rosam. Ponitur simile ad hoc: quia motus localis movetur ad motionem corporis localiter moti, quia motis nobis, moventur ea quae in nobis sunt, et non movetur talis motus localis alio modo quam se ipso; sic cum intelligo me intelligere, intellectio est cognita non alia cognitione quam se ipsa.	Et aliquid consimile, quamvis remotis, potest inveniri in corporalibus. Motus enim localis quo aliquod mobile formaliter movetur, movetur ad motionem mobilis, quia motis nobis, moventur ea quae sunt in nobis, et tamen non movetur alio motu quam se ipso. Similiter, cognitio per quam intellectus cognoscit obiectum, ipsa cognoscitur, non alia cognitione quam se ipsa.
---	---

Of note here is that in §§1–3, Henry presents objections to the position that both he and Durand actually maintain, i.e., to the position that there can be only one act of the intellect at a time. Henry raises the same objections in the same order as Durand presented them in his treatise (first about sensory acts, then about angelic cognition, then about reflex acts), and there is even some verbal overlap. In §4, where Henry presents an opinion of Durand’s and then an objection to that view, Henry has picked up on Durand’s comparison between a mixture of white and black making one “mediate species,” on the one hand, and hot and cold coming together and making “tepid,” on the other; more striking still is the shared use of the house analogy in the presentation of the objection to Durand’s position. In §5, Henry’s response to §1, the shared example of the white and black shield (*scutum*), carried over from §1, is noteworthy, as is the fact that the view Henry presents as belonging to “others” (*dicitur a quibusdam*) has a great deal of verbal overlap with Durand’s view. Most telling of all is §6, where Henry explains the relationship between a direct and a reflex act, and how it can be the case that when I understand that I am understanding something, I am not entertaining two mental acts at once. Henry’s theory here—that when we have a reflex act, we are understanding through one act of the intellect the object (presumably the direct intellectual act) and that object’s order to something else (i.e., the object of the direct act)—does not seem to be something he took from Durand; nevertheless, he uses Durand’s example of my cognizing that I cognize a rose, and, more importantly still, the last six lines of text are for all intents and purposes lifted verbatim from Durand’s treatise. The bottom line is that Henry appears to have had deep familiarity with Durand’s text, and this tells us two things about

Henry and his context: first, his *Quodlibeta* definitely date after 1312 and, second, Cologne, or whatever other German venue Henry used, was alive to relatively recent high-profile Parisian debates. On the basis of this textual comparison, at this point the best firm dating for the three *Quodlibeta* we can give is between 1312 and 1325, with a lesser degree of certainty that they were composed before 1323.

In addition to the Vienna and the Oxford manuscripts containing Henry's *Quodlibeta*, Münster, Universitätsbibliothek 308 (172) (xiv), ff. 1–62r, was known also to contain them; this manuscript was unfortunately destroyed during the Second World War, and until recently no microfilm copy was known to exist.²⁰⁶ Happily, in 2004 with the kind assistance of the Abbey of Mont César in Leuven, I was able to identify a microfilm copy of this manuscript in the Abbey's extensive holdings. Recent work with this microfilm has shown that the Münster manuscript is a significant witness to Henry's text—in fact it is probably the most reliable of the three witnesses. So, it is all the more important that Loris Sturlese and his group, who are editing Henry's *Quodlibeta* for the series "Corpus philosophorum Teutonicorum Medii Aevi," will now be able to use this third witness in their reconstruction of Henry's text.²⁰⁷

Grabmann claimed Henry's *Quodlibeta* to be "without doubt the most extensive and most important *Quodlibeta* of German Dominican scholasticism."²⁰⁸ The *Quodlibeta* are indeed extensive: seventy-one questions dealing with various issues in theology, philosophy, science (particularly astronomy and astrology), and medicine. Earlier students of Henry's *Quodlibeta*, Grabmann for instance, stressed his Thomism, while acknowledging that on certain topics, like individuation, Henry

²⁰⁶ Sturlese, "Gottebenbildlichkeit" (cit. n. 198), p. 192 n. 2, knew of no film.

²⁰⁷ Thanks go to Wouter Goris and Dom Guibert Michiels of the Abbey of Mont César for helping me procure the Abbey's copy of the microfilm. I passed on the information to Loris Sturlese in early 2004, and his team have been making use of the manuscript ever since. See U. Villani-Lubelli, "Quodlibet II, Quaestio X (43) Heinrichs von Lübeck: Versuch einer Erklärung. Das Verhältnis zwischen Erstursache und Intelligenz," *Archiv für mittelalterliche Philosophie und Kultur* 12 (2006), pp. 168–86, at p. 172 (much of the introductory material to this article is from Sturlese's article mentioned in n. 198 above); idem, "Mitteilung über den Fund einer Kopie des zerstörten Codex, Münster, UB, Hs. 308 (172)," *Bulletin de Philosophie Médiévale* 47 (2005), pp. 111–16. On the editorial project, see L. Sturlese, "Idea di un 'Corpus philosophorum Teutonicorum Medii Aevi,'" *Studi Medievali* (3a serie) 25.1 (1984), pp. 459–63, with Henry, whose work will make up volume IV, 1–3, on p. 462.

²⁰⁸ Grabmann, "Forschungen" (cit. n. 199), p. 425: "...ohne Zweifel die umfangreichsten und bedeutendsten *Quodlibeta* aus der deutschen Dominikanerscholastik..."

struck an eclectic chord;²⁰⁹ more recent research by especially Sturlese has pointed out that, alongside the Thomistic elements, there are clear Neo-Platonic overtones in Henry's thought.²¹⁰ More recently still, in his intricate study of the complex of philosophical and theological issues surrounding the unity of substantial form debate, Boureau has highlighted Henry's reliance on Giles of Rome, and drawn a tentative link between a question in Henry's *Quodlibet* II and the 1320 canonization of Thomas of Cantimpré.²¹¹ This goes to show that through more detailed study of Henry's *Quodlibeta*, it may well be possible to fix firmer dates for them. Moreover, when it is available in a critical edition, Henry's work will clearly be a highly significant witness to the currents of early fourteenth-century thought.

Bernard Lombardi

A final Dominican *Quodlibet* from the period is that of Bernard Lombardi. Bernard read the *Sentences* at Paris in the academic year 1327–28, and it is likely that he was regent master there in 1331–32. It was probably at that time that the disputation was held on which was based the single *Quodlibet* that we have from Bernard, a series of four questions, and a further twelve question titles, found in Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek 529 (xiv), ff. 1r–42va, with an additional, apparently complete copy of question 1 found in BAV, Vat. lat. 817 (xiv), ff. 183ra–202va.²¹² The questions are anonymous in the Leipzig manuscript, but the Vatican

²⁰⁹ E.g., Grabmann, "Forschungen" (cit. n. 199), pp. 423–4; on eclecticism on the issue of individuation, see p. 423, and the much fuller treatment in Bucichowski, "Le principe d'individuation" (cit. n. 198), pp. 94–103, with relevant text edition, pp. 105–13 (*Quodl.* I, q. 19).

²¹⁰ Sturlese, "Gottebenbildlichkeit" (cit. n. 198), esp. pp. 193–9; also Villani-Lubelli, "Quodlibet II, Quaestio X" (cit. n. 207), pp. 174–86.

²¹¹ See A. Boureau, "La preuve par le cadavre qui saigne au XIII^e siècle, entre expérience commune et savoir scolastique," *Micrologus* 7 (1999), pp. 247–81, esp. pp. 265–6, 278–81 (with an edition of *Quodl.* II, q. 16, which Boureau calls q. 17); idem, *Théologie, science et censure au XIII^e siècle. Le cas de Jean Peckham* (L'âne D'or) (Paris 1999), pp. 260–1, esp. 264–6, 279–80, 285–6 (on p. 264 Boureau gives Glorieux' old dating for the *Quodlibeta* and makes the claim that Henry seems to have been educated in England, for which we have no evidence).

²¹² On Bernard's *Quodlibet* the place to look first is Koch, *Durandus* (cit. n. 98), pp. 332–40, who describes the manuscripts and discusses the work. Koch (p. 337) voices doubt as to whether the *Quodlibet's* q. 2 is actually a quodlibetal question, since it is not listed in the introductory remarks, and q. 3 is introduced as "secundo"; given this, Koch suggests q. 2 to be a *quaestio ordinaria* that was added to the *Quodlibet* (Teetaert, "La littérature," p. 85, thinks this a likely explanation, and offers other examples of *quaestiones ordinaria* being inserted in *Quodlibeta*).

manuscript firmly attributes the first question to Bernard. Koch, who has looked most closely at this text, notes that Durand of St Pourçain, who figures largely in Bernard's *Sentences* commentary, here in Bernard's *Quodlibet* takes a back seat to Peter Auriol; also among those mentioned in the margins of the manuscripts and in the text itself are Hervaeus Natalis, William of Ockham, Walter Chatton, John Duns Scotus, Francis of Meyronnes, and the little known Bertrand of Alimania. Koch also claims that logical issues are in focus in Bernard's *Quodlibet* more than the metaphysical issues that he had been preoccupied with earlier in his career.²¹³

Conclusion

This chapter pretended to do nothing more than give a *status quaestionis* on Dominican quodlibetal literature after Thomas Aquinas. But even with this rather modest goal, on the basis of the material that has been studied here, I think that I can offer a little perspective on specifically Dominican quodlibetal literature. Probably the most important of all characteristics running through the *quodlibeta* discussed here is the centrality of Aquinas. Without having looked in depth at the content found in these *quodlibeta*, I cannot point to any particular doctrinal traits that run through all or most of them—indeed it is becoming more and more clear that Thomism in this first half century or so after Thomas' death was a very broad umbrella, and in line with this we probably should not expect, when the research finally gets done, that doctrinally many of these authors are “Thomists” in exactly the same way. Nevertheless, it is striking that, whether they were correct in their interpretation of Aquinas or not, whether they mentioned him explicitly or not, Aquinas is the overwhelming—although certainly not exclusive—doctrinal anchor in nearly all of the literature dealt with here. This goes just as much for the genuine *quodlibeta* that we have looked at as it does for what is perhaps most characteristic of Dominican quodlibetal literature of this period: the anti-*quodlibeta* that men like Robert of Orford, Thomas of Sutton, Bernard of Auvergne, and Hervaeus Natalis pursued in their

²¹³ Koch, *Durandus* (cit. n. 98), pp. 338–40. Less significant than Koch, but also dealing with Bernard's *Quodlibet*, is S.A. Porebski, “La quaestion de Bernardus Lombardi concernant la différence réelle entre l'essence et l'existence,” *MPP* 17 (1973), pp. 157–85, esp. pp. 160–5 (thanks to Elzbieta Jung for information on this article).

strikingly diverse ways. While these anti-*quodlibeta* are certainly a part of the larger Dominican effort to respond directly to works perceived to be critical of Aquinas' thought (e.g., *Sentences* commentaries, William de la Mare's *Correctorium*), they nevertheless show one way in which Dominican authors used the quodlibetal format as a means of expression.

But with it said that Aquinas and his thought are the overwhelming doctrinal compass for the quodlibetal literature discussed here, it must also be said that Dominican quodlibetal literature reflects in full the dynamic, evolving, and creative nature of early Thomism. Consider that in the early part of the period examined here, the great threat to Thomism was clearly thought to be posed by Henry of Ghent, who is the object of attacks by at least Robert of Orford, Thomas of Sutton, Bernard of Auvergne, and Hervaeus Natalis; in addition Godfrey of Fontaines, James of Viterbo, Giles of Rome, and Matthew of Aquasparta were considered significant enough challenges to warrant substantial rebuttal. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, Dominican quodlibetal literature updates itself by turning to new threats, most importantly John Duns Scotus (Thomas of Sutton, Hervaeus Natalis) and Durand of St Pourçain (Hervaeus, Peter of Palude, John of Naples), although John of Pouilly also emerges as a significant figure (e.g., Hervaeus, Peter of Palude). Finally, towards the end of our period, a new menace emerges in the form of Peter Auriol, who is responded to directly by Hervaeus in his *Quodlibet* IV, by Raymond Bequini, and by Bernard Lombardi. At the same time, we have seen several instances in which these "threats" have influenced the Dominican quodlibetal literature in a positive and not merely negative way: witness the influence of Giles of Rome on Robert of Orford, of John Duns Scotus on Hervaeus Natalis, and of Durand of St Pourçain on Henry of Lübeck. In this way, Dominican quodlibetal literature mirrors Dominican philosophical and theological literature of the period more generally: it is Thomist, but open to other influences, and it does not stand still but is constantly reacting and adapting to its changing intellectual environment, in the process renewing itself. This is part of what makes the Dominican literature of this period exciting and interesting. What it means, however, is that in order to come to a genuine understanding of the nature of the period's Dominican thought, we are required to investigate not only the texts themselves, but also their sources and their contexts. And this in turn will require critical editions of far more of the texts discussed here than have been made to date. Indeed, the vast majority of the quodlibetal questions discussed here have never been printed. This in

itself should show that, despite the immense progress we have made over the last century in our study of Dominican quodlibetal literature, we still have a very long way to go.

APPENDIX I

TABULA QUAESTIONUM QUODLIBETORUM TRIUM BERNARDI DE TRILIA²¹⁴

Quodlibet I

Incipit V: *Quodlibet primum fratris Bernardi de Trilia*

- 1) Utrum Deus sciat mala (V 154r)
- 2) Utrum Deus posset facere materiam actu sine forma (V 155r)
- 3) Utrum in Christo sit duplex esse (V 156r)—ed. André, “Les Quolibeta de Bernard de Trilia” (cit. n. 16), pp. 261–4; E. Hocedez, *Quaestio de unico esse in Christo, a doctoribus saec. XIII disputata* (Textus et documenta, ser. Theol., 14) (Rome 1933), pp. 35–8 (text 11)
- 4) Utrum si Christus assumpsisset aliam naturam humanam fuisset duo homines vel unus (V 156v)
- 5) Utrum corpus Christi vivum et mortuum fuerit idem numero (V 156v)—ed. André, “Les Quolibeta de Bernard de Trilia” (cit. n. 16), pp. 254–61
- 6) Utrum Christus ascenderit super omnes caelos seu supra convexum ultimi caeli (V 158r)
- 7) Utrum essentia et esse creaturae sint idem vel diversa (V 158v)
- 8) Utrum in angelis sit alia potentia quam voluntas vel intellectus (V 159r)
- 9) Utrum angeli proficiant vel possint proficere in scientia vel cognitione (V 159v)—ed. Künzle, *Bernardi de Trilia* (cit. n. 15), pp. 375–9
- 10) Utrum per praesentiam corporalem Christi in ascensione sui in caelum fuerit gloria augmentata (V 160r)
- 11) Utrum praeter cognitionem fidei habuerit Beata Virgo de filio suo aliam altiore cognitionem (V 160v)
- 12) Utrum sensitiva hominis et bruti different specie vel numero (V 161r)
- 13) Utrum species intelligibiles sint corruptibiles vel non (V 161r)
- 14) Utrum intellectus intelligendo per species intelligibiles necessario formet verbum (V 161v)
- 15) Utrum anima separata cognoscat particularia materialia (V 162r)
- 16) Utrum in anima separata remaneant scientiae quas hic existens in corpore acquisit (V 163r)
- 17) Utrum beatitudo consistat in intellectu (V 163v)
- 18) Utrum resumpto corpore augebitur gloria animarum beatarum intensive (V 164r)
- 19) Utrum in separatione animae a corpore spoliatur corpus omnibus formis praecedentibus (V 165r)
- 20) Utrum anima sit in qualibet parte corporis tota (V 166r)
- 21) Utrum omnes apostoli peccaverint mortaliter circa tempus passionis Christi (V 166v)

²¹⁴ V = BAV, Borgh. 156; F = Firenze, BNC, Conv. Soppr. A.3.1153. My information comes from André, “Les Quolibeta de Bernard de Trilia” (cit. n. 16), pp. 234–8, and Künzle, “Neu aufgefundene Quaestiones” (cit. n. 17), pp. 53–6.

- 22) Utrum religiosi teneantur ad horas canonicas (V 167r)
- 23) Utrum subditus requisitus in iudicio de veritate dicenda peccet mortaliter non dicendo (V 167r)
- 24) Utrum beati videant omnia in divina essentia (F 21vb)—ed. Künzle, *Bernardi de Trilia* (cit. n. 15), pp. 380–90

*Quodlibet II*²¹⁵

- 1) Utrum Deus posset equum motuum eundem numero suscitare (V 179r)
- 2) Utrum Deus scientia visionis cognoscat infinita (V 179r)
- 3) Utrum in divinis sint tria esse personalia (V 180r)
- 4) Utrum Christus post resurrectionem vere comederit cibum sibi incorporando (V 180v)—ed. André, “Les Quolibeta de Bernard de Trilia” (cit. n. 16), pp. 264–5
- 5) Utrum in productione effectuum naturalium sit eadem actio Dei et creaturae (V 180v)
- 6) Utrum in angelis differat realiter suppositum et natura (F 28ra)
- 7) Utrum elementa remaneant in mixtione (F 29ra)
- 8) Utrum materia sit principium individuationis in rebus naturalibus (F 30ra)
- 9) Utrum descendente mola de caelo, si granum milii ei proiectum occurreret, faceret eam quiescere (F 31ra)
- 10) Utrum cessante motu primi mobilis, si mola esset in medio aeris, descenderet ad terram (F 31va)
- 11) Utrum perfor<m>ata terra a superficie in superficiem, aqua descendat naturaliter usque ad centrum (F 32ra)
- 12) Utrum forma substantialis sit principium motus in corporibus simplicibus (F 32va)
- 13) Utrum tempus et motus sint aliquid extra animam in rerum natura (F 33rb)
- 14) Utrum forma quae apparet in speculo recipiatur in puncto vel in superficie (F 34ra)
- 15) Utrum accipiens sacrum ordinem post contractum matrimonium per verba de praesenti ante carnalem copulam, debeat compelli ad intrandum religionem vel adhaerere uxori (F 34rb)
- 16) Utrum quis teneatur pro patre mortuo specialiter orare vel sufficiat oratio communiter facta pro omnibus (F 35va)
- 17) Utrum vovens intrare religionem teneatur statim intrare (F 36ra)
- 18) Utrum sacerdos debeat absolvere illum qui detinet alienum antequam restituerit (F 36ra)

*Quodlibet III*²¹⁶

Incipit V: *Secundum quodlibet fratris Bernardi de Trilia magistri in theologia Parisius ordinis praedicatorum.*

- 1) Utrum Deus possit in uno instanti creare omne creabile (V 167v)
- 2) Utrum posito per impossibile quod Deus Pater non generaret Filium posset producere mundum (V 168v)

²¹⁵ In F, the first five questions are found on ff. 24rb–28ra.

²¹⁶ In F, the first 24 questions are found on ff. 36va–56vb.

- 3) Utrum Deus posset facere quod unum corpus esset in duobus locis sine conversione eius in aliud corpus (V 169r)
- 4) Utrum Deus sit magis scibilis quam est credibilis (V 169r)
- 5) Utrum circumscripto intellectu creato esset ponere in Deo pluralitatem attributorum secundum rationem distinctorum (V 169v)—ed. in Thomas de Aquino, *Opera omnia* XLII (Rome 1979), p. 275 (Appendix K)
- 6) Utrum angeli per unam speciem intelligibilem possunt simul plura intelligere (V 170r)
- 7) Utrum angelus cognoscens plura per unam speciem possit unum illorum intelligere sine altero (V 171r)
- 8) Utrum supposito quod omnes angeli creati fuerint in gratia meruerint ante casum beatitudinem aeternam (V 171v)
- 9) Utrum esse et essentia in qualibet substantia creata sint idem re (V 173r)—ed. André, “Les Quolibeta de Bernard de Trilia” (cit. n. 16), pp. 249–54.
- 10) Utrum materia prima sit producta a Deo per creationem (V 174r)
- 11) Utrum materia prima habeat ideam in Deo (V 174r)
- 12) Utrum relatio realis praeter suum fundamentum sit aliquid ab eo distinctum quod faciat cum eo compositionem (V 174v)
- 13) Utrum aliquod corpus posset esse supra convexum caeli empirei (V 175v)
- 14) Utrum animal generatum ex semine et ex putrefactione sint eiusdem speciei (V 176r)
- 15) Utrum amputata parte animalis anulosi remaneat idem animal numero (V 176r)
- 16) Utrum potuerit esse maior gratia quam fuerit animae Christi collata (V 176v)
- 17) Utrum voluntas aliquid intelligat vel intellectus aliquid appetat (V 176v)
- 18) Utrum species intelligibilis sit similitudo rei quantum ad formam et materiam vel solum quantum ad formam (V 177r)
- 19) Utrum in justificatione impii simul in eodem instanti sit introductio, id est infusio, gratiae, et expulsio, id est remissio, culpae (V 177v)
- 20) Utrum dubitans de aliquo an sit mortale peccatum, si faciat (*V*: fiat) id, peccet mortaliter (V 177v)
- 21) Utrum status vidualis sit perfectior quam status coniungalis (V 178r)
- 22) Utrum animae cognoscant naturali cognitione perfecte omnia particularia (V 178r)
- 23) Utrum anima resumpto corpore cognoscat particularia mediantibus potentiis sensitivis sicut et modo (V 178v)
- 24) Utrum intellectus humanus possit videre divinam essentiam sine lumine gloriae (V 178bisr)
- 25) Utrum homo dicatur dominus actuum suorum propter deliberationem rationis (F 56vb)
- 26) Utrum intentio et electio sint idem re (F 57rb)
- 27) Utrum vegetativum et sensitivum hominis sint ab intrinseco vel extrinseco (F 57va)
- 28) Utrum corpus Petri vivum et mortuum sit idem numero vel specie (F 58va)
- 29) Utrum natura humana possit uniri alicui alteri naturae in unitate suppositi (F 60va)
- 30) Utrum anima separata a corpore, si derelinqueretur naturae suae, posset corpus proprium reintrare (F 61ra)
- 31) Utrum beatitudo consistat in intellectu vel affectu (F 61va)
- 32) Utrum in patria, qui plus habebit de caritate, plus habeat de scientia vel cognitione (F 62vb)
- 33) Utrum corpus gloriosum possit esse in convexo ultimi caeli (F 63rb)
- 34) Utrum magis sit consonum fidei vel scripturae quod <pueri non-baptizati> detineantur infra vel extra <infernum> (F 64ra)

- 35) Utrum pueri non-baptizati puniantur aliqua poena sensibili ignis infernalis (F 64va)
- 36) Utrum in prima materia esset potentia ad formas infinitas (F 65ra)
- 37) Utrum formae materiales educerentur in esse virtute alicuius agentis de aliquo vel de nihilo (F 65rb)
- 38) Utrum materia abstracta omni forma posset pati (F 67rb)
- 39) Utrum aliquod corpus possit esse per modum quo corpus Christi est in altari, absque conversione alterius corporis in ipsum <et quod nusquam esset localiter> (F 67vb)
- 40) Utrum relationes in divinis sint assistentes vel insistentes (F 68rb)
- 41) Utrum quaelibet creatura plus habeat de non-esse quam de esse (F 69ra)
- 42) Utrum inter ens et non-ens sit infinita distantia (F 69va)
- 43) Utrum omnes angeli boni et mali, supposito quod fuerint creati in gratia, meruerint beatitudinem aeternam (F 69vb)
- 44) Utrum aliqua morula fuerit inter creationem angelorum et eorum fruitionem (F 70ra)
- 45) Utrum posset esse aliqua creatura immateriales subsistens quae non esset intelligens (F 70va)
- 46) Utrum intellectus possit aliquid intelligere cum opposito sui subiecti, ut hominem sine animali (F 71ra)
- 47) Utrum intellectu existente in actu, voluntas sit semper in actu suo (F 71va)
- 48) Utrum voluntas magis sit dicenda potentia passiva quam activa (F 72vb)
- 49) Utrum radix libertatis eius consistat in ratione (F 73va)
- 50) Utrum Deus possit communicare virtutem producendi aliquid de nihilo alicui creaturae (F 74va)
- 51) Utrum Deus posset plura facere quam possent fieri vel esse (F 76ra)
- 52) Utrum Deus cognoscat futura contingentia in se ipsis (F 77ra)
- 53) Utrum omnia quae sunt secundum quamcumque differentiam temporis et spatialiter futura, subsint divinae potentiae secundum suam praesentialitatem (F 78rb)
- 54) Utrum individua unius speciei habeant in Deo propriam ideam (F 79vb)
- 55) Utrum quatuor relationes in divinis sint quatuor <res> (F 80rb)
- 56) Utrum creator et creatura sit maius bonum vel perfectius quam creator solus (F 80va)
- 57) Utrum intellectus abstrahat species intelligibiles a rebus vel eas formet de se et in se (F 80vb)
- 58) Utrum in anima sit aliqua potentia cognitiva, quae apprehendat bonum sub ratione boni (F 81vb)
- 59) Utrum similitudo sit causa amoris (F 82rb)
- 60) Utrum aliquid possit odire (!) se ipsum (F 82vb)
- 61) Utrum <in> parte sensitiva sit ponere sensum possibilem et agentem, sicut est ponere in parte intellectiva intellectum possibilem et agentem (F 83ra)
- 62) Utrum nutritio quam faciunt species sacramentales cum sumuntur in sacramento altaris sit naturalis vel miraculosa (F 83va)

APPENDIX II

BERNARDI DE ALVERNIA *REPROBATIONES HENRICI DE GANDAVO QUODLIBET V, Q. 9, ET QUODLIBET VI, Q. 1*

*Quodlibet V, q. 9*²¹⁷

<Abbreviatio Henrici>

<1> Utrum Spiritus Sanctus distingueretur a Filio si non procederet ab ipso. Videtur quod non, quia dicit Boethius*:²¹⁸ “Omnia in divinis sunt unum ubi non obviat relationis oppositio.” Sed si Spiritus Sanctus non procederet a Filio, non esset ibi obvia relatio<nem>, quia non different inter se relative. Ergo etc.

<2> Praeterea, si Spiritus Sanctus non procederet a Filio, non distingueretur ab eo nisi quia iste nascitur et ille procedit. Sed per hoc non possunt distingui, quia sunt actiones quibus personae producantur, et ita praecedunt. Ergo etc.

<3> Praeterea, relatio realis quae debet distinguere, debet habere fundamentum reale et subiectum, aliter esset relatio secundum rationem sicut eiusdem ad se ipsum. Sed subiectum omnium relationum in Deo est essentia, non persona, quia subiectum praesupponitur, relatio autem non supponit personam sed ipsam constituit in divinis. Ergo etc.

<4> Contra: dicit Anselmus, *De processione Spiritus Sancti*:²¹⁹ “Nascendo Filius distinguitur, procedendo Spiritus Sanctus... etsi non esset alius modus distinguendi, ex hoc tamen essent diversi.” Sed sic procederent²²⁰ ambo a Patre, etiam si Spiritus Sanctus non procederet a Filio. Ergo etc.

<5> Dicendum quod personae²²¹ divinae \distinguuntur per emanationes quae/ respiciunt et illud a quo emanant et terminum. Ex parte istius* a quo emanant sufficit quod sint in ipso diversae rationes et principia secundum quae dicuntur emanare. Ex parte vero terminorum requiritur diversitas in esse perfecto et distincto. Sic sunt emanationes diversae, sicut generare Filium et pingere imaginem suam sunt emanationes diversae quae ab eodem procedunt, supposito per diversa principia, quae sunt ars et natura; ad idem tamen terminari non possunt, sed necessario **/B 33vb/** ad diversa. Cum **/P 73ra/** ergo emanationes Filii et Spiritus Sancti sint diversae, licet ambae possunt elici ab eadem persona secundum diversas rationes quae sunt natura et voluntas, requirunt tamen distinctionem terminorum in esse perfecto qui sunt Filius et Spiritus Sanctus. Talis autem distinctio non potest esse nisi secundum rem aliquam, quae non est nisi personalis in divinis. Ergo oportet ponere quod Spiritus Sanctus distinguitur a Filio, etiam si non procedat ab eo, et hoc propter diversum emanandi modum quo emanarent a Patre.

²¹⁷ B = Bologna, Archiginnasio A 943, ff. 33va–34ra; P = Paris, BnF lat. 15849, ff. 72vb–73va. Throughout this appendix and the next I use the following sigla: \x/ = x super lineam vel in margine; <x> = addo x; [x] = deleo x; * = lectio incerta.

²¹⁸ Cf. Anselmus, *De processione Spiritus Sancti*, cap. 1 (in Anselmus, *Opera omnia*, ed. F.S. Schmitt [Rome 1946–1961], vol. II, p. 181.2–4).

²¹⁹ Cf. Anselmus, *De processione Spiritus Sancti*, cap. 1 (ed. Schmitt, p. 185.3–11).

²²⁰ procederent P] procederet B

²²¹ personae P] emanationes B

<6 = ~5> Sed cum relationes oppositae solae distinguant—ut dicitur in argumento—, non essent autem relationes oppositae inter Filium et Spiritum Sanctum nisi Spiritus Sanctus procederet a Filio, sed disparatae, sicut in Patre paternitas et spiratio, non essent Spiritus Sanctus et Filius nisi una persona, sicut Pater, non obstantibus duabus relationibus.

<7 = ~6> Sed hoc non est simile, quia sufficit quod principia emanantium sint rationes diversae, sed terminos oportet esse distinctos.

<8> Unde sciendum quod Spiritus Sanctus, si non procederet a Filio, esset tamen distinctus ab eo, quia certum est quod esset distinctus a Patre a quo procederet—sicut duplum, quia est duplum ad unum, simpliciter est unum duplum, licet non sit duplum ad tria, ita Spiritus Sanctus simpliciter distingueretur a Patre a quo procederet et a Filio in quantum aliter procederet quam Filius.

<9> Praeterea, per illud res essentialiter distinguitur a quolibet alio et personaliter, per quod essentialiter et personaliter constituitur in esse. Sed Pater constituitur in esse \personalitatis/ paternitate non communi spiratione, quae sequitur personas constitutas. Ergo Pater a quocumque alio distinguitur paternitate. Ergo paternitate distinguitur a Spiritu Sancto, etiam si non procederet a Patre, dum tamen esset procedens a Filio. Licet ergo Spiritus Sanctus non procederet a Filio, distingueretur tamen ab eo filiatione.

<10 = ~1> Ad primum in oppositum dicendum quod, licet inter Filium et Spiritum Sanctum non esset oppositio, essent tamen relationes disparatae quibus diversimode different ad tertiam personam.

<11 = ~2> Ad secundum dicendum quod non distinguuntur personae per actiones principiantes* sed per personales proprietates quas habent ad generantem et spirantem in quantum sunt termini illarum actionum. Vel dicendum quod istae actiones sunt idem secundum rem quod relationes et proprietates personales.

<12 = ~3> Ad tertium dicendum quod relatio aliquando fundatur super essentiam sui fundamenti ratione essentiae, aliquando ratione suae inhaerentiae in subiecto. Et hoc secundo modo relatio praesupponit subiectum, sicut similitudo aliquid informatum albedine—et sic nulla relatio est in divinis, quia non fundatur super aliquam inhaerentiam, immo super essentiam sub ratione essentiae, et ita aut nihil habet pro subiecto aut habet idem pro subiecto et pro fundamento: pro fundamento in quantum est insistsens, pro subiecto in quantum est assistens. Et quod dicitur quod tunc non esset relatio realis, dicendum quod verum est si relatio ita referret subiectum suum; nunc autem non refert subiectum sed personam quam constituit; ideo in divinis non est subiectum relativum sicut in creaturis sed solum suppositum constitutum per relationem, quod non praesupponit relatio sicut in creaturis.

<Reprobatio Bernardi>

<13> Conclusio principalis non videtur vera, quia Spiritus Sanctus non haberet unde distingueretur \a/ Filio, si non procederet ab eo. Nulla enim relatio, etiam in divinis, distinguit nisi opposita proprie—nec sufficit quod sit disparata, quia cum in Patre sint duae relationes disparatas, paternitas et spiratio, tunc Pater esset duae personae. Sed si Spiritus Sanctus non procederet a Filio, non esset inter eos relatio proprie opposita, sed solum disparata, quae non facit distinctionem personalem. Ergo si non procederet a Filio, ita quod inter eos esset relatio opposita proprie, non distingueretur ab eo. Immo maius²²² inconveniens sequeretur, quia si non procederet a Filio, non procederet a Patre, quia Spiritus Sanctus procedit per modum amoris, sed amor perfectus non procedit ab amante nisi mediante Verbo et notitia amati, aliter incognitum diligeremus. Ergo Spiritus Sanctus non potest procedere a Patre nisi mediante Verbo vel non sine Verbo,

²²² maius B] magis P

ita quod Verbum habeat necessario vim productivam in productione vel processione Spiritus Sancti. Sed Verbum est Filius. Ergo etc.

<14 = ~5> Ad ea quae dicit quod personae non distinguuntur nisi per emanationes, dicendum quod non, quia emanationes vel <a> considerantur quantum ad principia sua, quae sunt intellectus et voluntas, et sic non differrent nisi secundum rationem, vel secundum terminos quae sunt personae emanantes, et sic emanationes distinguuntur magis per personas emanantes et priusquam personae per emanationes. Vel <c> considerantur emanationes secundum se, **/P 73rb/** et sic non possunt realiter differre, quia nihil realiter differt in divinis nisi per oppositionem relationis. Et ideo per emanationes non distinguuntur personae sed e converso, sicut et motus in creaturis per terminos.

<15 = ~5> Simile autem quod adducit de emanationibus per modum artis et per modum naturae in creaturis non est ad propositum, quia generare et pingere imaginem sunt emanationes differentes, non solum quantum ad terminos sed etiam quantum ad principia, quae sunt ars et natura, quod in divinis esse non potest in quibus nulla differentia est quam non facit relatio immediate vel mediate. Unde patet quod diversus modus emanandi non potest facere differentiam inter Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, tum quia iste modus emanandi \per modum intellectus/ non differt a modo emanandi per modum voluntatis nisi secundum rationem in divinis consideratis principiis quae sunt intellectus et voluntas; tum quia distinctio Filii et Spiritus Sancti est causa distinctionis (ut dictum est) emanationum, et non e converso. Et ideo oportet quod per aliquid aliud Filius et Spiritus Sanctus distinguantur, quod non potest esse nisi relatio originis, se ipsis enim distinguere non possunt, cum sint una substantia et nullam omnino oppositionem habeant ad invicem nisi relationis. Obiectio quam ponit <= §6> vera est, et solutio nulla <= §7>, ut patet ex dictis.

<16 = ~8> Ad secundum, cum dicit quod, \quia/ Spiritus Sanctus esset distinctus a Patre, simpliciter esset distinctus, et sic etiam a Filio, sicut duplum etc.—dicendum quod esse distinctum a Patre non est esse distinctum a Filio, quia tunc Filius, qui est distinctus a Patre, esset distinctus a se ipso. Et ideo, sicut oportet quod in Patre sit relatio specialis per quam distinguatur a Spiritu Sancto, ita etiam oportet quod sit in Filio, quae non esset nisi Spiritus Sanctus procederet ab eo. Nec est simile de duplo, quia esse duplum non est esse simpliciter sed secundum respectum, scilicet respectu dimidii; esse autem distinctum est esse simpliciter tale, unde licet duo sint duplum respectu unius, non potest dici quod sint duplum simpliciter, quia ipsa sunt dimidium respectu quatuor. Et ideo, licet Spiritus Sanctus esset a Patre tantum, non esset distinctus propter hoc a Filio nisi aliqua ratio* distinctionis esset inter eos, quae aufertur nisi procederet ab eo, eo quod per emanationes non potest fieri ista distinctio, ut ostensum est.

<17 = ~9> Ad tertium dicendum quod, si Spiritus Sanctus non procederet a Patre, procederet tamen a Filio qui procedit a Patre, et ideo*, sicut Filius necessario distinguitur a Patre a quo procedit per immediatam relationem originis, sic Spiritus Sanctus distingueretur a Patre per mediatam relationem originis, id est quia procederet a procedente a Patre, licet non immediate procederet a Patre, sicut enim generans necessario distinguitur a genito, ita etiam* ab omni quod procedit a genito.

<18 = ~9> Ad formam ergo rationis potest dici dupliciter. Primo quia paternitas constituitur Pater in esse personali et distinguitur directe a Filio et ex consequenti a Spiritu Sancto, in quantum processio Spiritus Sancti necessario praesupponit generationem Filii, sicut processio amoris processionem verbi, et ita spiratio passiva in Spiritu Sancto, licet non directe opponatur paternitati in Patre, indirecte tamen ei [ei] opponitur in quantum necessario supponit eam, etiam si non procederet a Patre, quia procederet a Verbo quod procedit a Patre, et sic Pater paternitate indirecte distinguitur a Spiritu Sancto. Sed si Spiritus Sanctus non procederet a Filio, tunc processio sua non necessario praesupponeret filiationem in Filio nec aliquid per quod **/B 34ra/** posset distinguere ab eo—propter quod non est simile.

<19 = ~9> Vel potest dici quod communis [in]spiratio supponit personas constitutas in se, sed non in comparatione ad Spiritum Sanctum, id est ut sunt spirantes, immo per spirationem formaliter fiunt spirantes, nec prius est spiratio activa in Patre et Filio quam sit passiva in Spiritu Sancto, quia relativa sunt simul natura. Unde Spiritus Sanctus per spirationem passivam et non per aliquid aliud distinguitur a Patre et Filio, et Pater et Filius per spirationem activam a Spiritu Sancto, licet etiam Pater indirecte, ut dictum est, distinguatur ab eo per paternitatem.

<20 = ~9> Potest etiam dici quod illa maior solum intelligitur in illis quae constituntur in esse et distinguuntur per absoluta, quia, ex quo aliquid constitutum est in esse per absolutum simpliciter, est unum in se distinctum a quolibet alio. Sed non sic est de suppositis divinis quae constituuntur per relativa. Unde sicut non constituuntur in esse personali nisi per relationes originis, **/P 73va/** ita nec distinguuntur directe \nisi/ per relationes tales, et ideo communi spiratione Pater et Filius directe distinguuntur a Spiritu Sancto et nullo alio.

<21 = ~10> Ad solutionem quam dat, ostensum est quod²²³ relationes disparatae non sufficerent ad distinguendum personas.

<22 = ~11> Ad secundum dicendum quod per actiones, ut actiones sunt, non distinguuntur personae, sed per proprietates relativas originis.

<23 = ~12> Ad tertium dicendum quod, licet relationes divinae habeant idem secundum rem pro subiecto et fundamento in quantum persona et essentia sunt idem, tamen non potest dici quod essentia sit subiectum relationum, quia subiectum refertur relatione cui subicitur, sed essentia non refertur aliqua relatione originis, quia tunc ipsa multiplicaretur in divinis, sicut personae, per relationes originis. Et ideo nullo modo est dicendum quod essentia divina sit subiectum harum relationum sed fundamentum; personae autem sunt subiectum quae supponuntur relationibus originis in quantum sunt relationes, sed constituuntur* per eas in quantum sunt personales proprietates.

<24 = ~12> Quod autem ponit, quod relatio non refert suum subiectum, falsum est—immo nihil refert nisi suum subiectum et non fundamentum nec terminum nisi in quantum terminus est subiectum oppositae relationis.

*Quodlibet VI, q. 1*²²⁴

<Abbreviatio Henrici>

<1> Utrum in divinis sint tantum tres personae. Videtur quod duae tantum, quia dicit Augustinus, *De processione Spiritus Sancti*:²²⁵ “Omnis persona divina vel est Deus de Deo vel Deus non de Deo.” Sed una est quae est Deus **/P 89ra/** non de Deo. Ergo etc.

<2> Praeterea, cum Deus procedit de Deo, ratio procedendi est divina essentia quae est unica. Ergo et actio una. Sed una actione non procedit nisi una persona. Ergo etc.

<3> Videtur quod sint quatuor, quia sunt ibi duae actiones quibus procedunt. Ergo quatuor termini, duo a quibus et duo ad quos, et sic erunt quatuor personae.

<4> Dicendum quod propter duas rationes principiandi, duas emanationes, quae sunt in una persona ut in principio, sunt duae personae, et sic sunt tres: una quae est Deus non de Deo, et duae quae sunt Deus de Deo, quia non sunt nisi tantum duae rationes emanandi in Deo, quarum fecunditas tota in singulis emanationibus et personis productis exhausta est, ut nec in producente nec in producto remaneat fecunditas ad

²²³ quod P] quia B

²²⁴ B = Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio A.943, ff. 42ra–vb; P = Paris, BnF lat. 15849, ff. 88vb–90ra.

²²⁵ recte: Cf. Anselmus, *De processione Spiritus Sancti*, cap. 15 (ed. Schmitt, p. 216.3–4).

aliam emanationem. Et ideo non possunt ibi esse nisi duae productae et una tantum producens non producta, et sic sunt tres.

<5> Ad quod sciendum quod omnis maior diversitas habet reduci ad unitatem et habet reduci ab ea. Unde differentia quae est in creaturis re differentibus habet reduci ad unitatem realem, et pluralitas quae est in \individuis/ distinctis re absoluta reducitur ad pluralitatem quae est in suppositis divinis re relativa, et pluralitas quae est in suppositis divinis habet reduci ad unitatem personalem Patris in quantum personae illae quae sunt Deus de Deo, quia sunt principiatae, reducuntur in eorum primum principium—ideo dicit Augustinus, X *De trinitate*,²²⁶ quod “Pater est origo totius divinitatis”—, et pluralitas quae est in Deo re relativa reducitur ad pluralitatem quae est in divina essentia ratione, cuius<modi> est differentia attributorum.

<6> Et haec pluralitas ratione differentium reducitur ad primam omnium participationum divinarum, cuiusmodi esse est, quod secundum Avicennam est primum obiectum intellectus et modo simplicissimo immutat intellectum tam in Deo quam in creaturis.²²⁷ Primum enim quod intellectus concipit de Deo est esse, quia Deus non est nisi simplicissimum esse, habens in se quemcumque modum essendi, ut dicit Dionysius, 5 cap. *De divinis nominibus*.²²⁸ Unde [ipsum] \in/ esse Dei quasi in radice omnia quaecumque in Deo et creaturis considerari* possunt continentur quasi in prima principali omnium divinarum rationum, ex qua quasi ordine quodam omnia procedit quod est omnino idem re et ratione cum divina essentia, differens in solo modo significandi, sicut currere et cursus. Primo autem procedunt ab esse secundum nostrum modum intelligendi aliae divinae rationes tamquam minus differentes, et usque ad distinctionem personarum, quae procedunt ab uno ordine originis quae magis differunt, et hoc ulterius usque ad diversitatem creaturarum in quibus est summa diversitas inter se et a divino esse, sicut lineae quanto plus elongant a centro, tanto plus sunt distantes.

<7> Ab esse ergo, quod est prima et principalis ratio divinarum perfectionum procedit vivere, et a vivere intelligere, et ab intelligere velle. Unde vivere super esse addit specialem modum essendi, vivere enim viventibus est esse; et significant ambo actum primum per modum agere. Intelligere autem et velle significant actum secundum qui est operari, et addit intelligere super vivere specialem modum operationis vitae, et similiter velle. Intelligere enim et velle vivere quaedam sunt. Intelligere autem et velle non sic se habent ut unum eorum addat aliquid super aliud, sed velle se habet ad intelligere sic quod supponit ipsum. Nemo enim vult nisi cognitum, quia bonum cognitum est obiectum voluntatis. Verum autem est obiectum intellectus absolute et non ut volitum. Unde prior et simplicior est ratio veri quam ratio cogniti boni. Intelligere ergo et velle habent quasi ordinem rationis in quantum velle supponit intelligere et non e converso, tamen in quantum unum non addit supra alterum quasi ex aequali habent se ad vivere. Et in ipsis est status divinarum rationum, et omnes aliae reducuntur ad ipsis. Oportet ergo quod in divinis sit suppositum ens, vivens, intelligens, et volens, et ex se non ab alio habens hoc. Et hoc oportet esse ingenitum, quod non potest esse **/P 89rb/** nisi unum, plura enim esse non possunt, quia non haberent quo distinguerentur. Non enim distinguerentur relationibus contrariis, quia unum esset ab altero; nec per hoc quod ambo essent innascibiles, quia in hoc communicarent; nec possunt esse plura supposita absoluta, quia talia non sunt in eadem natura nisi participatione illius, quod est impossibile in natura divinitatis, cum sit quaedam singularitas. Unum ergo suppositum innascibile est in divinis, quod non potest esse absolutum, quia tunc non essent ibi plura.

²²⁶ Augustinus, *De trinitate* IV, 20, 29 (CCSL 50, eds. W.J. Mountain and F. Glorie [Turnhout 1968], p. 200.121–22).

²²⁷ Cf. Avicenna, *Metaphysicae* I, 5 (*Avicenna Latinus*, ed. S. Van Riet [Leiden 1977], p. 41.78–82)

²²⁸ Ps-Dionysius, *De divinis nominibus*, cap. 5, §§6–7 (PG 3, coll. 819C–22B).

Et ideo oportet ponere plures personas quae non subsistant absolute sed relative, ita quod persona innascibilis constituatur in esse per hoc quod habet esse origo aliarum per actum non transeuntem sed immanentem, qui in Deo non sunt nisi duo, scilicet intelligere et velle; plures enim non <pos>sunt esse, quia non sunt nisi duo principia agendi, scilicet natura et voluntas, nec pauciores, quia non est intellectus sine voluntate nec e converso. Si ergo in divinis sit persona procedens ab alia, oportet quod sit per actum intellectus et voluntatis. Sed quia isti actus sunt communes omnibus personis, nulla autem persona habet produci per actionem quae sibi convenit, oportet quod praeter istos actus sint alii actus, qui non sint omnibus personis communes.

<8> Et ideo restat videre quomodo in divinis sint tantum duae actiones intellectus et voluntatis (praeter eorum actiones essentielles) quae sint propriae personis producentibus et productis, et quare sint tantum duae, quia scilicet non restat ad ipsas fecunditas ulterius.

<9> Sciendum ergo quod intellectus numquam perficitur donec ex actu suo procedat aliud, quod est verbum, nec voluntas donec procedat amor. Sicut enim intellectus quiescit in verbo sicut in vero, sic voluntas in amore. Intellectus autem noster, licet sit passivus in quantum movetur* a re, est tamen activus in formatione verbi, quod quidem non est prima notitia de re, sed praecedit ipsum quaedam notitia imperfecta et incompleta, quae completur in verbo. Similiter est duplex operatio ex parte voluntatis, sicut et intellectus, licet magis appareat in intellectu: una in amore simplici quae est incompleta, alia completa in amore perfecto. Licet enim voluntas sit activa, tamen est passiva metaphorice in quantum allicitur a bono. Unde primus amor incompletus est quasi tepor; sed secundus est completus et fit cum quodam fuore, ita quod primus amor respondeat simplici notitiae et secundus ipsi verbo quod habeat maior dilectatio de re.

<10> Ad completam ergo operationem intellectus et voluntatis in nobis non sufficit illa quae est simplicis notitiae et amoris, quae est essentialis /B 42rb/ ex parte intellectus et voluntatis, sed requirit ex parte intellectus notitia procedens, quae est verbum, et ex parte voluntatis amor (quod tamen est nomen commune et amori incompleto et completo). Licet autem notitia divina essentialis sit omnino perfecta, cum habet tantum rationem simplicis manifestationis, \tamen/ verbum habet rationem declarativam eius quod notitia essentiali manifestum est. Similiter licet amor simplex essentialis sit perfectissimus, tamen amor procedens, quae est Spiritus Sanctus, habet rationem inflammativi in idem quod amatur*. Et ideo in divinis ad perfectam operationem intellectus super simplicem notitiam quae est essentialis, quae etiam non est ex ipso actu, immo dicit essentiam ipsius actus, requiritur Verbum procedens per actum non essentialem sed notionalem, qui tamen fundatur super essentialem, quod quidem Verbum non est ut substantia actus per quem procedit, sed ut terminus, sicut et in nobis, et ideo non potest solum differe ratione ab eo a quo procedit, nec in divinis re absoluta, quia est manens in ipsa divina essentia; oportet ergo quod ab ipso differat relatione non quacumque, sed originis qua refertur ad ipsum a quo est, et sic oportet Verbum esse personam distinctam ab eo a quo procedit. Similiter super simplicem amorem oportet quod ponatur amor procedens, qui non dicit essentiam ipsius actus sed terminum, et sic ille amor erit differens non re absoluta nec ratione tantum sicut prius, sed relatione.

<11> Et sic in divinis sunt tres personae: una innascibilis et duae penes duo principia agendi quae sunt intellectus et voluntas, super quae fundantur duo actus personales, scilicet intelligere et velle, et ideo non possunt esse nisi duae personae /P 89va/ procedentes. Et quia tota fecunditas divina [tota] exhausta est secundum duas rationes principiandi, non possunt plures esse quam tres. Et sic non est ibi nisi unus Filius, quia tota fecunditas exhauritur in Filii generatione eo quod Filius semper generatur. Unde si posset ibi generari alius Filius, tunc in eodem simul essent duae generationes et sic duae productiones eiusdem rationis, quod est impossibile. Similiter non est nisi unus Spiritus Sanctus.

<12> Intellectus autem et voluntas in divinis sola ratione differant et sint essentialia, sunt tamen radices processionum notionalium, quia in omni ordine differentium ubi invenitur minor differentia, illa est initium maioris differentiae in illo ordine, sicut ratio primae unitatis simplicissimae in essentia Dei est quasi origo multitudinis et differentiae divinarum rationum et attributorum, quae maxime est inter intellectum et voluntatem ad quam omnis diversitas divinarum rationum habet reduci. Et sic in persona innascibili sunt omnia attributa ex se; in aliis duabus non sunt ex se sed ab alio: in una per modum intellectus, in alia per modum voluntatis. Et sic sunt ibi secundum quandam ordinem, et originis et rationis.

<13 = ~1> Ad primum dicendum quod maior unitas debet esse in principiis quam in principiat, et ideo non est nisi una persona quae est Deus non de Deo a qua aliae originantur.

<14 = ~2> Ad secundum dicendum quod licet essentia divina sit ratio productiva omnium divinarum actionum, hoc non est nisi sub ratione alicuius attributi vel proprietatis. Licet ergo sit essentia in Filio, non tamen sub ratione proprietatis ad generandum, sicut est in Patre.

<15 = ~3> Ad tertium dicendum sicut ad primum.

<Reprobatio Bernardi>

<16 = ~4> Multa dubia dicit. Primo quod, propter duas rationes principiandi, duas emanationes, sunt duae personae in divinis procedentes.—Dicendum quod, si intelligat quod illae duae rationes sint principium distinguendi illas duas personas, non est verum, quia distincta non possunt magis differre quam principia distinguenda (unde homo et asinus non possunt plus differre quam rationale et irrationale), et ideo personae distinctae non possunt plus differre quam principia²²⁹ per* quae formaliter distinguuntur; sed illae duae rationes principiandi non differunt nisi ratione, quia sunt intellectus et voluntas; ergo nec personae different nisi ratione, sicut posuit* Sabellius. Si etiam intelligat quod per emanationes plurificentur personae, et per consequens distinguantur, non valet, quia illae emanationes, licet non sint motus, tamen loquimur de eis quasi de quibusdam motibus. Motus autem distinguitur per terminos, et ideo emanationes magis distinguuntur per personas quam e converso. Vel etiam si dicamus magis proprie quod sunt operationes, tunc earum distinctio accipitur penes ea quae sunt formaliter principia talium operationum, ut sicut motus distinguitur per terminos, ita operationes per principia; et sic ipsae emanationes non erunt prima distinguenda in divinis, sed earum distinctio ab alio erit, et per consequens non erunt illa per quae formaliter distinguuntur in divinis personae, quia etiam, cum Pater non emanet, non distingueretur ab aliis per aliquid positivum nec constitueretur in esse personali per aliquid positivum.

<17> Si autem intelligat quod in divinis sunt duae personae procedentes quia ibi sunt duo actus, scilicet intellectus et voluntatis, secundum quos procedunt, verum est. Oportet enim quod personae divinae, ex quo per fidem ponuntur plures, quod aliqua sint procedentes. Nec potest esse nisi una non-procedens, quia si essent duae, non haberent quo distinguerentur: quia non per absoluta (quia in illis omnino convenirent), nec per relationes originis (quia una non procederet ab alia). Sunt ergo plures procedentes. Non autem possunt procedere nisi per actus qui terminantur ad intra, quia personas divinas necesse est habere essentiam divinam. Non sunt autem nisi duo actus qui terminantur ad intra, scilicet intellectus et voluntatis. Et ideo non potest esse nisi duplex modus procedendi in divinis, nec nisi duae personae procedentes et una non procedens, \et/ sic tantum tres.

²²⁹ principia P] personae B

<18 = ~5> Quod postea dicit, quod omnis **/P 89vb/** diversitas reducitur ad minorem—dicendum quod verum est quod omnis multitudo reducitur ad unitatem, et ideo in quantum diversitas includit multitudinem reducitur ad unitatem; sed diversitas quae omnino est diversa ratione ab alia non reducitur ad eam.

<19 = ~5> Praeterea, licet diversitas reducatur ad unitatem illam, scilicet a qua diversa dependent, tamen non est universaliter verum quod maior diversitas reducatur ad minorem, immo magis est e converso, quia minor reducitur ad maiorem. In quolibet enim genere id quod maius est, potius est, et alia reducuntur ad ipsum, principium enim maius est virtute, et ideo ad id quod maxime ens est reducuntur omnia entia, propter quod minor diversitas oportet quod reducatur ad maiorem, et ideo diversitas quae est in attributis reducitur ad diversitatem quae est in creaturis in quibus attributa differunt secundum rem, et non e converso.

<20 = ~6> Quomodo autem pluralitas quae est in suppositis distinctis re absoluta reducatur ad pluralitatem quae est in suppositis distinctis re relativa—sicut dicit—dubium est, quia creaturae, in quibus sunt supposita distincta re absoluta non reducuntur ad Deum nisi ut procedunt ab eo. Non autem procedunt a Deo in quantum supposita sunt distincta, immo in quantum sunt unum in essentia et operatione creandi et conservandi, secundum quod in diversa sunt opera trinitatis. Ergo pluralitas quae est in suppositis creaturarum non reducitur ad pluralitatem quae est in suppositis divinis, sed magis ad eorum unitatem. Unde et philosophi qui reduxerunt omnia entia ad primum, non posuerunt in primo aliquam pluralitatem sed simplicissimam unitatem ad quam omnia reducerunt.

<21 = ~6> Quod autem dicit, quod pluralitas quae est in suppositis divinis reducitur ad pluralitatem quae est in essentia—dicendum quod in essentia nulla pluralitas est secundum actum, licet in ea sint infinitae perfectiones, non per aliquem modum distinctum sed unitissime quia modo divino. Unde fundamentum est diversarum perfectionum quas nos intelligimus diversas per comparisonem ad creaturas. In Deo autem eas intelligimus penitus non differre nisi secundum diversum conceptum nostrum quo non capimus perfectionem divinam nisi dividendo per partes, quod tamen scimus in se in diversum esse. **/B 42va/** Unde diversitas secundum rationem quae ponitur in attributis non est in Deo sed in nobis, licet ipsa attributa sunt in Deo, non ut diversa sed ut unum—de quo, propter intentionem, superius est tractatum.

<22 = ~7> Per dicta patet quod non valet quod postea dicit, scilicet quod pluralitas perfectionum divinarum reducitur ad primam inter omnes, scilicet ad esse, neque enim in Deo est pluralitas quam ponit nec reductio talis, quia omnia sunt ibi penitus idem inter quae relatio originis non distinguit. Unde bene verum est quod esse est prius secundum rationem quam aliae perfectiones, loquendo generaliter. Sed esse divinum, quod est penitus idem quod vivere divinum, quod intelligere, et quod velle, non est prius nisi secundum rationem nostram, et ideo nec talis reductio habet fieri nisi secundum rationem nostram, et non secundum rem, quia etiam intellectus divinus non intelligit aliquam diversitatem inter suum esse et suum vivere nisi comparando ad nos vel ad creaturas in quibus ista sunt diversa. Et ideo, quia idem penitus secundum rem non reducitur realiter ad se ipsum, non oportet dicere quod perfectiones divinae reducuntur ad esse, licet secundum nos qui ponimus illas perfectiones differre secundum rationem esse sit prima inter omnes—supponendo tamen quod differant secundum rationem. Sed supponendo quod in nullo differant, sicut verum est, nulla differentia est ibi, differentia enim **/P 90ra/** secundum rationem nulla differentia vera est, sicut nec homo secundum rationem est verus homo, sed solum homo intellectus. Unde tota reductio quam ponit non est nisi secundum rationem nostram, nec convenit perfectionibus divinis in quantum divinae sunt, sed ipsis in communi consideratis, quia sic vivere supponit esse, et sic de aliis.

<23> Per dicta patet ad omnia alia.

APPENDIX III

ROBERTI DE ORFORD *REPROBATIONES HENRICI DE GANDAVO QUODLIBET V, Q. 9*²³⁰

<Abbreviatio Henrici>

<1> An Spiritus Sanctus distingueretur a Filio si non procederet ab eo.

<2> Eodem *Quolibet*, <quaestione> qua quaerit utrum Spiritus Sanctus distingueretur a Filio si non procederet ab eo, dicit quod sic, quia propter diversum modum emanandi a Patre, quia secundum Anselmum, in libro *De processione Spiritus Sancti*:²³¹ “Nascendo Filius distinguitur et procedendo Spiritus Sanctus... Et si non esset alius modus distinguendi, ex hoc tamen essent diversi.”

<3> Et si obiiciatur quod relationes non possunt distinguere nisi sint oppositae, respondet quod non essent relationes contrariae inter Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, quia <diversitate> inter se different[er], essent tamen disparatae, quia diversitate different ad tertiam personam ut ad personam Patris. Unde Anselmus ubi supra:²³² “Habent a Patre esse Filius et Spiritus Sanctus diverso modo, et alter procedendo, alter nascendo, ut alii sint per hoc ad invicem. Nam quoniam Filius extitit de Deo nascendo, et Spiritus Sanctus procedendo, ipsa diversitate nativitatis et processionis referuntur ad invicem ut diversi et alii ab invicem.”

<4> Consimiliter, si obiiciatur quod persona Patris est una persona, non obstantibus duabus relationibus non-oppositis quae sunt in ipso, per quarum unam refertur ad Filium et per aliam ad Spiritum Sanctum, igitur similiter Filius et Spiritus Sanctus erunt una, non obstantibus duabus relationibus ad Patrem, respondet quod, cum personarum distinctio in Deo non accipiat nisi penes emanationes, diversae emanationes aliter respiciunt illud a quo emanant et aliter illud ad quod terminantur. Ex parte eius a quo emanant sufficit quod si<n>t in ipso diversae rationes et principia secundum quae dicantur emanare. Ex parte eius ad quod termina<n>tur, requiritur illarum diversitas in esse perfecto et distincto, sicut sunt emanationes diversae, sicut generare filium et depingere imaginem suam diversae emanationes sunt quae ab eodem supposito procedunt penes diversas rationes et principia quae sunt in ipso, scilicet natura et ars, ad idem tamen terminari non possunt, sed necessario ad diversa. Consimiliter, in divinis ex parte principii generatio et processio non requirunt nisi diversas rationes in una persona, quae sunt natura et voluntas. Sed ex parte termini requirunt veram distinctionem terminorum in esse perfecto emanantium, qui sunt Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, quia termini emanationum debent esse perfecti ut perfecti in esse subsistentiae.

<5> Nec valet, ‘Spiritus Sanctus distinguitur a Filio per comparisonem ad Patrem a quo diversimode procedunt, et non distinguitur ab ipso per comparisonem quam habet ad ipsum, igitur distinguitur a Filio et \non/ distinguitur’, sicut non valet, ‘duo est duplum ad unum, et non est duplum ad tria, ergo est duplum et non duplum’, immo simpliciter est duplum et secundum quid non duplum. Consimiliter, in proposito

²³⁰ BAV, Vat. lat. 987, f. 44va–45ra (for abbreviations used here, see n. 217 above). Chris Schabel made an excellent transcription of this text in the Vatican library; I have continued work on the text.

²³¹ Cf. Anselmus, *De processione Spiritus Sancti*, cap. 1 (ed. Schmitt, p. 185.3–11).

²³² Anselmus, *De processione Spiritus Sancti*, cap. 1 (ed. Schmitt, p. 179.12–17).

distinguitur simpliciter Spiritus Sanctus a Filio, quia Spiritus Sanctus distinguitur a Filio per comparisonem ad Patrem, quod est simpliciter distingui ab eo. Alio modo non dicitur distingui nisi secundum quid.

\Responsio/

<6> Contra: quod Spiritus Sanctus non possit realiter distingui a Filio nisi procedat ab eo patet sic: quando alia duo conveniunt in aliquo communi, si distinguuntur ad invicem, oportet quod distinguantur secundum differentias per se et non per accidens pertinentes ad illud commune, sicut homo et equus conveniunt in animali et distinguuntur ab invicem, non secundum album et nigrum quae se habent per accidens ad animale, \sed/ per rationale et irrationale quae /44vb/ per se ad animale pertinent, quia cum animal sit quod habet animam, oportet quod hoc distinguatur per hoc quod est habere animam talem vel talem, scilicet rationalem vel irrationalem; manifestum est autem quod Filius et Spiritus Sanctus conveniunt in hoc quod est esse ab alio, quia uterque est aequaliter a Patre, et secundum hoc Pater differt ab utroque in quantum est innascibilis; si igitur Spiritus Sanctus distinguitur a Filio, oportet quod hoc sit per differentias quae per se dividunt hoc quod est ens ab alio, quae quidem non possunt esse nisi differentiae eiusdem generis, scilicet pertinentes ad originem, ut scilicet unus eorum sit ab alio; sed Filius non est a Spiritu Sancto; igitur ad hoc quod Spiritus Sanctus distinguatur a Filio, oportet quod sit ab eo.

<7> Dicatur quod distinguuntur penes diversum modum procedendi a Patre.

<8> Contra: Spiritus Sanctus procedit per modum voluntatis et Filius procedit per modum intellectus; \sed processio per modum voluntatis praesupponit processionem per modum intellectus/, ut una procedat ab alia, quia amor procedit a verbo eo quod nihil amare possumus nisi verbo cordis* illud concipiamus. Et ita ex hoc ipso quod sic diversimode procedunt a Patre, sequitur necessario quod Spiritus Sanctus procedat a Patre mediante Filio, et ita ab utroque.

<9> Et per hoc patet ad auctoritatem Anselmi, quia \illi/ diversi modi procedendi includunt quod Spiritus Sanctus procedit a Filio, ut dictum est, et ita sufficienter distinguitur ab eo. Nisi enim essent tales diversi modi procedendi quod unus modus esset ab alio, non distinguerentur realiter personae procedentes* ab invicem, quia iste modus diversus aut diceret relationem diversam aut diversitatem in absolutis. <9a> Non relationem diversam, quia nulla relatio est aliquorum secundum quod referuntur ad tertium, sed* secundum quod ad invicem relativum ad suum correlativum refertur proprium. Igitur dua relativa et duo correlativa, vel si unum correlativum \et unum relativum/, et ita sicut persona Patris est una quae duabus relationibus refertur ad Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, sic Filius et Spiritus Sanctus essent una persona quae duabus relationibus referetur ad Patrem, sicut unus homo potest esse similis et aequalis alteri. Quia igitur secundum quod ambo procedunt a Patre non referuntur ad invicem, sed ad Patrem, patet quod in eis secundum hoc non est distinctio, quia nec relatio. <9b> Si dicat diversitatem in absolutis vel realem, et sic est compositio in Deo, vel diversitatem secundum rationem, quae non sufficit ad distinctionem personarum. Quod igitur dicit relationes disparatas esse Filii et Spiritus Sancti ad Patrem, per quas distinguantur, frivolum est, quia non est reperire tales relationes esse realiter distinguentes personas nisi simul cum hoc una persona sit ab alia, et tunc inter eas erunt relationes oppositae quae sufficienter personas distinguunt.

<10> Item, quod postea dicit, quod diversae emanationes non requiruntur ex parte termini a quo nisi quod simul in ipso diversae relationes et principia, ut sunt in persona Patris natura et voluntas, omnino falsum est, quia cum natura et voluntas in Deo Patre non distinguantur per rem sed solum per rationem, sequeretur quod illae duae emanationes, et per consequens duo emanantes, non different nisi secundum rationem. Ea vero quae solum ratione differunt de se invicem praedicantur. Vere enim dicitur quod natura divina est \voluntas/ divina, igitur vere diceretur: 'Filius est Spiritus Sanctus', et e converso, quod est Sabelliana haeresis. Nec est simile de emanationibus

in creaturis, quia principia, scilicet ars et natura, a quibus procedunt filius verus per generationem et pictus per picturam, secundum essentiam differunt, ideo diversae sunt emanationes et diversa omnino quae emanant. Non sic natura et voluntas in Deo Patre, ut dicuntur est. **/45ra/**

<11> Item, filius generatus et filius depictus differunt penes absolutum. Nec sic Filius procedens et Spiritus Sanctus, sed penes relationes, non quascumque, sed solum penes relationes originis, quae relationes non solum distinguunt, sed etiam constituunt personas procedentes, quod non potest esse nisi una sit ab alia.

<12> Item, quod dicit Filium simpliciter distinguere a Spiritu Sancto quia distinguitur ab eo per comparisonem ad Patrem, est omnino falsum, quia magis notum est distinguere quae distinguuntur penes relationes oppositas quam quae solum penes relationes disparatas; sed secundum ipsum, si Spiritus Sanctus non est a Filio, distinguuntur penes relationes disparatas; sed si est ab eo, penes relationes oppositas. Ubi magis debet dici Spiritum Sanctum simpliciter distinguere a Filio si procedit ab eo quam si ambo a Patre. Et ita verba sua semet ipsa destruunt.

<13> Et de hac quaestione quaere prima parte, quaestione 191, et super primum *Sententiarum*, distinctione XI, quaestione prima, et *Contra gentiles* <libro>²³³ 4 et capitulo* 4 quaestione et 15. Item, in quaestione *De potentia* <eius>²³⁴ 10, quaestione 8 et quaestione 5.²³⁵

²³³ *ms.*: nihil*

²³⁴ *ms.*: cuius

²³⁵ Cf. Thomas de Aquino, *S. theol.* I, q. 36, art. 2; I *Sent.*, d. 11, q. 1, a. 1; *SCG*, IV, cap. 24; *De pot.*, q. 10, a. 5.

CARMELITE *QUODLIBETA*

Chris Schabel*

In his statistical analysis of the 893 surviving *Sentences* commentaries whose authors are known to us, Steven J. Livesey provides a startling statistic: 139 of these are by Carmelites. This number is only slightly smaller than that of the Franciscans (181) and Dominicans (175), and roughly matches the combined total (147) of the other nine religious orders that are represented by named commentators, including the Augustinians (86).¹ The statistic is startling because for the first century of the history of the *Sentences* commentary we have absolutely no commentary at all from the Carmelites. Even when we take into account that Carmelite hermits did not move to the West from the Holy Land until the late 1230s, that they did not begin to adopt the rules of a mendicant order until 1247, that we do not hear of their *studia generalia* until 1281, and that the order only had their first master of theology in Gerard of Bologna in 1295,² it is still remarkable that decades went by before the 1320s when John Baconthorpe was finally able to pen a commentary that would be preserved, if only in one manuscript and in printed editions. Thus for most of the Golden Age of Scholasticism (1250–1350), roughly co-terminous with the Age of the Theological *Quodlibet*, we have nothing to speak of in terms of the primary vehicle

* For various forms of assistance, I thank Marie-Bruno Borde OCD, Stephen Brown, William Duba, Russell Friedman, Wouter Goris, Jorge Gracia, Mark Henninger, Rondo Keele, Elzbieta Jung, Lauge Nielsen, Simon Nolan O.Carm., David Piché, Sylvain Piron, Thomas Turley, the ILL departments of the University of Northern Illinois and of Parks Library in Iowa State University, the University of Cyprus, the British Library (via World Microfilms), Worcester Cathedral and Chapter Library (via the University of Birmingham Library), the Vatican Library (via the Vatican Film Library), Pamplona Cathedral Library (via the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library), the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, and the Pelplin Seminary Library.

¹ S.J. Livesey, “*Lombardus Electronicus*: A Biographical Database of Medieval Commentaries on Peter Lombard’s *Sentences*,” in *Mediaeval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, vol. I, G.R. Evans, ed. (Leiden 2002) (pp. 1–23), p. 7.

² For the general history of the order in this period, see J. Smet, O.Carm., *The Carmelites. A History of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel I* (Darien, IL 1988). For its intellectual history, see especially B.M. Xiberta, *De scriptoribus scholasticis saeculi XIV ex ordine Carmelitarum* (Louvain 1931).

of theological writing from the religious order that would go on in the late Middle Ages to match both the Franciscans and Dominicans in numbers of *Sentences* commentaries written after 1350.

This is why uncovering and understanding the Carmelites' role in the history of this great flowering of philosophical theology requires us to look at other writings, primarily *quodlibeta*. Although a few *Quaestiones disputatae* and *ordinariae* survive from Guy Terrena, and we have Gerard's *Quaestiones ordinariae* and his important but incomplete *Summa theologiae*, no fewer than six Carmelites active before Baconthorpe have left written traces of *quodlibeta*: Peter Swanington and Robert Walsingham at Oxford, and Gerard of Bologna, Simon of Corbie, Guy Terrena, and Sibert of Beek at Paris. Baconthorpe himself is responsible for the final Carmelite *quodlibeta* of the Middle Ages. Indeed, we can basically say that with Baconthorpe the age of the Carmelite *quodlibet* ends and the age of the Carmelite *Sentences* commentary begins.

Despite the importance of *quodlibeta* for understanding early Carmelite thought, little work has been done on these texts. Except for Baconthorpe's, no Carmelite *quodlibeta* were printed in the early modern period, and except for Gerard's, no Carmelite *quodlibeta* are preserved in more than one main manuscript. The amazingly industrious Carmelite theologian Bartomeu Xiberta (1897–1967), however, probably read every word that these early Carmelites wrote in their theological works. In the decade between 1922 and 1932 Xiberta published well over 1000 pages on these authors, and his studies are the foundation upon which all subsequent scholarship rests. Nevertheless, perhaps in part because he wrote in Catalan and Latin, this subsequent scholarship has been piecemeal.³ Even for fundamental questions about such things as dating, we have only Xiberta's tentative hypotheses. Given the immaturity of the topic, this chapter merely attempts to summarize,

³ For Walsingham, Gerard of Bologna, Sibert of Beek, and Baconthorpe, Xiberta's *De scriptoribus* is a corrected and sometimes supplemented summary of some of his earlier articles, which provide more detailed information for *quodlibeta* and must also be used: "Duo 'quolibet' inedita Siberti de Beka," *Analecta Ordinis Carmelitarum* (hereafter *AOC*) 4 (1922), pp. 305–41; "De Magistro Iohanne Baconthorp, O. Carm.," *AOC* 6 (1927), pp. 3–128; "Robert Walsingham, Carmelità, mestre de teologia d'Oxford a primeries del segle XIV^c," *Criterion* 4 (1928), pp. 147–74 and 298–324. Afterwards Xiberta published *Guiu Terrena, Carmelita de Perpinyà* (Barcelona 1932), correcting, supplementing, and summarizing two of his nine earlier works on Guy: "De Mag. Guidone Terreni, Priore Generali Ordinis Nostris (sic), Episcopo Maioricensi et Elnensi," *AOC* 5 (1924), pp. 133–206, and "De doctrinis theologicis Magistri Guidonis Terreni," *AOC* 5 (1925), pp. 233–376.

correct, and supplement what Xiberta discovered concerning the attribution, dating, manuscripts, nature, and reception of the surviving Carmelite *quodlibeta*, in the light of the research of the past three quarters of a century.

Oxford Carmelites

The Carmelites arrived in England in 1242, and their Oxford convent was founded in 1256. The London General Chapter of 1281 decreed that upper-level schools be set up in the four subdivisions of the English province, including one in Oxford. Unlike the Franciscans and Dominicans, however, the Carmelites never made the Oxford convent a *studium generale*, a distinction reserved for the London convent in 1294. Despite the absence of foreign students, the Oxford *studium particulare* was intellectually more important than the London convent in the early fourteenth century and even boasted more significant theologians than did the Dominican and Augustinian *studia* in Oxford. Besides the authors of surviving Oxford *quodlibeta*, John Baconthorpe was active at Oxford in his later years, as was Osbert Pickingham, who wrote a *Sentences* commentary surviving in several manuscripts.⁴

Peter Swannington

Curiously, Xiberta seems to have never written much about the earliest surviving Carmelite *quodlibet*, indeed the earliest surviving Carmelite work of philosophical theology, that of “Peter the Carmelite.” In Andrew G. Little and Franz Pelster’s 1934 book *Oxford Theology and Theologians*, more than a third is devoted to Little’s analysis of the interesting collection of disputations in MS Worcester, Cathedral and Chapter Library Q 99, most of which he dated to between 1300 and 1302.⁵ As Xiberta already knew, on the top margin of f. 49r of Worcester Q 99 we read: “Incipit quaternus de disputationibus Carmelitarum anno

⁴ For a brief survey of the Oxford convent, see W.J. Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars in Fourteenth-Century England* (Princeton 1987), pp. 69–72.

⁵ A.G. Little, “MS. Worcester Q 99,” in idem and F. Pelster, *Oxford Theology and Theologians, c. A.D. 1282–1302* (Oxford 1934) (pp. 219–362), p. 236. See also R.M. Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library* (Rochester, NY 2001), pp. 183b–4b.

gracie M^oCC[C]^o,” and after one question, on the twelfth line of 49rb: “Incipit *Quodlibet* Magistri Petri Carmelite.”⁶ It appears that the date “1200” is an error for “1300,” and that we can assign the material to 1300. The quaternus mentioned on f. 49r is number V in the manuscript, now containing ff. 49–59, but originally the text ended on f. 54r. Later four questions from Scotus and some anonymous questions were added, some at least (ff. 54v–57v) in different hands, perhaps after the manuscript was brought to Paris from Oxford. The questions in the last two quaterni (IX and XI, since X is missing) are definitely Parisian.⁷

Who is “Peter the Carmelite” and what material constitutes his *Quodlibet*? Whoever Peter was, he played a significant role in Oxford theology at the time, for as Little relates, in another quaternus of Worcester Q 99 there is a reference to “Petrus Carmelita,” while on that quaternus and three others one finds a total of six references to “Petrus,” who is, as we shall see, probably the same person. Thus five of the original eight quaterni refer to Peter the Carmelite. There are also four citations of “Carmelita,” but it is less certain that this is our Peter. Little argued that Peter was probably either Peter Swanington (*Swanyngton*) or Peter Starrington (or Scarrington, *Scarryngton*), since they both opposed a decision of the 1303 General Chapter in Narbonne to create the province of Ireland and separate it from the English province, supporting Provincial Prior William of Ludlington against Prior General Gerard of Bologna. As a result, in the 1305 chapter in London, they were both sent to Bordeaux to lecture on the *Sentences* as punishment. Little adds the information that Swanington wrote a life of St Simon Stock and that a commentary on the four books of the *Sentences* by a “Swanton” was given to Merton College, probably before 1299.⁸ Perhaps because of these added attributions and the likelihood that Swanington, having already read the *Sentences*, was master of theology by 1300, Glorieux assigned the *Quodlibet* in Worcester Q 99 to Swanington, but in his review of Glorieux’s book, Amédée Teetaert reminded the reader that Starrington was still a possibility.⁹ At any rate, everyone seems to have ignored information that Xiberta gives in

⁶ Xiberta, *De scriptoribus*, p. 14, n. 3; cf. Little, “MS. Worcester Q 99,” p. 304.

⁷ Little, “MS. Worcester Q 99,” pp. 220–1, 224, and 226.

⁸ Little, “MS. Worcester Q 99,” pp. 231, 276–7, and 278–321 passim; cf. Xiberta, “Robert Walsingham,” pp. 148–9, and idem, *De scriptoribus*, pp. 113–4.

⁹ Glorieux II, p. 224; A. Teetaert, “La littérature quodlibétique,” *Ephemerides theologiae Lovanienses* 14 (1937) (pp. 75–105), p. 97 (mistakenly claiming that the *Quodlibet* ends on 54v rather than 54r).

a footnote: the famous ex-Carmelite playwright and historian John Bale (1495–1563) assigned to *Petro Swanynghon* a question whose title matches that of the first question of the *Quodlibet* in Worcester Q 99.¹⁰ It seems, then, that the attribution to Swanington is quite secure.

Following a table of questions on f. 36va, Little listed fifteen questions (and three more not in the table of contents) before those of Scotus, the first one (on f. 49ra–b) being “Queritur an spiritus malus aliquid patiatu[r] ab igne infernali,” followed by “Incipit Quodlibet Magistri Petri Carmelite” and fourteen more questions; of these, he suggested that questions 2–15 might all belong to Peter.¹¹ Glorieux followed Little’s question list, but counted as separate questions 2a, 2b, and one on f. 54rb that Little listed under fourteen, coming up with seventeen; he also stated that Swanington’s *Quodlibet* might have ceased before question 17.¹² More recently, Richard Copsey has assigned the first question on f. 49ra–b to Swanington.¹³ Finally, I have found that Little and Glorieux omitted two questions, and so before dealing with the issue of the attribution of specific questions, a fresh table of questions is called for, giving foliation and length in columns (L = Little, G = Glorieux):

- *. Queritur an spiritus malus aliquid patiatu[r] ab igne infernali. 49ra–b; 1.25 (L 1).
- 1. Queritur utrum ratio speciei possit attribui Deo sine ratione generis. 49rb; 0.25 (L 2; G 1).
- 2. Queritur an veritas in Deo sit essentialis vel personalis. 49rb–va; 1.0 (L 2a; G 2).
- 3. Queritur, posito quod Deus subtrahat praesentiam suam ab intellectu, an possit videre Deum sicut est. 49va; 0.75 (L 2b; G 3).
- 4. Queritur utrum expressio formalis in mente angeli vel aliquid intrinsecum habeat rationem principii effectivi respectu actus intelligendi. 49vb; 1.0 (L 3; G 4).
- 5. Queritur an species existens in mente angelica sit principium distincte repraesentativum singularium. 50ra–b; 1.5 (L 4; G 5).

¹⁰ Xiberta, *De scriptoribus*, p. 14, n. 3.

¹¹ Little, “MS. Worcester Q 99,” pp. 224 and 304–6.

¹² Glorieux II, pp. 224–5.

¹³ R. Copsey, “The Carmelites in England 1242–1540: Surviving Writings,” *Carmelus* 43 (1996) (pp. 175–224), pp. 211–2. Copsey’s entry is confusing: “*Quodlibet* 47, *Lib. 1*, ‘*Utrum aliquis spiritus malus*’.” He cites Little, mentions that Emden identifies the author as Swanynghon, says that the *Quodlibet* is on “fos. 49ff.,” and provides this curious reference: *Études Carmélitaines*, (1911), i, 300–5 (with French translation). The material on pp. 300–5, however, is that concerning the life of St Simon Stock, mentioned by Little.

6. Quaeritur an angelus possit intelligere simul plura ut plura, videlicet per plures rationes et plures actus intelligendi simul. 50rb–va; 1.5 (L 5; G 6).
7. Ad quaestionem, cum quaeritur utrum angelus illuminatus videat in Verbo vel in aliquo creato. 50va–b; 1.0 (not 1.5) (L 6; G 7).
8. Quaeritur de actu voluntatis utrum velle quod est actus secundus voluntatis re absoluta differat a voluntate. 50vb–51ra; 0.67 (*om. LG*).
9. De voluntate dicitur quod voluntas causat actum suum, quia includit in se duo, et ratione unius est movens et ratione alterius mota. 51ra–b; 0.67 (L 7; G 8).
10. Quaeritur utrum caritas viatoris posset aequari caritati patriae quantum ad habitum, licet non ad fervorem. 51rb; 0.5 (L 8; G 9).
11. Quaeritur an angelus posset transire de caelo in terram absque hoc quod transeat per medium. 51rb; 0.33 (L 9; G 10).
12. Quaeritur utrum species existens in mente angeli superioris sit universalior et plurium repraesentativa quam species in mente angeli inferioris. 51va–b; 1.0 (L 10; G 11).
13. Quaeritur an angeli naturaliter possint cognoscere motus nostros interiores. 51vb–52ra; 1.5 (L 11; G 12).
14. Quaeritur utrum speciei impressio formalis in anima moveat efficienter. 52rb–vb; 3 (not 4) (L 12; G 13).
15. Quaeritur utrum angelus cognoscat certitudinaliter futura contingentia. 52vb–53rb; 1.25 (*om. LG*).
16. Quaeritur an angelus ex puris naturalibus suis possit attingere ad intelligendum Deum sicut est. 53rb–va; 1.5 (L 13; G 14).
17. Quaeritur utrum intellectus angeli per aliquod donum supernaturale posset elevari ad videndum Deum sicut est. 53va–b; 1.25 (L 14; G 15).
18. Quaeritur an essentia divina in patria videatur per aliquam speciem aliam ab actu intelligendi. 54ra–b; 1.25 (L 15; G 17!).
19. Quaeritur utrum in angelo ad videndum Deum sicut est esse necesse sit ponere aliquod formale principium aliud a lumine gloriae. 54rb; 0.5 (L no number; G 16!).

All twenty questions appear to be from Carmelite disputations. As Little notes, these questions seem to cover a short period of time and maybe only a few days—one quodlibetal period.¹⁴ This portion of the manuscript is somewhat difficult to read because of severe water damage to the lower section, but just from the question titles one can discern a certain relationship between most of the questions. The first question, “An spiritus malus aliquid patiat ab igne infernali,” does not seem connected to the following nineteen, and so there is no compelling reason to attribute it to Peter the Carmelite. The other nineteen ques-

¹⁴ Little, “MS Worcester Q 99,” p. 224.

tions, however, beginning with the incipit about Peter the Carmelite's *Quodlibet*, do appear to form a thematic unit, moving from God to the beatific vision. Since this is characteristic of a *quodlibet*, these nineteen questions are probably all from Peter Swanington's *Quodlibet*, and I have therefore renumbered them 1 through 19 in the table above. The primary subject of the *Quodlibet* is angelology. Of questions 4 through 18 of this *Quodlibet*, fully a dozen include some form of the word "angelus" in the title, and eleven of these deal with angelic cognition. In this way questions 1–3 and 19 are also connected to the theme, because they form the background to the questions involving how angels can know God. Frequently one encounters common ideas, terms, and phrases, even in the question titles themselves. In question 6 of the *Quodlibet*, after "Quaeritur," the scribe wrote "iterum idem quod prius, scilicet," before crossing it out, because it was not exactly the same question after all. Nevertheless, this scribal error is further evidence that at least questions 5 and 6 belong together.

Finally, a look at the six citations of "Peter" elsewhere in the manuscript reinforces the attribution of all these nineteen questions to Peter Swanington, because they often deal with topics treated in the *Quodlibet*.¹⁵ For example, question 2 of quaternus IV cites "Petrus" and asks "Whether a future contingent can be known with certainty by any cognition other than beatific," while question 15 of the *Quodlibet* is about angelic cognition of future contingents. (Since I have been publishing Carmelite questions on future contingents, this latter question is included as Appendix II to this article.)¹⁶ Again, "Petrus" is cited in question 14 of quaternus VII, "Whether an angel's intellection, by which he understands things other than himself, is effectively from *Deo creante* or from *alio extrinseco movente*," a common topic in the nineteen questions. Question 16 of quaternus VIII actually cites "Petrus Carmelita." Other citations of "Carmelita" are not obviously linked to the nineteen questions, however, and so they may refer to another Carmelite.

As Little maintains, the manuscript is a collection of quaterni with which a Benedictine scholar—perhaps Richard Bromwich or, much

¹⁵ Little, "MS Worcester Q 99," pp. 295–321 *passim*.

¹⁶ See C. Schabel, *Theology at Paris 1316–1345. Peter Auriol and the Problem of Divine Foreknowledge and Future Contingents* (Aldershot 2000), pp. 54–7 and 175–9 (on Baconthorpe); idem, "Early Carmelites between Giants: Questions on Future Contingents by Gerard of Bologna and Guy Terrena," *RTPM* 70.1 (2003), pp. 139–205; and idem, "The *Sentences* Commentary of Paul of Perugia, O. Carm. With an Edition of His Question on Divine Foreknowledge," *RTPM* 72.1 (2005), pp. 54–112.

more likely, John of Saint-Germain—went around recording disputations in Oxford, probably “copied out day by day from the notes taken while the disputations were going on.” Thus elsewhere in the manuscript often the *disputatio* and *determinatio* are separated, because they happened on different days.¹⁷ As the question printed below shows, then, this is as close to a raw *reportatio* as one can get. The damage to the manuscript aside, it is still difficult to follow the arguments completely, and things appear to be missing. It seems that there is no real magisterial *determinatio* here, although in other questions a conclusion is reached. The topic is related to the contemporary debate about whether God can know future contingents through ideas, but it is clear that a good understanding of the context will require further editing of the manuscript, which contains five other questions on future contingents. Likewise, a complete edition of Peter Swanington’s *Quodlibeta* will surely be a useful addition to our knowledge of medieval theories of angelic cognition.¹⁸

Robert Walsingham

The biography and bibliography for Walsingham is confusing because, as Xiberta discovered, earlier writers erroneously attributed some facts of his life and writings to a non-existent John Walsingham, to whom in turn were assigned details that pertained rather to John Baconthorpe and John Walsham. What we do know is that Walsingham seems to have been a student of William Paganerus at Oxford around 1290, and that a certain Robert Walsingham was also among the Carmelites who opposed the decision of the 1303 General Chapter in Narbonne. While Swanington was sent to Bordeaux as punishment in 1305, Walsingham was allowed to stay in England supposedly because he was weakened by old age. In his disputations associated with his becoming master, his Vespers, his opponent was Walter of Heyham. We do not know

¹⁷ Little, “MS Worcester Q 99,” pp. 228–9 and 240–6. Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 184b, misrepresents Little’s conclusion. On John of Saint-Germain, see P. Glorieux, “Jean de Saint-Germain, Maître de Paris et copiste de Worcester,” in *Mélanges Auguste Pelzer: études d’histoire littéraire et doctrinale de la Scolastique médiévale offertes à Auguste Pelzer à l’occasion de son soixante-dixième anniversaire* (Louvain 1947), pp. 521–9.

¹⁸ On divine ideas and the problem of divine foreknowledge in this period, see M.J.F.M. Hoenen, *Marsilius of Inghen. Divine Knowledge in Late Medieval Thought* (Leiden 1993), pp. 121–35 and 166–84. On angelic cognition, see T. Suarez-Nani, *Connaissance et langage des anges selon Thomas d’Aquin et Gilles de Rome* (Paris 2003). I am currently editing the other questions on foreknowledge in Q 99.

when this occurred, but along with Henry of Harclay he was holding magisterial disputations on 12 February 1312, our *terminus ante quem* for his becoming master. Thus he did not die in 1310, as was once claimed.¹⁹

If the same Robert Walsingham who was “*senio confectus*” in 1305 is the author of the two *Quodlibeta* in another Worcester Cathedral and Chapter Library codex, F 3, the sole surviving witness of that work, then he still had many years of active disputation to look forward to in 1305. Although the incipit to the first *Quodlibet* (ff. 215v–247r) claims that twenty-two questions were asked, questions 19 and 20 are in the numbered table of questions but absent from the text, where the questions are numbered in the margin, and number 17 is skipped in both the table and the text. The second *Quodlibet* (ff. 247r–259r) contains only six questions.²⁰

Of a large body of works once attributed to him, only the *Quodlibeta* are preserved. Although there were once four other witnesses, now there is just Worcester F 3, a collection of Oxford quodlibetal and disputed questions from Scotus, Kykeley, Trivet, Harclay, and Walsingham, all from roughly the same time period. One of the lost witnesses of Walsingham’s *Quodlibeta* reportedly contained *Quodlibeta* of William of Alnwick, Trivet, Harclay, Walsingham, and “Johannis Mankael,” i.e., three of the five authors in F 3. Remembering Alnwick’s unusually close association with Scotus’ works, and the fact that, like Mankael, Kykeley’s first name is probably Johannes, perhaps the contents of the lost codex were actually identical to those of F 3 and the two manuscripts were related. With respect to *Quodlibeta*, in the sixteenth century John Bale listed Robert Walsingham as having *Quodlibeta maiora* and *minora*. While the *maiora* appear not to have survived, Bale’s incipit for the *minora* matches the incipit for the first *Quodlibet* in Worcester F 3, a fact that, along with citations and even verbatim quotations by later

¹⁹ Xiberta, “Robert Walsingham,” pp. 147–57, summarized in idem, *De scriptoribus*, pp. 111–14. The previous English *Dictionary of National Biography* even had an entry for “John of Walsingham,” as Xiberta notes, but Stephen F. Brown has put the record straight in the new edition with entries on “Robert of Walsingham” and the fictional “John of Walsingham.”

²⁰ For the manuscript and a question list, see Xiberta, “Robert Walsingham,” pp. 164–6 (question list reprinted in idem, *De scriptoribus*, pp. 119–20, and Glorieux II, pp. 262–3, misreading Xiberta, saying that qq. 19 and 20 of *Quodlibet* I are missing in the table as well and simply failing to list q. 17). The pertinent entry in Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. 3b–4b, is incorrect on the foliation.

theologians such as John Baconthorpe, confirms that Robert Walsingham was the author.²¹

Xiberta dated the two *Quodlibeta* to around 1312–13. In question 2 of *Quodlibet* II Walsingham is disputing with Henry of Harclay, and we know from the Harclay text in Worcester F 3 (f. 187r) that he held a disputation in 1313 (and he was still disputing in 1314–15). Working backwards, Xiberta came up with his dating hypothesis, which fit in with Walsingham's citations.²² Unfortunately, the dating of Harclay's Oxford works as a whole is uncertain, and all we know for sure is that he was a master of theology and holding disputations, just as Walsingham, by 12 February 1312, and that he was chancellor of the University of Oxford from late 1312 to his death in 1317.²³ "Walter of Heyham," with whom Walsingham disputed his Vespers as a new master, is perhaps the first Oxford Augustinian master of theology, William of Hycham (or Hikham, Hikam, Hicham, Hicham), who is noted in Worcester Q 99 from ca. 1300–02.²⁴ Thus Walsingham could have been master much earlier.

Walsingham's *Quodlibeta* are among the earliest scholastic works where the author cites his contemporaries, and his citations help narrow things down a bit. In his *Quodlibet* I he cites his own *Quaestiones ordinariae* sometimes as having already been held, sometimes as to be held, and in *Quodlibet* II some *Quaestiones ordinariae* are still to come. A list of his citations that John Bale compiled in the sixteenth century includes Gerard of Bologna, whom Walsingham does not appear to cite in the *Quodlibeta*, so perhaps the citation was in his *Quaestiones ordinariae*. Gerard's surviving theological writings date from 1305, since, as we shall see, his first *Quodlibet* is from that period, and Gerard's *Quaestiones ordinariae* are contemporary with or postdate the first *Quodlibet*, while the *Summa* is from after 1313. Given the fact that Walsingham's *Quaestiones ordinariae* start earlier and end later than his *Quodlibeta*, however, the

²¹ Xiberta, "Robert Walsingham," pp. 158–64, on p. 163, n. 50, citing the lost manuscript as Dublin, Trinity College 360; idem, *De scriptoribus*, pp. 114–18, on p. 117, n. 2, now listing the lost manuscript as St Augustine, Canterbury 606. For Kykeley, see Little, "MS Worcester Q 99," pp. 267–9 and 365.

²² Xiberta, "Robert Walsingham," p. 168; idem, *De scriptoribus*, p. 118.

²³ M.G. Henninger, "Henry of Harclay's Questions on Divine Prescience and Predestination," *Franciscan Studies* 40 (1980) (pp. 167–240), p. 168, n. 5, and idem, "Henry of Harclay," in *A Companion to Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, J.J.E. Gracia and T.B. Noone, eds. (Oxford 2003) (pp. 305–13), p. 305.

²⁴ Little, "MS Worcester Q 99," pp. 265–6; Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars*, pp. 183 and 314.

citation of Gerard is of less assistance. In his *Quodlibeta* Walsingham does cite Scotus, Thomas of Sutton, and Richard of Conington, but the possible dating of their writings extends over a great period of time. It is more important that he cites distinction 26 of book II of Robert Cowton's *Sentences* commentary (f. 231v), dated to Oxford, ca. 1309–11, although this is uncertain.²⁵ All things considered, Xiberta's estimation of 1312–13 seems to be a good guess.

The incipits confirm that the questions come from two quodlibetal disputations, certainly Walsingham's first two. The first contains a variety of questions, but the second concentrates on God's connection with creation. The questions constitute Walsingham's determinations and the text appears to be quite close to the debates themselves, since we find frequent references to "ratio opponentis" and statements like "istam rationem tetigit opponens" and "recitabo dicta cuiusdam doctoris propter que forte questio ista fuit mota." Still, cross-references to his own ordinary and other quodlibetal questions suggest that Walsingham himself polished the work for publication. The fact that three questions are missing shows that our manuscript is not a faithful copy of the finished work, although the three questions edited so far are at least readable.²⁶ To a certain extent one could check the quality of the text in Worcester F 3 with a fragmentary witness: question 6 of *Quodlibet* I survives in a Florence manuscript that contains assorted Oxford questions. Unfortunately, a collation revealed that John Baconthorpe's incorporation of parts of Walsingham's first two questions of *Quodlibet* I into distinction 27 of book I of his *Sentences* commentary, extant in one manuscript and printed editions, was not close enough to be of use in editing Walsingham's text.²⁷ On the other hand, Wouter Goris

²⁵ Xiberta, "Robert Walsingham," pp. 167–8, 171, and 173, and *De scriptoribus*, pp. 82, 118 and 122. On Robert Cowton's *Sentences* commentary, see R.L. Friedman, "The *Sentences* Commentary, 1250–1320. General Trends, the Impact of the Religious Orders, and the Test Case of Predestination," in *Mediaeval Commentaries*, Evans, ed. (pp. 41–128), p. 76, but in his chapter on Vat. lat. 1086 in this volume, W.J. Courtenay expresses doubts about the dating.

²⁶ See D.T. Graf, *De subiecto psychico gratiae et virtutum secundum doctrinam scholasticorum usque ad medium saeculum XIV*, vol. II (Studia Anselmiana, 4) (Rome 1935), pp. 104*–10* (*Quodl.* I, q. 14); W. Goris, "La critique de Richard de Conington par Robert de Walsingham," *AHDLM* 67 (2000) (pp. 269–93), pp. 281–93 (*Quodl.* II, q. 6); C. Schabel and R.L. Friedman, "Trinitarian Theology and Philosophical Issues III: Oxford 1312–1329: Walsingham, Graystones, Fitzralph, and Rodington," *CIMAGL* 74 (2003) (pp. 39–88), pp. 45–52 (*Quodl.* I, q. 5).

²⁷ Xiberta, "Robert Walsingham," p. 165, n. 55, and *De scriptoribus*, p. 119, nn. 1–2, made these discoveries. Walsingham's Florence fragment is in Firenze, Biblioteca

has shown that where Walsingham quotes extensively from Richard of Conington, there are two omissions *per homoioteleuton* in the manuscript. Unless Walsingham himself made these errors, which Goris rightly considers unlikely, we are unfortunately dealing with a problematic witness.²⁸

The one surviving manuscript does not reflect Walsingham's influence upon British theologians. Walsingham's confrere Baconthorpe called him "my reverend master," although he actually opposes Walsingham's theories in the above-mentioned passage that Baconthorpe incorporated into his *Sentences* commentary. Walsingham was also known to contemporary theologians outside the order. We have seen that he debated with the secular theologian Harclay, and he had an important impact on the Benedictine Robert Graystones. Outside England, the German Carmelite John Brammart cited Walsingham's *Quodlibeta* toward the end of the fourteenth century.²⁹

Since we have no other writings from Walsingham, it is fortunate that his twenty-five quodlibetal questions mostly concern well-studied topics in philosophical theology such as the increase and decrease of grace, divine relations, the univocity of the concept of being, and creation. Thus we can easily place Walsingham in context. The last two questions of *Quodlibet* I are interesting exceptions: "Should a church's prelate commit the care of his church to a worthy blood relative, overlooking someone better?" and "Can anyone desire to know the magical arts without sin?"

Carmelites at Paris

King Louis IX himself established the Carmelite convent in Paris, after his return from crusading in the East in 1254. The London General Chapter of 1281 decreed that Paris would have the order's *studium*

Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 17 sin., cod. 10, on ff. 24v–27v. It is a 1393 copy, made by the Franciscan Giacomo Fey, of a compilation done by the Oxford Carmelite Stephen Patryngton; see R. Copsey, "The Carmelites in England 1242–1540: Surviving Writings (Additions and Corrections I)," *Carmelus* 44 (1997) (pp. 188–202), p. 199.

²⁸ Goris, "La critique de Richard de Conington," p. 278, the omissions being on pp. 282 (8 words) and 284 (7 words). As Goris notes, he had to intervene on several occasions.

²⁹ Xiberta, "Robert Walsingham," p. 163, and *De scriptoribus*, pp. 171 and 430; Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars*, p. 267.

generale, to which provinces other than Francia were to send a minimum number of students. Although the Oxford *studium* was important, Paris became the Carmelites' intellectual center. In 1287–88 a Carmelite bachelor of theology—probably Gerard of Bologna—was *opponens* in Henry of Ghent's *Quodlibet* XI, and later Gerard became the order's first Parisian master. Nevertheless, in 1303 the convent was still insignificant compared to the *studia* of the Augustinians, Dominicans, and Franciscans. In the following decades, however, important scholars from all over Europe came to teach theology at the Carmelite *studium* in Paris, from Central Italy, Catalonia, the Low Countries, and England. The reputations they gained at Paris led them to important careers in the order's hierarchy and in the secular church.³⁰

Gerard of Bologna

In 1295 Gerard of Bologna (ca. 1240/50–1317) became the Carmelites' first master of theology at the University of Paris and, depending on Peter Swanington's dates, probably the order's first master anywhere. Thus Gerard holds a special place in the history of Carmelite thought, and accordingly his *Quodlibeta* survive in three complete manuscripts and five substantial fragments, more than for any other major Carmelite work in philosophical theology written before 1340. Nevertheless, until very recently little work had been done on the *Quodlibeta*, perhaps because Gerard composed a more organized *Summa theologiae* near the end of his career, although this appears to have been less influential and was left incomplete at his death in Avignon on 17 April 1317.³¹

³⁰ For a brief survey, see Smet, *Carmelites* I, pp. 28–32. For the status in 1303, W.J. Courtenay, "Between Pope and King: The Parisian Letters of Adhesion of 1303," *Speculum* 71.3 (1996) (pp. 577–605), p. 602. For Gerard as bachelor, Xiberta, *De scriptoribus*, pp. 13 and 75, and B. Smalley, "Gerard of Bologna and Henry of Ghent," *RTAM* 22 (1955) (pp. 125–9), p. 129.

³¹ In 2005 Marie-Bruno (Hubert) Borde completed his PhD dissertation at Paris IV—Sorbonne, under Ruedi Imbach's supervision: "Gérard de Bologne O. Carm. (†1317): sa conception de la théologie et de la puissance de Dieu," building on his 2003 Toulouse MA thesis "*Magis fide tenetur: Gérard de Bologne et la scientia sacra*." Borde's study includes a new and exhaustive survey of Gerard's life and writings together with a critical edition of articles 1–6 of the mammoth question 35 of the *Summa*, on divine power. This will replace the earlier study of Gerard's life in, e.g., Xiberta, *De scriptoribus*, pp. 75–80, and of the *Summa* in idem, "De *Summa Theologiae* magistri Gerardi Bononiensis ex Ordine Carmelitarum," *AOC* 5 (1923), pp. 3–54 (question list on pp. 16–23). For previous editions of parts of the *Summa*, see P. de Vooght, *Les sources de la doctrine chrétienne d'après les théologiens du XIV^e siècle et du début du XV^e avec le texte intégral des*

Two of the complete manuscripts of the *Quodlibeta* attribute the text to Gerard explicitly, and later authors such as Peter Auriol confirm this assignation. The question of the structure and the dating of Gerard’s *Quodlibeta*, however, is more complex. There are three main witnesses of the *Quodlibeta*—each also containing Gerard’s *Quaestiones ordinariae*: Paris, BnF lat. 17485 (= P); Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, Ripoll 95 (= B), and Firenze, BNC II.II.280 (= F). These contain two redactions of Gerard’s *Quodlibeta*, corresponding to two different lists of questions. Following P, Glorieux listed questions from four *Quodlibeta*. Using BF, Xiberta offered a different list of questions from five *Quodlibeta*. All twenty questions of *Quodlibet* I and the first eighteen questions of *Quodlibet* II match up in both lists.³² Then the following occurs:

P	BF	BF	P
II, qq. 19–21 =	IV, qq. 17–19	III, qq. 1–7 =	same
III, qq. 1–7 =	same	III, qq. 8–13 =	absent
III, qq. 8–13 =	IV, qq. 9–14	III, qq. 14–22 =	same
III, qq. 14–22 =	same	IV, qq. 1–8 absent	absent
IV, 1–5 =	V, qq. 1–5 (not B)	IV, qq. 9–14 =	III, qq. 8–13
IV, qq. 6–7 =	IV, qq. 15–16	IV, qq. 15–16 =	IV, qq. 6–7
		IV, qq. 17–19 =	II, qq. 19–21
		V, qq. 1–5 (not B) =	IV, qq. 1–5

Besides the differing orders, there are other irregularities. Notes in B (f. 75r) state that the true first question of *Quodlibet* II is missing (in all manuscripts) and suggests that this is on purpose since “erat de formalitatibus, de quibus satis est in primo *Quolibet*.” When Peter Auriol

XII premières questions de la Summa inédite de Gérard de Bologne († 1317) (Versailles 1954), pp. 269–483 (qq. 1–12); Xiberta, “Magistri Gerardi Bononiensis, O.Carm., Quaestio de Dei cognoscibilitate (*Summa Theologica*, q. 13),” in *Medioevo e Rinascimento. Studi in Honore di Bruno Nardi* (Florence 1955), pp. 829–70 (q. 13); J.K. McGowan, “The Essence and Existence of God in Gerard of Bologna’s *Summa Theologiae*. With a Critical Edition of Questions 13 and 14” (PhD Dissertation, Louvain 1967) (qq. 13–14), to which I have not had access; Schabel, “Early Carmelites,” pp. 170–86 (q. 25, a. 7).

³² Glorieux I, pp. 128–32; Xiberta, *De scriptoribus*, pp. 83–7; Glorieux II, pp. 94–5. Gerard asked ten *Quaestiones ordinariae* on the theological virtues, preserved in all three manuscripts, and then we have three others preserved in one or two of them; see the list in Xiberta, *De scriptoribus*, p. 87. Borde, “Gérard de Bologne O. Carm.,” pp. 5–6, has found that Avignon, Médiathèque Ceccano 1071, contains part of Gerard’s third *Quaestio ordinaria* on ff. 97r–98v, and I have discovered that Worcester, Cathedral and Chapter Library F 139, contains *reportationes* of qq. 4 and 7 (see below).

cites the first question of *Quodlibet* II, he refers to the one that is now in the manuscripts (see below). Likewise, what would correspond to the first eight questions of *Quodlibet* IV in BF are absent in all witnesses, and so the numbering of *Quodlibet* IV in BF begins with 9. *Quodlibet* V is absent in B and corresponds to P's *Quodlibet* IV, qq. 1–5. Although Stephen Brown doubts the authenticity of F's *Quodlibet* V, manuscript P supports Gerard's authorship of these questions. Its absence in B might be explained by the fact that it was not held in Paris but rather in Avignon, as we shall see.³³

Only critical editions can help clarify matters. Although Hubert Borde, Wouter Goris, Simon Nolan, and David Piché are collectively working on editions of over 25% of Gerard's quodlibetal questions, thus far only three of the seventy-five or so questions have been published. Goris finds that FP carry the same text for *Quodlibet* III, q. 15.³⁴ Antonio Samaritani published the question "Utrum forma per solum instans possit esse in subiecto"—touching upon the immaculate conception—which is *Quodlibet* IV, q. 18, in BF, but *Quodlibet* II, q. 20, in manuscript P. Samaritani used only BF, however, not having access to P. A collation of P with Samaritani's edition revealed that the three witnesses carry the same text.³⁵ But is Samaritani's question originally

³³ See note in Xiberta, *De scriptoribus*, p. 83, for correspondence table and marginalia. S.F. Brown, "Gerard of Bologna's *Quodlibet* I, *Quaestio* 1: On the Analogy of Being," *Carmelus* 31 (1984) (pp. 143–70), p. 150, cites Xiberta's *De scriptoribus*, p. 82, as doubting the authenticity of *Quodlibet* V, but Xiberta merely states that "*Quodlibet* V Avinione habitum esse dicitur (F 152v)." A. Lang, *Die Wege der Glaubensbegründung bei den Scholastikern des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Münster i. W. 1930), pp. 56–7, uses Gerard's *Quodl.* V, qq. 1 and 5, after F, taking their authenticity for granted.

³⁴ Borde has edited *Quodl.* I, q. 10, in "Gérard de Bologne O.Carm.," which includes on pp. 5–14 and 17–18 an updated version of the study of the *Quodlibeta* and detailed question list found in his "*Magis fide tenetur*," pp. 48–50, 61–2, 64–7, and 70–81. Wouter Goris has edited material from *Quodlibet* III from FP. David Piché is preparing for publication 14 quodlibetal questions on Gerard's theory of knowledge from the three complete witnesses, as follows according to the Paris manuscript: *Quodl.* I, qq. 3, 4, 7, 8, 17; *Quodl.* II, qq. 4, 6, 11; *Quodl.* III, qq. 8 (BF's IV, q. 9), 11 (BF's IV, q. 12), 14, 15, 16; *Quodl.* IV, q. 5 (BF's IV, q. 15). The Carmelite Simon F. Nolan has employed these same questions and transcribed from P another seven (I.20; II.8 and 19; III.7 and 17; IV.6–7) for his 2006 Gregorian University thesis, "De anima eiusque operationibus secundum *Quaestiones quodlibetales* Gerardi Bononiensis, O. Carm. (c. 1250–1317), primi magistri Parisiensis ex ordine Carmelitarum."

³⁵ A. Samaritani, "De Beatae Mariae Virginis immaculata conceptione quodlibet XIII–XIV saec. primum edita," *Marian Library Studies* 5 (1975), pp. 729–835 (ed. on pp. 773–85); Samaritani's question is on ff. 141vb–143rb in P. P does disagree frequently with BF on minor things, and has an addition of eight words. Generally P is closer to F than B, as one would expect from the absence in B of questions found in FP.

from *Quodlibet* II or IV? Stephen Brown has edited the first two questions of *Quodlibet* I, using all six witnesses known to him in the case of question 1. Brown found that P preserves the best text and agreed with Glorieux that it “follows the internal construction, divisions and sub-divisions announced by the four *Quodlibeta*.” Thus Brown used P as his base and considered BF’s overall organization to be the product of “rearranging,” entailing their posteriority. Significantly, although it is not stated explicitly, Brown’s apparatus criticus shows that the differing question lists correspond to rearrangements within the individual questions themselves. BF therefore would be a later redaction of the text. If so, then Samaritani’s question would originally have been *Quodlibet* II, q. 20, which accords with a note in B: “Nota, quaestiones 18, 19, 20, quae sunt in 4^o quodlibet, sunt ultimatae tres de isto 2^o quodlibet.” And if P’s organization is to be trusted as authentic, then the questions labelled as F’s *Quodlibet* V may simply be part of the original *Quodlibet* IV as in P, which would have been held in Avignon.³⁶ As we shall see, however, there are also good reasons to take BF’s arrangement to be prior to P’s.

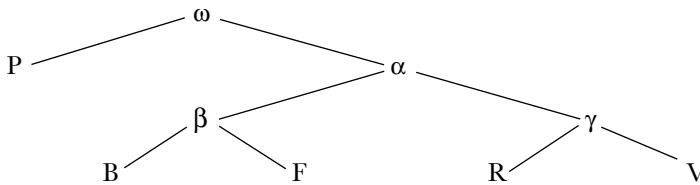
Brown’s apparatus allows us to describe the manuscript tradition with more precision. Besides the three main manuscripts, there are five fragments of *Quodlibet* I: Paris, BnF lat. 14572 (= R), contains questions 1–5 and 7–19 on ff. 7v–22v and question 6 on ff. 47–49 (it should be stressed that this is a double codex and the foliation starts over again in the second part, where Gerard’s questions are found); BAV, Vat. lat. 932 (= V), preserves questions 1–10 (10 is incomplete) on ff. 88ra–101rb; and BAV, Vat. lat. 829 (= X), has questions 1 (ff. 58ra–59va), 2 (ff. 60va–61ra), 3 (f. 67ra–b), and 5 (f. 61ra–b). X is an abbreviation, but in question 1 it contains an argument absent in the other witnesses; perhaps X stems from a separate *reportatio* of the disputation. In addition, Xiberta and Brown were unaware that BAV, Vat. lat. 2173 (= W),

Samaritani’s edition was done hastily and has errors in palaeography, punctuation, and grammar. His unexplained decision to follow B slavishly resulted in further mistakes. Given this, P’s alleged “addition” of 8 words after *sicut* in l. 22 (“secundum eos, in eodem instanti temporis simul fuit”) may really be B’s (and the editor’s) omission. S.D. Dumont, “Time, Contradiction and Freedom of the Will in the Late Thirteenth Century,” *DSTFM* 3.2 (1992) (pp. 561–97), on p. 575, n. 39, used P for this question (although he cited it as “*Quodl.* I” instead of II).

³⁶ Brown, “Gerard of Bologna’s *Quodlibet* I, quaestio 1,” esp. pp. 150–1, and idem, “Gerard of Bologna on the Nature of the Good,” in *Die Logik des Transzendentalen. Festschrift für Jan Aertsen*, M. Pickavé, ed. (Berlin-New York 2003), pp. 285–303, edition of *Quodl.* I, q. 2, on pp. 293–303.

contains questions 1–4 and 9 (9 is incomplete) on ff. 210r–214r, and Hubert Borde has found that a copy of question 6, a. 1, is preserved in Avignon, Médiathèque Ceccano 1071 (ff. 95ra–96ra). (In addition, Oxford, Balliol College Library 63, preserves questions 1–7—q. 7 is incomplete—of *Quodlibet* II on ff. 100ra–111rb.)³⁷

Disregarding W, which Brown was not able to collate, P and BF (F is missing the first 30% of the first question) represent two traditions, and RV usually agree with BF. A close analysis suggests that we have a first redaction in P, a later revision from which stem BF and RV, the latter being yet another revision where R is contaminated with P's tradition.³⁸ A possible stemma:



The incipits talk about numbers of questions that were asked in the quodlibetal disputations, while individual questions may also begin “secundo quaerebatur,” and include statements like “ut videtur esse intentio quaerentis.”³⁹ Thus what we have does not appear to be so revised by the author as to remove all hints of oral debate. The overall impression, however, is that Gerard’s *Quodlibeta* as we have them are not as close to the actual debates as Walsingham’s.

³⁷ See Borde, “Gérard de Bologne, O.Carm.,” pp. 5–14, for a detailed description of all witnesses.

³⁸ At one point an entire argument is placed differently in P from BFRV (p. 166 of Brown’s edition). BF have enough unshared variants that they appear to be independent of each other, and they are both good witnesses. BF have what seem to be many small additions, and at one point (p. 160) 72 words are added in the text in F but are put in the margin in B, suggesting a later authorial revision in BF. RV omit 82 words exactly where BF and P have differing sequences of arguments (p. 165), and elsewhere (p. 168) BFP omit 46 words contained (and probably added) in RV, suggesting that RV is yet another revision. R has a fairly good text, but V is poor and at times abbreviates. BFRV share an omission of 21 words (p. 168) where R has the text in P, so the scribe of R probably had access to P’s tradition. It should be noted that P alone does not provide a sufficiently good text, either in Brown’s questions or in the one edited by Samaritani, where P has errors and even omissions *per homoioteleuton* of 5 and 17 words.

³⁹ E.g., Samaritani, “De Beatae Mariae Virginis,” pp. 773, l. 5, and 783, l. 240.

The problem of the dating of Gerard's *Quodlibeta* is just as complex as that of their structure. The historical treatment of the dating issue began badly with Glorieux's and Joseph Koch's mistaken assumption that Gerard could not have participated in quodlibetal disputations as Prior General of the Carmelites, a post he occupied from 1297 to his death. Glorieux therefore dated Gerard's *Quodlibeta* to 1294–97, thinking that Gerard had already been master for one or two years by 1295. Xiberta, however, understood that Gerard's post as Prior General was no obstacle to continuing his academic career, and he showed that Gerard refers in his *Quodlibeta* to positions developed after 1300. Circa 1307 was Xiberta's new dating, which Glorieux later adopted in revising his earlier estimate to 1305–08. Oddly, Teertaert criticized the new dating and reverted back to the theory of Koch (and of Glorieux himself) that Gerard could not have participated in quodlibetal debates after 1297: "[I]l est très probable, sinon certain, qu'il n'a plus enseigné." However, in Worcester F 139, the autograph of the Oxford Benedictine Richard of Bromwich's *Sentences* commentary from after 1300, in material that Richard added to the manuscript during a stay in Paris while Gerard was Prior General, one of the disputants is actually referred to as "Generalis Carm'," which should put the matter to rest.⁴⁰

Even with regard to Glorieux's modified dating of 1305–08, however, Stephen Brown rightly notes that "the final word on the years of authorship has not yet been said."⁴¹ It is possible that Gerard's *Quodlibeta* I–III stem from disputations at Paris as late as 1309–11, and that *Quodlibet* IV (which includes F's *Quodlibet* V) derives from a later debate in Avignon. Unfortunately, the dating rests on the sometimes equally confused chronology of Gerard's other writings and the works and activities of Richard Bromwich, Hervaeus Natalis, and Robert Cowton. The material added to Bromwich's autograph in Worcester F 139 not only includes references to Gerard as Prior General, but also turns out to contain Bromwich's *reportatio* of two of Gerard's *Ordinary*

⁴⁰ Glorieux I, p. 128; J. Koch, *Durandus de S. Porciano O.P. Forschungen zum Streit um Thomas von Aquin zu Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Münster i. W. 1927), p. 387; Xiberta, *De scriptoribus*, pp. 76 and 82; Glorieux II, p. 94; Teertaert, "La littérature quodlibétique," p. 88; Little, "MS Worcester Q 99," pp. 243 and 245; Moreover, S.D. Dumont, "The Scotist of Vat. Lat. 869," *AFH* 81 (1988) (pp. 254–83), pp. 275–7, shows that an author writing in Paris ca. 1312–16 had heard (*audivi*) the chancellor and the Carmelite: the chancellor is Francis Caracciolo (1309–16) and the Carmelite is Gerard in *Quodl.* III, q. 7.

⁴¹ Brown, "Gerard of Bologna's *Quodlibet* I, *Quaestio* 1," p. 150.

Questions, number 4: “Utrum fides sit nobilior habitus omnibus habitibus” (f. 262r) and number 7: “Utrum caritas sit habitus unus creatus in anima” (f. 264r). In Xiberta’s opinion, Gerard’s *Quodlibeta* and *Ordinary Questions* were composed simultaneously, and question 7 noted above refers to Gerard’s *Quodlibet* I, q. 4. Thus the date of Bromwich’s *reportatio* of Gerard’s *Ordinary Questions* would give us an approximate date for the *Quodlibeta*. The most recent estimate for Bromwich’s *Sentences* lectures is ca. 1305–09 in Oxford, and probably closer to 1305–06. Unfortunately, F 139 explicitly states that the written *Sentences* commentary contained therein was composed *before* he actually lectured on the *Sentences* at Oxford, leaving open the possibility that Bromwich also went to Paris to hear Gerard’s *Ordinary Questions* before giving his own *Sentences* lectures in England. Still, it is likely that his journey to Paris followed his lectures and would be dated after the summer of 1306. If this is the *terminus post quem* for Gerard’s *Ordinary Question* 7, it would still allow for Glorieux’s 1305 date for *Quodlibet* I.⁴²

Besides citations of Scotus, Xiberta recognized references to Hervaeus Natalis in Gerard’s *Quodlibeta*. Hervaeus received his license in 1307, and his Paris regency and *Quodlibeta* I–III have been dated 1307–09/10. The most important citations Xiberta found are as follows: Hervaeus’s *Quodlibet* II, q. 3, on divine ideas, cites Gerard’s objections from the same *Quodlibet* I, q. 7. In *Quodlibet* II, q. 10, Hervaeus replies to objections raised in Gerard’s *Quodlibet* III, q. 7, where the Barcelona manuscript has this marginal note: “Replicatio contra Hervaeum de extensione animae.” Xiberta also found evidence that Hervaeus’ *Quodlibet* I and Gerard’s *Quodlibet* III were held simultaneously. Thus Hervaeus’ *Quodlibeta* and Bromwich’s manuscript would permit us to retain Glorieux’s dating of Gerard’s *Quodlibeta* I–III to Paris 1305–07.⁴³

There are two obstacles. First, Xiberta found that in question 7 of *Quodlibet* I, Gerard inserts passages from the written version of Hervaeus’s I *Sentences*, d. 36, on divine ideas. Although Hervaeus lectured on the *Sentences* early in the first decade of the fourteenth century, the

⁴² Xiberta, *De scriptoribus*, p. 82 (*Quodlibeta*—*Ordinary Questions* connection); R.L. Friedman and C. Schabel, “Trinitarian Theology and Philosophical Issues IV: Ware and Bromwich,” *CIMAGL* 75 (2004) (pp. 121–60), pp. 124–6 (Bromwich).

⁴³ Xiberta, *De scriptoribus*, p. 76, n. 1 (for the citations); Glorieux I, p. 201; Friedman’s chapter in this volume for Hervaeus’ *Quodlibeta*; P.T. Stella, “A proposito di Pietro da Palude (In I *Sent.*, d. 43, q. 1): La questione inedita ‘Utrum Deum esse infinitum in perfectione et vigore possit efficaci ratione probari’ di Erveo Natalis,” *Salesianum* 22 (1960) (pp. 245–325), at pp. 317–21.

Ordinatio of his *Sentences* commentary appears to date from 1309 or perhaps later, so Gerard's *Quodlibet* I would be from 1309 or later. We could remove this obstacle, however, by following Prospero T. Stella in claiming that Gerard was referring to an early version of Hervaeus' commentary.⁴⁴ The second obstacle is more troublesome. In the question Antonio Samaritani edited he identified a position of "aliqui" as that of Robert Cowton, III *Sentences*, d. 3. As mentioned above, Cowton's commentary on all four books has recently been dated to ca. 1309–11, so that question would be after "ca. 1309." Unfortunately, we return to the problem of whether this question is from *Quodlibet* II or IV: Samaritani followed Glorieux's "ca. 1308" dating for *Quodlibet* IV (following BF), but Glorieux's list actually has the question in *Quodlibet* II and dated 1306 (following P). If we take P to represent the original organization, then it appears that we must modify our dating of Cowton's *Sentences* commentary by several years, to 1305–06 at the very latest—which is possible. If we use BF's arrangement, we would merely have to deal with *Quodlibet* IV's dating.⁴⁵

One or more of the data provided by Xiberta, Samaritani, and those who date Bromwich, Hervaeus, and Cowton could be mistaken, of course, and perhaps all extant versions of Gerard's *Quodlibeta* are in some way the product of revision taking place much later than the disputations themselves. Nevertheless, if we oppose the opinion of Glorieux and Brown on the relative dating of the arrangements in BF and P, we can save the other phenomena as they stand by positing that BF reflects the original organization, in which case we can accept Glorieux's dating of *Quodlibeta* I–III to 1305–07. *Quodlibet* IV in BF could be placed somewhat later to take into consideration a dating of Cowton's book III to the spring of 1310. Since Gerard attended the Council of Vienne, the three sessions of which met on 16 October 1311 and 3 April and 6 May 1312, *Quodlibet* IV in BF would best be assigned to Advent 1310 or Lent 1311. Afterwards Gerard's career probably more closely involved Avignon, where Gerard died in April 1317. According to a note in the Florence manuscript (f. 152v), *Quodlibet* V (= P's IV) was disputed in Avignon. Gerard began the *Summa* no earlier

⁴⁴ Xiberta, *De scriptoribus*, p. 76, n. 1; Friedman, "The *Sentences* Commentary," p. 69.

⁴⁵ Samaritani, "De Beatae Mariae Virginis," pp. 773 and 778; Friedman, "The *Sentences* Commentary," p. 76; and W.J. Courtenay's chapter on Vat. lat. 1086 in this volume (on Cowton's dates).

than 1313, although 1314 or 1315 may be the more likely *terminus post quem*, so perhaps *Quodlibet* V should be dated to Avignon after Advent 1312. Again, a critical edition will hopefully clear this up.⁴⁶

Gerard of Bologna had an impact even outside his order. Prosper of Reggio refers to him, as do anonymous Franciscans from the 1310s and 1320s and the Augustinian Gerard of Siena. William of Ockham even cited him once. In the fifteenth century the Dominican Thomist John Capreolus still referred to Gerard six times, although this was probably via Peter Auriol.⁴⁷ Auriol was an important conduit for later thinkers, such as the anonymous Franciscan of the 1320s. It seems that Gerard's *Quodlibeta* were much more important to these non-Carmelite authors than the *Summa* or *Ordinary Questions*. Writing while Gerard was still working on the *Summa*, Auriol has ten citations of Gerard of Bologna in his *Scriptum* on the first book of the *Sentences*, and seven of them refer explicitly to the *Quodlibeta*. It is significant that all of these citations are to the first two *Quodlibeta*, which suggests that Auriol did not have access to the later *Quodlibeta* when composing his *Scriptum*. Auriol completed the *Scriptum* in late 1316 while in Paris. The bulk of the work was done earlier and elsewhere, however, and it appears that all of Auriol's sources were available by about 1310, which is consistent with the theory that Gerard's *Quodlibet* IV is later than that.⁴⁸

Within his own order Gerard was of course well known. Though Gerard's Parisian *Quodlibeta* appear to be somewhat earlier than Walsingham's Oxford disputations, we find no citations of Gerard in Walsingham's *Quodlibeta*, although according to the sixteenth-century

⁴⁶ Borde, "*Magis fide tenetur*," pp. 49–51 (Council of Vienne); Xiberta, *De scriptoribus*, pp. 82 (Florence's note); Schabel, "Early Carmelites between Giants," pp. 149–50 (*Summa*).

⁴⁷ For references to Gerard see BAV, Vat. lat. 1086, f. 23rb (Prosper); Dumont, "The Scotist of Vat. Lat. 869," p. 275 (anon. OFM from 1310s, using *Quodl.* III, q. 7); R.L. Friedman and C.D. Schabel, "The Vitality of Franciscan Theology at Paris in the 1320s," *AHDLM* 63 (1996) (pp. 357–72), p. 367 (anon. OFM of 1320s, probably using *Quodl.* II, q. 1); C. Schabel, "Auriol's Rubrics. Citations of University Theologians in Peter Auriol's *Scriptum in Primum Librum Sententiarum*," in *Philosophical Debates at the University of Paris in the First Quarter of the Fourteenth Century*, S.F. Brown, T. Dewender, and T. Kobusch, eds., Leiden: Brill, forthcoming.

⁴⁸ See Schabel, "Auriol's Rubrics." The list of citations of Gerard's *Quodlibeta* is as follows: *Quodl.* I, q. 1, in Auriol's d. 2, q. 1, a. 1 and d. 22, a. 2; I, q. 4, in d. 2, q. 2, a. 2; I, q. 5, in d. 2, q. 3, a. 3; I, q. 20, in d. 1, q. 3, a. 2; II, q. 1, in d. 1, q. 1, a. 1; II, q. 6, in the Prologue, q. 2, a. 3. For this last question, in an appendix to S.D. Dumont, "Theology as a Science and Duns Scotus' Distinction between Intuitive and Abstractive Cognition," *Speculum* 64.3 (1989) (pp. 579–99), p. 595, there is an excerpt based on P.

ex-Carmelite John Bale, Walsingham cited Gerard in works that are now lost. The later Parisians Guy Terrena, Sibert of Beek, John Baconthorpe, and Michael Aiguani cited him, although it is not immediately obvious to which work they refer. In his *Sentences* commentary from the 1340s, Paul of Perugia refers to Gerard explicitly on thirteen occasions; some of these citations are to the *Summa*, others are unspecific, and a few are certainly to the *Quodlibeta*.⁴⁹

Given this reception and Gerard's significance in the history of his order, a critical edition of his *Quodlibeta* is certainly needed. The questions are numerous enough and of a sufficient variety that, along with the incomplete *Summa*, they give a fairly comprehensive picture of Gerard as theologian, despite the lack of a *Sentences* commentary.⁵⁰ Thus, for example, although Gerard asks no question on the *Filioque*, as would a *sententiarius* in distinction 11 of book I, one can combine *Quodlibet* I, question 6, on emanations, and *Quodlibet* IV, question 2 (in P), on the constitution of the hypostases, to discover that Gerard opposes Scotus and supports Aquinas in affirming the necessity of the *Filioque* for the distinction of the Son and the Holy Spirit.⁵¹

Simon of Corbie

The Carmelite theologian John Trisse of Nîmes, who lectured on the *Sentences* at Paris in 1361–62 and died the following year, has left us a history of the Carmelite masters of theology at Paris from 1295 and Gerard of Bologna down to 1360. Trisse lists the Frenchman Simon of Corbie (de Corbeia) as the order's second Parisian master of theology, after Gerard and before Guy Terrena. "Beautiful in body, but more beautiful in regimen and in mind," in 1309 Simon secured the location for the new Paris Carmelite convent at Place Maubert by working with pope and king, and he donated many books to the convent. He was

⁴⁹ Xiberta, "Robert Walsingham," p. 171; idem, *De scriptoribus*, pp. 153, 205, and 363; idem, *Guiu Terrena*, p. 103; Schabel, "The *Sentences* Commentary of Paul of Perugia" (in Paul's book III, q. 2, there is an unspecific reference probably to Samaritani's question on the immaculate conception; in book III, qq. 3–5, there are explicit citations of the *Quodlibeta* on the incarnation, probably from *Quodl.* I).

⁵⁰ Indeed K. Michalski, *Le criticisme et le scepticisme dans la philosophie du XIV^e siècle* (Krakow 1926; reprinted in idem, *La philosophie au XIV^e siècle. Six Études*, ed. K. Flasch [Frankfurt 1969]), who looks at *Quodl.* II, q. 6 (pp. 120–1) and q. 8 (p. 104) from P, strangely refers to the *Summa* as the *Sentences* commentary (pp. 102–4).

⁵¹ See Friedman-Schabel, *The Filioque in Parisian Theology from Scotus to the Black Death*, forthcoming.

named prior provincial of France in the General Chapters of 1318, 1321, and 1324.⁵²

Xiberta, who did not treat Simon separately, was aware that Vat. lat. 1086 contained several citations of Simon and also “extracts or *reportationes*” of questions by Simon the Carmelite, whom Xiberta identified “most probably” with Simon of Corbie.⁵³ As William Courtenay’s chapter above shows, Vat. lat. 1086, the manuscript of the Augustinian Hermit Prosper of Reggio Emilia, provides abbreviated *reportationes* of hundreds of questions dating from Paris from before 1318, probably prior to 1314. What Xiberta noted was four questions for which “Simon” is written above the incipit, numbers 1, 11, 16, and 19 in the list below, although he neglected to note that number 22 is also assigned explicitly to Simon. Judging from other sections of Vat. lat. 1086, however, the normal procedure of the manuscript allows us to assign all of the questions following the name “Simon” to our Carmelite until we are given a new explicit attribution. The result is that a full twenty-three questions are most likely Simon of Corbie’s. With foliation and length in numbers of lines they are as follows (P = Pelzer):⁵⁴

1. “Simon”: Utrum damnatus appetat non esse (112vb, 35).
2. Utrum ex venialibus possit generari habitus qui sit dispositio ad peccandum mortaliter (112vb–113ra, 32).
3. Utrum fruitio creaturae rationalis [P: rationabilis] in patria necessario requirat in potentia habitum supernaturalem, et similiter de cognitione quantum ad lumen gloriae (113ra–va, 60).
4. Utrum papa conferens alicui beneficium et exinde [P: ex illo] accipiens (accipiat *ms*) fructus unius anni committat simoniam (113va–114ra, 107).
5. Utrum curatus pauper videns distrahi [P: distribui] bona ecclesiae possit propter timorem non repetere (114ra–b, 45).
6. Utrum accipiens beneficium per simulationem hypocrisis teneatur ad restitutionem (114rb–va, 31).
7. Utrum unus canonicus possit commutare suam praebendam in praebendam alterius canonici mediante pecunia, dato quod sint eiusdem ecclesiae (114va–b, 22).
8. Canonicus existens in carcere se ipsum vulnerat, procurat officialis quod sanetur; iterum postea propter carcerem percutit se et moritur: utrum officialis sit irregularis (114vb, 17).

⁵² Xiberta, *De scriptoribus*, pp. 3 and 24, n. 2.

⁵³ Xiberta, *De scriptoribus*, p. 24, n. 2.

⁵⁴ See also A. Pelzer, *Codices Vaticani Latini II. Pars prior. Codices 679–1134* (Vatican City 1931), pp. 658, 661–2, and 664–5.

9. Supposito quod duo corpora sint in eodem loco, utrum sint ibi descriptive (114vb–115ra, 21).
10. Sed utrum definitive <sint ibi> (115ra–b, 50).
11. “Simon”: Utrum paternitas et communis notio differant realiter ex natura rei (115rb–va, 68).
12. Utrum paternitas magis distinguatur a filiatione quam ab essentia (115va–116ra, 66).
13. Utrum Deus quacumque specie data possit facere creaturam aliam et hoc in infinitum (116ra–va, 65).
14. Utrum una forma numero possit esse in diversis (116va–117ra, 71).
15. Utrum numerus 4 equorum sit idem numerus (117ra, 23).
16. [135ra] “M. Simon de Ca<r>melo: Utrum possit motus virtute Dei reparari idem numero (135ra–b, 42).
17. Secunda quaestio, utrum ponentes materiam corporum superiorum esse alterius generis quam inferiorum habeant ponere quod caelorum materia sit alterius rationis (135rb–136ra, 105).
18. Utrum cognitio creaturae rationalis in patria et cognitio [*exp.*!] sibi respondens habeant idem obiectum formale (136ra–va, 84).
19. [138vb] “M. Symon Car<melita>”: Utrum anima Christi in illo triduo propter separationem fuerit in aliquo retardata a sua beatitudine (138vb, 15).
20. Utrum intellectus sit potentia pura nihil omnino actualitatis includens (138vb–139ra, 34).
21. Utrum necesse [P: necessarie] sit voluntatem frui obiecto beatifico eo apprehenso sicut apprehenditur in patria (139ra–b, 69).
22. [158va] “M. Simon”: Utrum fruitio patriae et cognitio ei correspondens sint possibiles viatori non abstracto a sensibus (158va, 25).
23. Utrum fruitio praesupponit in potentia habitum qui sit perfectior omni habitu existente in intellectu, id est utrum caritas sit perfectior omni habitu intellectus (158va–159ra, 59).

The first group, numbers 1–15, includes some questions with common themes, i.e., 4–8, 9–10, and 13–15, although without a close tie with question 1, these groupings do not constitute further evidence for the attribution. Question 11, assigned to Simon, does match up with question 12, however. Moreover, questions 13–15, of the first group, are close in theme to question 16, the first question of the second group, also explicitly assigned to Simon. Likewise, question 22 of “Master Simon,” on fruition, is connected with both question 21 from the previous set and the following question 23. On this basis we can say with more certainty that all twenty-three questions are Simon’s. Moreover, since there are links across the sets of questions in Vat. lat. 1086, we can probably claim that these questions belong to a single group of disputed questions. Finally, given that questions 4–8 concern benefices, the life of the clergy, and the goods of the Church, topics not usually

found in most theological questions, the group of questions probably constitutes a *quodlibet*.

Judging from the abbreviations or abbreviated *reportatio* of Guy Terrena's *Quodlibet* I and part of *Quodlibet* II in the same manuscript (see below), we can estimate that Vat. lat. 1086 contains only about 10% of the material that Simon's written version would have contained, perhaps 20% for certain questions, although there is no evidence that Simon's *Quodlibet* did circulate in written form. Thus these questions merely provide a glimpse of his thought, and are of limited use.

In 1321 Simon was sent to be regent master in Paris "until he has a successor,"⁵⁵ meaning that there was at the time no one to fulfill the duties. This was Simon's second period as regent master. Judging from the dates of Vat. lat. 1086 and the *Quodlibeta* of Gerard of Bologna and Guy Terrena, Simon's first regency and his surviving *Quodlibet* should be dated to around 1312.

Guy Terrena

Being a compatriot, Xiberta took a special interest in the Catalan Guy Terrena, the *Doctor Breviloquus* (ca. 1260/70–1342). Guy's extensive *Quodlibeta* constitute only a small part of his intellectual output, greater than that of Gerard. Guy was master of theology at Paris by 1313, the date of the first of his six extant *Quodlibeta*, in question 13 of which, against Arnau de Vilanova, Guy writes that "a nativitate Christi usque nunc sunt mille trecenti tredecim, quia computamus mille trecentos tredecim ab incarnatione Domini." He served as Prior General of the Carmelites from 1318 until 1321, when he entered the ranks of the secular hierarchy as bishop of Majorca. He was transferred to Elna in 1332.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Xiberta, *De scriptoribus*, pp. 24, n. 2; 145, n. 2; and 172, n. 2.

⁵⁶ For Xiberta's nine articles on Guy written before 1932, see *Guiu Terrena*, p. 337; for Guy's life and extremely numerous works, pp. 1–80 (and "De Mag. Guidone," pp. 113–99); and see pp. 271–3 ("De Mag. Guidone," pp. 205–6) for lists of his other theological questions: twelve *Quaestiones ordinariae* on the Word, of which qq. 1 and 2 were edited by A. Cañedo Cervera, *El constitutivo formal de las personas divinas en dos cuestiones ordinarias de Guido Terreni* (Tesi di Laurea, Rome 1973) (pp. 22–65), which I have not seen; 13 *Quaestiones disputatae*; and six assorted questions in Vat. lat. 901, edited by J.P. Etzwiler, "Six Questions of Guido Terreni, O.Carm. († 1342). Vat. lat. 901, ff. 140r–145v," *Carmelus* 35 (1988), pp. 138–77.

Again on the erroneous assumption that Guy could not have held quodlibetal disputations after 1318 as Prior General or bishop, Glorieux dated all of Guy's *Quodlibeta* to between 1313 and 1318. Xiberta rejected this criterion, and responded that Guy's *Quodlibeta* VII and VIII are reported to have once existed, probably held after 1318, perhaps in Avignon. Moreover, *Quodlibet* VI, which Glorieux placed in 1318, was most likely held after August 1320—maybe also in Avignon—when Guy answered Pope John XXII's request to give an opinion in connection with an inquisitorial procedure against sorcery: Guy incorporated an abbreviation of his response into *Quodlibet* VI, q. 14. *Quodlibet* V possesses more problems. Xiberta found that in question 16 from the first half of his *Summa theologiae*, Gerard of Bologna appears to have had access to Guy's *Quodlibet* V, q. 1, which Glorieux dated to 1317. If Xiberta is right, since Gerard died in Avignon in April of that year, Glorieux's dating is too late. But Xiberta also saw "[l]'entrada en escena de Pere d'Auriol al Quolibet V," question 4, which if correct would probably mean that *Quodlibet* V was held in Advent of 1316 at the earliest, since this was Auriol's first term as bachelor of the *Sentences*. In addition, in this volume Lauge Nielsen shows that Guy's *Quodlibet* V, q. 14, responds to material that Auriol would have presented in the summer of 1317 at the earliest, thus giving Advent 1317 as first possible session for *Quodlibet* V. Finally, Maier found that Thomas Wylton refers to Guy's *Quodlibet* III in a question dated to Advent 1315 or early 1316.⁵⁷

Assuming that Xiberta is in error about Gerard's access to Guy's *Quodlibet* V, then Glorieux's scheme can hold for the first five *Quodlibeta*: I in 1313, II in 1314, III in 1315 (Lent, probably, but perhaps Advent), IV in 1316, and V in Advent 1317. If, however, Xiberta is correct, then the extant written *Quodlibet* V is a revision done after the

⁵⁷ Glorieux I, p. 173; Xiberta, *Guia Terrena*, pp. 8–9, 51, 68, 100 (quotation from BAV, Borghese 39, f. 52vb; cf. f. 53rb); idem, "De *Summa theologiae*," p. 33; A. Maier, "Eine Verfügung Johanns XXII. über die Zuständigkeit der Inquisition für Zaubereiprozesse," in eadem, *Ausgehendes Mittelalter* II (Rome 1967) (pp. 59–80, reprint from *AFP* 22 [1952], pp. 226–46), p. 66 and n. 14 (previously, in 1948, she still followed Glorieux's 1313–18 dating; cf. p. 261); eadem, "Zu einigen Sentenzenkommentaren des 14. Jahrhunderts," in eadem, *Ausgehendes Mittelalter* I (Rome 1964) (pp. 265–305, reprint from *AFH* 51 [1958], pp. 369–409), pp. 279–80; T. Turley, "Infallibilists in the Curia of Pope John XXII," *Journal of Medieval History* 1 (1975) (pp. 71–101), p. 93b, n. 49. Many historians simply follow Glorieux, as for example P.G. Marcuzzi, "Una soluzione teologico-giuridica al problema dell'usura in una questione *de quolibet* inedita di Guido Terrini (1260–1342)," *Salesianum* 41 (1979) (pp. 647–84), p. 653, although he edited *Quodlibet* VI, q. 12 (not 2, as I stated in "Early Carmelites," p. 151, n. 19).

summer of 1317 based on a disputation held in Advent 1316 at the latest. If the earlier *Quodlibeta* all took place during the Lent sessions in 1313, 1314, 1315, and 1316, the fifth could have been held in the next academic year. Unfortunately, the possibility of the later revision of material stemming from the historical events always makes the dating of *quodlibeta* somewhat tentative.

Although three other manuscripts are known to have once existed, there is now only one witness for Guy's *Quodlibeta*: BAV, Borghese 39 (ff. 14ra–241vb), with the overall explicit: “Expliciunt *Quelibet* Magistri Guidonis de Carmelo”; other explicits, such as to *Quodlibeta* I (f. 64va) and V (f. 214va), also attribute the material to Master Guy of the Carmelites. The manuscript was owned by the Benedictine theologian Pierre Roger, the later Pope Clement VI, and was already in the 1369 catalogue of the papal library. It includes not only Guy's *Quodlibeta*, but also those of Sibert of Beek (as we shall see) and the *Disputatio* between Francis of Meyronnes and Pierre Roger himself, dated to 1320–21.⁵⁸

Unfortunately, Borghese 39 is very corrupt, as numerous editors have noted. Although Guy's *Quodlibeta* have received more modern editorial attention than all other Carmelite *Quodlibeta* combined, and more than fifteen questions have been critically edited, perceptive editors have had to reconstruct the text in many places. It is interesting to compare the efforts of Jorge Gracia and Stephen Brown, both of whom edited question 1 of *Quodlibet* IV and saw many difficulties.⁵⁹ Editions

⁵⁸ On the manuscript, see Xiberta, “Duo ‘quelibet’ inedita Siberti de Beka,” pp. 312–3; A. Maier, *Codices Burghesiani Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Vatican City 1952), pp. 44–6; J. Barbet, *François de Meyronnes—Pierre Roger Disputatio (1320–1321)* (Paris 1961), pp. 14–15 (on the Carmelites in the manuscript, see also pp. 31–2, although Sibert is not mentioned). On the *Quodlibeta*, see Xiberta, “De Mag. Guidone,” pp. 147–50, and *Guiu Terrena*, pp. 37–8, and for question lists, Xiberta, “De Mag. Guidone Terreni,” pp. 200–5, and *De scriptoribus*, pp. 265–71; and Glorieux I, pp. 169–74, and II, p. 113.

⁵⁹ The editions are as follows: Xiberta, *Guiu Terrena*, pp. 274–315 and 319–20 (*Quodl.* I, q. 3, a. 2; III, q. 7; IV, qq. 2–3 and 11) (IV, q. 2, has been translated into Spanish by J.J.E. Gracia, “Guido Terrena y la unidad real del universal: *Quodlibeto* IV, q. 2,” *Diálogos* 9 [1973], pp. 117–31; on p. 119, n. 9, Gracia announced: “Estoy preparando una edición crítica de los *Quodlibetos* de Guido,” but he later abandoned the project); Graf, *De subiecto psychico* II, pp. 110*–19* (*Quodl.* I, q. 15); Xiberta, “Guidonis Terreni, O. Carm. Quaestio de coexistentia fidei et visionis intuitivae (*Quodlibet* I, q. 12),” *Miscelanea Comillas* 34–35 (1960), pp. 355–72 (*Quodl.* I, q. 12; Xiberta has numerous emendations, and he comments on p. 356: “Textus haud parum est corruptus; deficientibus autem aliis adminiculis emendandus fuit attento sensu, qui in sermone scholastico normam sat tutam saepe praebet. In nonnullis partibus textum restituere non valui . . .”); J.J.E. Gracia, “Tres quaestiones de Guido Terrena sobre los transcendentales,” *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 45 (1972), pp. 87–130 (*Quodl.* II, q. 1; IV, q. 1; and V, q. 1; comment-

without emendations are likely to be problematic, and a collation of the manuscript against some of the fragments preserved elsewhere (separately or incorporated into other works of Guy and others) shows such reconstruction to be not only justified, but also necessary. Given this corruption and the superiority of other witnesses, the following table listing the fragments of which I am aware will be useful (with foliation where known; (?) = uncertain):

Quodl. I and *Quodl.* II, qq. 1–5, 7 = *reportatio* of Prosper of Reggio Emilia⁶⁰
Quodl. I, q. 1 = in Guy, *Quaestio ordinaria* 2 (Firenze, BNC II.II.281, 139r–142v)
Quodl. I, q. 3 = in Guy, *Quaestiones in libros Ethicorum* I

ing on p. 87: “El manuscrito... está plagado de lagunas, repeticiones, homoteleuta y errores gramaticales”; Samaritani, “De Beatae Mariae Virginis,” pp. 798–820 (*Quodl.* III, q. 14; Samaritani has a few emendations); Marcuzzi, “Una soluzione teologico-giuridica,” pp. 654–66 (*Quodl.* VI, q. 12; Marcuzzi has several emendations, but nevertheless comments on p. 652: “Per il resto possiamo dire che il copista ha trascritto con diligenza e grande accuratezza il testo, tando da preoccuparsi lui stesso di correggere più volte gli errori compiuti nel corso della trascrizione”); J. Perarnau i Espelt, “Guiu Terrena critica Arnau de Vilanova. Edició de la ‘Quaestio utrum per notitiam sacrae scripturae possit determinate sciri tempus Antichristi,’” *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics* 7–8 (1988–89), pp. 171–222, including word index on pp. 203–11 (*Quodl.* I, q. 13; on p. 181 Perarnau speaks of “deficiències redaccionals,” and his edition has many emendations); S.F. Brown, “Guido Terrena and the Unity of the Concept of Being,” *DSTFM* 3.2 (1992), pp. 599–631 (*Quodl.* IV, q. 1); Schabel, “Early Carmelites between Giants,” pp. 186–205 (*Quodl.* I, q. 2, a. 2, and *Quodl.* VI, q. 3); R.L. Friedman, “On the Trail of a Philosophical Debate: Durand of St Pourçain vs. Thomas Wylton on Simultaneous Acts in the Intellect,” in *Philosophical Debates*, Brown, Dewender, and Kobusch, eds. (*Quodl.* I, q. 14); L. Nielsen’s chapter in this volume (*Quodl.* V, q. 14). For an analysis of *Quodl.* IV, q. 5, see F. Desiderio, *Il valore apologetico del miracolo* (Rome 1955), pp. 58–66 (observing on p. 59, n. 7: “Il manoscritto che abbiamo consultato contiene molte mende... Per il senso di alcuni periodi alle volte ci ha fatto di guida il contesto”). For a section of *Quodl.* I, q. 2, a. 1, see the appendix in Dumont, “Theology as a Science,” pp. 595–6; of the ten excerpts he publishes, Dumont complains only about Borghese 39, on p. 596, n. 1. Likewise, in quoting just two sentences from *Quodl.* III, q. 8, Dumont, “Time, Contradiction,” p. 593, n. 92, had to make two corrections.

⁶⁰ After two or three of his *Ordinary Questions*, Guy’s *Quodlibet* I and qq. 1–5 and 7 of *Quodlibet* II are reported in summary fashion in BAV, Vat. lat. 1086, ff. 260v–273v. See also Pelzer, *Codices Vaticani Latini II*, pp. 674–76. To judge from a. 2 of *Quodlibet* I, q. 2, edited in Schabel, “Early Carmelites,” pp. 187–92, only about 10% of the material is contained in Prosper’s abbreviation (f. 260rb): “Secundo videndum quomodo futurum ut futurum cognoscitur a Deo. Dicunt quidam quod futurum a Deo cognoscitur ut praesens, ut dicit Thomas, quaestionibus *De veritate*.—Contra, quidam: Deus per suam immensitatem non coexistit nisi loco in actu, ita nec secundum aeternitatem non coexistit nisi rei esistenti; sed dicendum quod Thomas intellexit quod solum coexistit secundum intelligentiam, quia creaturae antequam erant erant in Deo cognitione, ut dicit Augustinus et Anselmus—sed non secundum existentiam, quia ut sic non erant, sed solum secundum esse cognitum. Sicut enim divina cognitio eius coexistit aeternitati, ita esse cognitum. De hoc habetur 83 *quaestionum* quaestione 18, 5 *Trinitate* capitulo ultimo, XI

- Quodl.* I, q. 6 = in Peter of Palude, *III Sent.*, d. 6, q. 2 (ed. Paris 1519, 36v–)
Quodl. I, q. 13 = Paris, BnF lat. 16523 (79v–83r; not used by Perarnau, “*Guiu Terrena*”)
Quodl. I, q. 15 = in Guy, *Quaestiones in libros Ethicorum* II
Quodl. II, q. 15 = Pamplona, Biblioteca de la Catedral 28 (47v–50v)
Quodl. II, q. 16 = Pamplona, Biblioteca de la Catedral 28 (50v–53r)
Quodl. III, q. 1 = Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell’Archiginnasio, lat. A.1024 (65r–)
Quodl. III, q. 10 = in John Baconthorpe, *III Sent.*, d. 36 (British Library, Royal 11.C.vi, 341ra–343vb)
Quodl. III, q. 15 = Pamplona, Biblioteca de la Catedral 28 (53r–54v)
Quodl. IV, q. 1 = in Guy, *Quaestio ordinaria* 10 (Firenze, BNC II.II.281, 175v–)
Quodl. IV, q. 2 = also in Guy, *Quaestio ordinaria* 10 (ed. Xiberta, *Guiu Terrena*)
Quodl. IV, q. 3 = in Guy, *Quaestio ordinaria* 9 (ed. Xiberta, *Guiu Terrena*)
Quodl. IV, q. 4 = abbreviated after *Quodl.* IV, q. 15 (BAV, Borghese 39, mid-192vb–top 193vb)
Quodl. VI, q. 3 = in Guy, *Commentarii super Decretum Gratiani* (ed. Schabel, “Early Carmelites”)
Quodl. VI, q. 10 = in Guy, *Concordia Evangeliorum* (BAV, Ross. lat. 1065, 203r)
Quodl. VI, q. 11 = in Guy, *Commentarii super Decretum Gratiani* (?) (Vat. lat. 1453, 217r–v)
Quodl. VI, q. 14 = in Guy, *Responsio* (Borghese 348, 18r–37r; Valencia, Biblioteca de la Catedral 200, 219vb–229va)
Quodl. VI, q. 15 = in Guy, *Commentarii super Decretum Gratiani* (?) (BAV, Vat. lat. 1453, 191v)⁶¹

Xiberta hinted that other quodlibetal questions were included in Guy’s *Ethics* and *Decretum* commentaries,⁶² and any future scholar working toward a critical edition of Guy’s *Quodlibeta* must make a thorough investigation of Guy’s other works. Xiberta’s edition of questions 2–3 of *Quodlibet* IV showed that the manuscript of the *Quaestiones ordinariae* was of much use, and my edition of Guy’s *Quodlibet* VI, q. 3, from Borghese 39 and the two medieval witnesses of the corresponding section of Guy’s own *Decretum* commentary demonstrates the vast inferiority of the Borghese codex.⁶³ Likewise, a collation of a column of *Quodlibet* II, q. 10, in Borghese 39 (f. 156va) against the manuscript of Baconthorpe’s

Civitate Dei capitulo 12.—Tunc dico quod futurum a Deo cognoscitur ut futurum, quia sic est.—Item, cognoscitur ut praesens, quia relucet acsi esset praesens.”

⁶¹ Xiberta, “De doctrinis theologicis,” pp. 236, n. 1, and 249, and *Guiu Terrena*, pp. 32, n. 1, 38, 51, 98, 256–7, and 269; Glorieux II, p. 113; J. Goñi, “Catálogo de los manuscritos teológicos de la Catedral de Pamplona,” part 2, *Revista Española de Teología* 17 (1957) (pp. 383–418), pp. 396–7; Dumont, “The Scotist of Vat. Lat. 869,” p. 276.

⁶² Xiberta, “De Mag. Guidone,” p. 182, and *Guiu Terrena*, pp. 48 and 65.

⁶³ Editions in Xiberta, *Guiu Terrena*, and Schabel, “Early Carmelites.”

I *Sentences*, d. 10 (London, British Library, Royal 11.C.vi, f. 341ra–b) revealed a few errors in Borghese and an omission of 16 words. The Pamplona 28 witness to questions 15–16 of *Quodlibet* II contains the same text as Borghese, about equal in quality, with occasional signs of abbreviation.

There are other irregularities. *Quodlibet* I, q. 15, refers to “primo *Quolibet*,” on f. 114vb, perhaps meaning that he was writing later. Palude’s inclusion of Guy’s *Quodlibet* I, q. 6, into his *III Sentences* would argue for a *terminus post quem* of 1313 for Peter of Palude’s written commentary on book III, contradicting evidence that Palude had finished that book by 22 November 1312. While a later date would allow more time for Palude to have absorbed the second redaction of Durand of St Pourçain’s *Sentences* commentary, it is again possible that Guy revised *Quodlibet* I well after the disputation. Indeed, Baconthorpe claimed that Guy’s *Quodlibet* I, q. 14, is directed at Palude himself, which entails a *terminus ante quem* of 1313 for Palude’s *Sentences* lectures, which fits in with earlier theories.⁶⁴

At least one question that is announced is missing (*Quodlibet* V, q. 16),⁶⁵ and there is some confusion in the manuscript about the composition of *Quodlibet* III and IV. On f. 171va, after *Quodlibet* III, q. 15, the manuscript has a brief note in normal lettering: “Explicit tertium *Quodlibet*, incipit quartum,” without any space. Xiberta took this to be the end of *Quodlibet* III, and Glorieux followed his numbering. On f. 179va, however, after what Xiberta and Glorieux call *Quodlibet* IV, q. 2, there is a gap with a note in larger lettering: “Explicit quartum *Quodlibet* Magistri Guidonis de Carmelo, incipit quintum post per ordinem usque ad finem,” which is crossed out and under which is written: “Explicit tertium *Quodlibet* Magistri Guidonis, incipit quartum quartum (sic) *Quodlibet*.” Despite the error, the division is closer in form to other divisions in the manuscript. The following question, on the top of f. 179vb, is “Utrum possit efficaci ratione probari quod Deus sit causa effectiva omnium,” i.e., Xiberta’s *Quodlibet* IV, q. 3, and in the table of questions on f. 195va, we read: “Quarti *Quolibet* prima quaestio est utrum efficaci ratione possit probari Deum esse causam

⁶⁴ For the Baconthorpe claim, see Xiberta, “De doctrinis theologicis,” p. 305. For Palude’s dates, see C. Schabel, R.L. Friedman, and I. Balcoyannopoulou, “Peter of Palude and the Parisian Reaction to Durand of St Pourçain on Future Contingents,” *AFP* 71 (2001) (pp. 183–300), pp. 213–17.

⁶⁵ Xiberta, *Giùu Terrena*, p. 270.

effectivam omnium,” the very same question. Granted, the question list omitted the question that Xiberta takes to be the first question of *Quodlibet* IV and puts it in the margin, and its editor, Jorge Gracia, then assumes that the words “Quarti Quolibet prima quaestio est” apply to the question in the margin. Nevertheless, there is no indication in the manuscript that this is a correct assumption. The evidence rather is in favor of changing the appellation of Xiberta’s *Quodlibet* IV, qq. 1 and 2, to *Quodlibet* III, qq. 16 and 17 respectively, and then renumbering the whole of *Quodlibet* IV. Unfortunately, the topics of these questions are not typical of the beginning or the end of a *quodlibet*, so they do not help us place them.

Given some of the above peculiarities, it is clear that what we have may not exactly be *reportationes* of Guy’s determinations from the quodlibetal debates. Nevertheless there are a great many indications of the oral origins of Guy’s questions, as Xiberta points out. There are references to *proponentes*, *respondentes*, and *opponentes*, and even remarks such as “This question requires an extensive treatment, but I cannot consider it so much for now, since I have to give up the chair soon. Thus briefly . . .”⁶⁶

Guy’s surviving quodlibetal questions total ninety-seven, one hundred if one counts some lengthy sub-questions in *Quodlibet* I. They touch upon a great variety of subjects, such as “Whether a spiritual father carnally knowing his spiritual son (*filium*, in the manuscript) sins more than a carnal father with his carnal daughter.” The questions are not only interesting, but influential, since Guy Terrena was an important scholar in his day. We have seen that a variety of theologians of his era dealt with him in debate or via his written *Quodlibeta*: the secular theologian Thomas Wylton, the Franciscan Peter Auriol, the Augustinian Prosper of Reggio Emilia, the Benedictine Pierre Roger, and of course the Carmelites Gerard, Sibert, and Baconthorpe. His later writings secured his reputation, and it is primarily for these that he is remembered.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, in the 1340s Paul of Perugia still referred to Guy’s theological opinions.⁶⁸ As complicated as it would be, the critical edition of Guy’s *Quodlibeta* is much to be desired.

⁶⁶ Xiberta, “De Mag. Guidone,” pp. 148–9, and *Guiu Terrena*, pp. 54–5.

⁶⁷ See, e.g., B. Tierney, *The Origins of Papal Infallibility 1150–1350* (Leiden 1972), pp. 238–72.

⁶⁸ Schabel, “The *Sentences* Commentary of Paul of Perugia,” p. 62.

Sibert of Beek

The primary surviving witness for Guy Terrena's *Quodlibeta*, BAV, Borghese lat. 39, also contains the two *Quodlibeta* of Sibert of Beek on ff. 242ra–298vb, according to the explicit (f. 298va): “Expliciunt *Quelibet* Magistri Syberti Ordinis Beate Marie de Carmelo.”⁶⁹ Sibert was probably born in the 1260s in Beek near Nijmegen and seems to have joined the Carmelites in 1280 in Cologne, the nearest convent at the time. Sibert played an important role in the German province, helping set up a convent in his homeland, becoming prior there in 1312, acting as prior of Cologne in 1315–17, and serving as Prior Provincial of Germany from 1317 until his death in late 1332 in Cologne, where he was buried. Except for the *Quodlibeta* and a brief tract against Marsilius of Padua's *Defensor pacis* written for Pope John XXII, Sibert's few surviving writings concern Carmelite rules and regulations, including his main work, the *Ordinale*, composed before 1315.⁷⁰

Since his active years in the order correspond with his academic career at Paris, we see once again that knowing a Carmelite's administrative career does not help in dating his theological works. We know that Sibert studied in Paris in 1310–12, when, Xiberta suggests, he may have lectured on the *Sentences*. Earlier writers claimed that he became master of theology in 1316 or 1317, and we know he was regent master at Paris on 11 June 1318 (Pentecost) and still in April 1319. Since in 1321 Simon of Corbie was sent to be regent master at Paris again until a successor could be found, and Simon took up his post as regent master by 7 June (Pentecost), on Xiberta's hint, Glorieux stated that Sibert reigned from 1318–20 and probably held the quodlibetal disputations that are recorded in 1318 and 1319.⁷¹ Later, however, Xiberta claimed that, in his *Quodlibet* I, q. 11, Sibert refers to Peter Auriol as “Venerabilis doctor et magister meus” in responding to Auriol's *Quodlibet*, q. 9, a. 4, although probably via the oral debate or a version other than the one preserved. This would move the *terminus post quem* of Sibert's *Quodlibeta*

⁶⁹ For a question list, see Xiberta, “Duo ‘quelibet’ inedita Siberti de Beka,” pp. 313–4, reprinted in idem, *De scriptoribus*, pp. 150–1, and Glorieux I, pp. 274–5 (who mistakenly states that the *Quodlibeta* are contained on ff. 242v–297v rather than 242r–298v). A *tabula quaestionum* is on 298vb.

⁷⁰ For his life and writings, Xiberta, “Duo ‘quelibet’ inedita Siberti de Beka,” pp. 307–12, and *De scriptoribus*, 142–8.

⁷¹ Xiberta, “Duo ‘quelibet’ inedita Siberti de Beka,” pp. 308–9; Glorieux I, p. 274.

forward to 1320, and since Xiberta also discovered that Baconthorpe incorporated question 5 of Sibert's *Quodlibet* II into his own distinction 40 of book II of the *Sentences*, that would be our *terminus ante quem*.⁷²

Recently, however, Lauge Nielsen and Cecilia Trifogli published an edition of Sibert's *Quodlibet* I, q. 11, as part of a study of Thomas Wylton's questions on the beatific vision, coming up with some interesting conclusions. First, they see no reason to identify Auriol as Sibert's opponent, thus eliminating the *terminus post quem* of 1320. Second, Sibert was most probably attacking Thomas Wylton. Sibert's and Wylton's texts allow the following reconstruction: according to Sibert, during his inception dispute as master of theology he defended his position in his Vespers, i.e., the first part of the dispute, and some masters did not get his point and argued against him, including a *quodam venerabili doctore et magistro meo*, the presiding master, probably Wylton; the next day, during the *aula*, i.e., the second part of the dispute, held in the bishop's hall or *aula*, Sibert defended his position again, according to Wylton's testimony; later, in his second quodlibetal question, Wylton attacked Sibert; finally, Sibert defended his position yet again in his own *Quodlibet* I, q. 11. Since Wylton's *Quodlibet* could date from Lent 1316, Sibert's inception may indeed have occurred in early 1316. Although Glorieux's 1318 and 1319 dates for the two *Quodlibeta* may be correct, perhaps Sibert's first *Quodlibet* was held in 1317, given that Guy Terrena's *Quodlibet* V may date to Advent 1316.⁷³

Quodlibet I contains sixteen questions and *Quodlibet* II has five, although question 10 of *Quodlibet* I and the second question of *Quodlibet* II are identical: "Consequenter de potestate sacerdotali quaerebatur unum, utrum scilicet potestas sacerdotalis sit unica." There are many indications here and elsewhere that the questions are Sibert's determinations stemming from and reflecting actual quodlibetal debates. One reads about the "argumentum proponentis," for example, and Sibert describes what was argued "in disputatione." Nevertheless the text as we have it is the product of modification and revision. Considering the identical questions noted above, it is doubtful that Sibert could have given the

⁷² Xiberta, *De scriptoribus*, pp. 145, 149, and 151–3. There are also excerpts of Sibert's *Quodl.* I, q. 5, in Baconthorpe's *I Sent.*, d. 19 ("De Magistro Iohanne Baconthorp," p. 121).

⁷³ L.O. Nielsen and C. Trifogli, "Questions on the Beatific Vision by Thomas Wylton and Sibert de Beka," *DSTFM* 17 (2006), pp. 511–84, especially pp. 512, n. 7, 513, 516–19, 527–8 (ll. 129–130 and 140–141), and the edition of Sibert's question on 576–84 (esp. ll. 90–91, 112–113, 227–30, and 250–254).

same determination on two occasions, and this may cast doubt on the remaining questions. Moreover, the written *Quodlibeta* are incomplete, for the incipit to *Quodlibet* I says: "In prima disputatione de quolibet quaerebantur XVII quaestiones, quarum tres fuerunt circa Deum et aliae circa creaturas." The first three of the extant questions do concern God, so one of the questions on creatures is missing. Since question 11 itself is incomplete, and there is a large lacuna of three columns afterwards on 273va–274ra, perhaps the original question 12 is gone. Likewise, the first article of *Quodlibet* II, q. 4, is missing.⁷⁴

Only three questions of Sibert's *Quodlibeta* have so far been edited (*Quodlibet* I, qq. 3, 5, and 11).⁷⁵ As Xiberta already noted, the Borghese manuscript is no better here than it is for the Guy Terrena section.⁷⁶ A collation of the two copies of the question on priestly power allows us to see how poor the manuscript is. In the first column (ff. 269vb and 289va) each copy has a major omission of six or ten words, and there are a great number of other errors in one or the other copy. A collation of a column of Sibert's *Quodlibet* II, q. 5 (f. 297ra), against Baconthorpe's II *Sentences*, d. 40 (London, British Library, Royal 11.C.vi, f. 272va–b), besides the poor quality of the Sibert manuscript, appears to show either that Baconthorpe made many changes (which is not his usual procedure) or that he relied on a slightly different version of Sibert's question, perhaps a *reportatio*. Obviously, for the eighteen questions for which there is only one copy, the same obstacles to getting a good text for Guy are present here.

Other than his rather ambivalent attitude toward Aquinas and his dispute with Wylton,⁷⁷ little is known about Sibert as a theologian. Baconthorpe must have known his work well, but otherwise Sibert's ideas may have been forgotten, both then and now. Nevertheless, his quodlibetal questions teach us more about Carmelite theories on central

⁷⁴ See also Xiberta, "Duo 'quelibet' inedita Siberti de Beka," p. 313.

⁷⁵ Besides Nielsen and Trifogli's edition of q. 11 in "Questions on the Beatific Vision," see q. 5 in Xiberta, "Duo 'quelibet' inedita Siberti de Beka," pp. 333–41, and q. 3 in Friedman-Schabel, *The Filioque in Parisian Theology*, forthcoming. Xiberta's article contains extensive quotations from several other questions.

⁷⁶ Xiberta, "Duo 'quelibet' inedita Siberti de Beka," p. 313: "Imperfectiones transcriptionis abundant: pluries spatium unius verbi (quod amanuensis forte non intellexit) relinquitur."

⁷⁷ Xiberta, "Duo 'quelibet' inedita Siberti de Beka," pp. 315–32; Nielsen and Trifogli, "Questions on the Beatific Vision."

theological issues as well as on such things as the death penalty and priestly power.

John Baconthorpe

The very prolific John Baconthorpe, the *Doctor Resolutus*, is perhaps the best known of the early Carmelites. He was so important in his order that the Carmelites gave official support to his teaching in the sixteenth century, for example by encouraging the publication of his works; both his *Sentences* commentary and his three *Quodlibeta* have been printed more than once. By the seventeenth century Baconthorpe had become *de facto* the official doctor of the order.⁷⁸ Nevertheless, his dates remain uncertain. We know that, already master of theology, he was the Carmelites' Prior Provincial for England from perhaps 1326 and at least by 1327 to 1333; he argued with Thomas Bradwardine and composed a second version of his commentary on book IV of the *Sentences* around 1340; he was most likely still alive in 1345 and certainly dead in 1352; and his probable date of death is 1348 (of the Plague?), the commonly reported date of 1346 being less likely.⁷⁹

When Xiberta and Glorieux wrote their main works, the only known witnesses to Baconthorpe's three *Quodlibeta* were the three early modern editions: Venice 1527 (= A), Cremona 1618 (= B, based on A), and Madrid 1754 (= C, reprinted from B). Since that time two substantial fragments in the following manuscripts have come to light: BAV, Vat. lat. 5733 (= V), and Pelplin, Biblioteka Seminarium Duchownego 53/102 (= P). V is paper, written in one column, containing Pietro Pomponazzi's *De fato* and some older works of philosophy, unnumbered quodlibetal questions of Baconthorpe on ff. 294r-368r, a section of another Baconthorpe question on 369r-370v, and questions from an anonymous *Sentences* commentary (one of them taken from the Carmelite Francis Bacon). According to Xiberta, who described the fragment three decades after the publication of *De scriptoribus*, the codex is fifteenth century, but the hand actually appears to be sixteenth century. Xiberta seems to have been unaware of P, described by Wladyslaw Senko around the same time: parchment, two columns, containing an abbreviation of Peter

⁷⁸ On his many works, see Xiberta, "De Magistro Iohanne Baconthorp," pp. 38–98. For his later reputation, see Xiberta, *De scriptoribus*, pp. 67–9.

⁷⁹ See Xiberta, "De Magistro Iohanne Baconthorp, O. Carm.," pp. 10–25, and *De scriptoribus*, pp. 168–76.

Auriol's *Scriptum in I Sententiarum* and assorted theological material mostly from Paris in the 1310s and 1320s, including some of Baconthorpe's quodlibetal questions on ff. 201ra–208vb, constituting an entire quire. Senko dated the manuscript to the first half of the fourteenth century, but it could be from the second half. According to Glorieux's numbering, the fragments contain the following questions:⁸⁰

Vat. lat. 5733	Pelplin 53/102
<i>Quodl.</i> I, q. 10: 294r–300v	<i>Quodl.</i> III, q. 7, a. 1: 201ra–b
<i>Quodl.</i> I, q. 12: 301r–307v	<i>Quodl.</i> III, q. 8: 201rb–202vb
<i>Quodl.</i> I, q. 11: 307v–315v	<i>Quodl.</i> III, q. 9: 202vb–203vb
<i>Quodl.</i> I, q. 13: 315v–319r	<i>Quodl.</i> III, q. 10: 203vb–204vb
<i>Quodl.</i> I, q. 14: 319r–326v	<i>Quodl.</i> III, q. 11: 204vb–205vb
<i>Quodl.</i> II, q. 1: 326v–333r	<i>Quodl.</i> III, q. 12: 205vb–207ra
<i>Quodl.</i> II, q. 2: 333v–342v	<i>Quodl.</i> III, q. 15: 207ra–208va
<i>Quodl.</i> II, q. 3: 342v–347v	
<i>Quodl.</i> II, q. 4: 347v–352v	
<i>Quodl.</i> II, q. 5, beginning: 11 lines on 353r (353v–355v blank)	
<i>Quodl.</i> I, q. 9: 356r–368r	

Quodlibet I has fourteen questions, *Quodlibet* II has twelve, and, according to B's and Glorieux's numbering, *Quodlibet* III has sixteen (although in A questions 3 and 4 are both labelled 3, with a corresponding shift in the numbering of the remaining questions). Of these forty-two questions, then, the manuscripts preserve all of sixteen and part of two more.

The fragments provoke questions about the original composition of the *Quodlibeta*. Xiberta found that A's editor, Marco Antonio Zimara, must have followed his manuscript exemplar very faithfully, so that often

⁸⁰ For the Baconthorpe section in V, see B.M. Xiberta, "Notulae bibliographicae Carmelitanae," *Carmelus* 9 (1962) (pp. 91–5), pp. 92–3. For P, see W. Senko, "Quelques contributions à l'histoire de la littérature philosophique du XIV^e siècle d'après le MS 53/102 de la bibliothèque du Grand Séminaire de Pelplin," *MPP* 11 (1963) (pp. 69–85), p. 81. For the identification of the abbreviation of Auriol, see C. Schabel, "Parisian Commentaries from Peter Auriol to Gregory of Rimini and the Problem of Predestination," in *Mediaeval Commentaries*, Evans, ed. (pp. 221–65), pp. 240–1 and n. 43. For question lists, see Xiberta, "De Magistro Iohanne Baconthorp," pp. 123–5, and *De scriptoribus*, pp. 194–6; Glorieux II, pp. 149–50. In addition, Xiberta, "De Magistro Iohanne Baconthorp," p. 46, n. 1, reports that Baconthorpe himself copied his own *Quodl.* II, q. 12, into his *Sentences* commentary, after book II, d. 8, and his *Quodl.* II, q. 11, after his *II Sent.*, d. 14.

cross-references in the edition even include letters that corresponded to marks in other manuscripts the scribe or author possessed, for example, “Aliud exemplum tangit q. 2, b.” Nevertheless Xiberta noticed one irregularity in the first *Quodlibet* in A: articles 2–6 of question 12 are attached to question 11, followed by articles 2–6 of question 10. Obviously folios had been misbound in A’s exemplar, so that questions 10 and 12 were truncated and question 11 became extremely long. Xiberta saw that the editor of B, the Carmelite Chrysostomo Marasca, fixed these questions, and he concluded that Marasca must have had access to a manuscript in order to restore the correct sequence.⁸¹ Although the error would grab any diligent reader’s attention immediately, since one of the breaks occurs in mid-sentence, nevertheless it does appear that Marasca had a manuscript at hand.

The fragment in V,⁸² however, suggests that Marasca’s efforts were not completely successful and that he did not use his manuscript extensively, something borne out by a comparison of the readings of A and B (see below). *Quodlibet* I, q. 10, begins at the top of the page in V, and *Quodlibet* II, q. 5, ends in mid-page after just the beginning. After a blank space meant to be filled in with the rest of the question, we find *Quodlibet* I, q. 9, probably added as an afterthought. This fragment was probably never part of a larger text, but on ff. 404r–407r one finds summaries of various questions, starting with the first question of Baconthorpe’s *Quodlibet* I, and on f. 407v there is a *tabula quaestionum* for all of *Quodlibet* I. Thus the scribe probably had access to a complete witness, and we should take its structure seriously.

Since V contains the last five questions of *Quodlibet* I and the first five of *Quodlibet* II in the order of the printed versions, except for reversing questions 11 and 12, the obvious conclusion is that A and B are incorrect with respect to the sequencing of these two questions. What actually happened is quite simple but rather difficult to describe, so the interested reader should refer to Appendix I for the details. Basically, three sections—probably small quires—had fallen out of A’s exemplar. When they were replaced, they were misbound and later copied thus

⁸¹ Xiberta, “De Magistro Iohanne Baconthorp,” pp. 64–5, and *De scriptoribus*, pp. 183–4.

⁸² It should be noted that a leaf is missing in V, between ff. 298 and 299, the *reclaman*s on f. 298 referring to the missing leaf. The material corresponds to parts of aa. 4 and 5 of q. 10. It should also be noted that the editions’ awkward division of the *Quodlibeta* into three “books” is not in V.

into A. Marasca realized something was wrong and attempted to fix it in B. Here is a simplified schema, with seven portions of text of unequal sizes:

A. Original order in A's exemplar before quires fell out:

<i>Quodl.</i> I, qq. 1–9	quire 1 (text 1–2)	quire 2 (text 3–4)	quire 3 (text 5–6)	text 7 & q. 13 to end
--------------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	--------------------------

B. Rebound order in A's exemplar as copied by Zimara in A:

<i>Quodl.</i> I, qq. 1–9	quire 3 (text 5–6)	quire 2 (text 3–4)	quire 1 (text 1–2)	text 7 & q. 13 to end
--------------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	--------------------------

C. Marasca's reconstruction in B:

<i>Quodl.</i> I, qq. 1–9	text 1	text 6	text 3	text 2	text 7	text 4	text 5 & q. 13 to end
--------------------------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------------------------

The error is significant for three reasons: first, it shows that Marasca probably appealed to his manuscript only when in extreme doubt, and generally just copied A. Second, we should follow V's sequence of questions, thus reversing questions 11 and 12, although except for a few lines we can more or less keep B's text of each question intact, but of course not A's. Third, the extensive internal references in the *Quodlibeta* in the fragments and in the editions, discussed below, need to be reconsidered in light of V's correct order: references to questions 10–12 in A are likely to be incorrect, and those to questions 11 and 12 in B should probably be reversed.

The third *Quodlibet* is also problematic. It has been mentioned that two questions are listed as number 3 in A (was the second one inserted?), while in B the second is number 4 and for the remainder A's and B's numbering differ by one. In addition, following the last question (15/16), A copies the exemplar's explicit (confirmed by P; see just below) and then adds a separate question from Baconthorpe on papal infallibility. B, however, drops the explicit and gives the mistaken impression that the question on infallibility is question 17 of *Quodlibet* III. Finally, Xiberta noticed that a few lines of A's question 13 (B's 14) are wrongly placed at the end of its question 4 (B's 5).⁸³

Again, the fragment in P provokes questions. P was always a fragment: on f. 201ra–b, what Senko thought was a separate question on

⁸³ Xiberta, "De Magistro Iohanne Baconthorp," pp. 64–5, and *De scriptoribus*, p. 184.

apostolic poverty, is actually article 1 of question 7 (A's 6). It is not a continuation from a previous folio/quire, because it begins with a large initial in the first word of the article and, more importantly, it omits the rest of the question. Also, question 15 (A's 14) ends on the bottom of f. 208va, and following the colophon on 208vb the rest of the column is blank.

Although P is a fragment, there may be reason to respect its sequence of questions. P contains B's questions 7–12 and 15 (A's 6–11 and 14). Either the scribe of P consciously omitted questions 13–14 and 16, or there is a problem. Questions 13 and 14 (A's 12 and 13) both deal with Mary's immaculate conception and lack the surrounding questions' frequent references to *socii* and other contemporaries that seem to reflect actual debates. Since A—and presumably A's exemplar—has lines of question 13 (B's 14) at the end of question 4 (B's 5), perhaps both questions on the immaculate conception originally followed question 4 (B's 5), which would explain their omission in P. Alternatively, we could even consider the possibility that these questions are, in fact, a later insertion of Baconthorpe's separate but apparently lost opusculum *De conceptione Beatae Mariae Virginis*, reports of which led Xiberta to say that it had an “affinity” with these two quodlibetal questions.⁸⁴ Likewise, it is possible, since A's and P's colophons match, that A's question 15 (B's 16) is also a later insertion. This is unlikely, however, given a correct internal reference in this question to the previous one, also on the topic of the *Verbum mentis*. P's scribe may have thought that the material had been sufficiently covered already.

Dating Baconthorpe's *Quodlibeta* is also complicated. We can work our way backwards. The *editio princeps* gives this explicit (f. 62rb): “Explicit hic quodlibet Reverendi doctoris in Theologia, videlicet fratris Johannis de Bacho, ordinis beate Marie de monte carmeli, quod dictum quodlibet fuit disputatum et determinatum Parisius per dictum magistrum in scholis fratrum de Carmelo anno domini MCCCXXX.” In addition, question 13 of this *Quodlibet* refers to the provincial council of Canterbury held in January 1328 (A, f. 59ra). Therefore, Xiberta and Glorieux accepted this 1330 Paris date. Teetaert found it hard to believe, however, given that Baconthorpe was Prior Provincial of England in those years and held a Provincial Chapter in Cambridge

⁸⁴ Xiberta, “De Magistro Iohanne Baconthorp,” pp. 89–90.

in 1330.⁸⁵ But as we have seen, this is of no account. Moreover, P contains this colophon (f. 208vb): ‘Explicit questiones reverendi doctoris magistri Iohannis de Bacho<nthor>p ordinis beate marie de monte carmeli, disputate Parisius in scolis fratrum de carmelo anno domini M^oCCC^oXXX^o.’ As we have seen, A and P are obviously independent of one another, and although P does not have “quodlibet,” it is clear that Baconthorpe was able to dispute a *quodlibet* in Paris while acting as Prior Provincial of England. *Quodlibet* III is from Paris, 1330.

A note in V, between the fragment of *Quodlibet* II, q. 5, and the text of *Quodlibet* I, q. 9, states (f. 355v): “Anno domini M. 1330 Iohannes Bacco fuit.” We have seen that the scribe of V most probably had access to a complete manuscript and we should interpret this as referring to *Quodlibet* III rather than to I and II, which appear to be earlier. According to John Bale, a manuscript of Baconthorpe’s *Sentences* commentary still extant in the sixteenth century stated: “Magister Iohannes de Baconis oppido . . . complevit primum librum *Sententiarum* Parisiis a. D. 1325 die martis ante festum beati Marci evangelistae,” and this first book contains citations of all books of the *Sentences* and the first two *Quodlibeta*, for which 1325 is therefore probably our *terminus ante quem* for the disputations. A definite *terminus post quem* would be the end of Baconthorpe’s *Sentences* lectures, but these are hard to date because, clearly, Baconthorpe reworked them into his written commentary. Baconthorpe is probably the bachelor “Iohannes Anglicus Carmelita” attested on 27 June 1321, and he became master before 3 June 1324 (Pentecost), perhaps in 1323. But for four reasons Xiberta concluded that Baconthorpe *probably* lectured before 1318. First, no “Iohannes Anglicus” appears on the lists of those assigned to read the *Sentences* in the following triennium at the Carmelite General Chapters of 1318 in Bordeaux and 1321 in Montpellier. Second, two of those assigned in 1318 became master *after* Baconthorpe. Third, in distinction 3 of book I Baconthorpe claimed that he held an opinion like that of Auriol long before he saw Auriol’s distinction 3, which was first available in late 1316 or early 1317. Fourth, Baconthorpe calls Guy Terrena “magister meus” and claims that he heard him lecture.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Teetaert, “La littérature quodlibétique,” p. 90.

⁸⁶ Xiberta, “De Magistro Iohanne Baconthorp,” pp. 14–18, and *De scriptoribus*, pp. 171–3; L. Kennedy, “John Baconthorp, O.Carm., and Divine Absolute Power,” *Carmelus* 38 (1991) (pp. 63–8), cites Xiberta but dates all the *Quodlibeta* to “about 1330” (p. 64), although he actually employs *Quodl.* I, q. 8, apparently from much earlier.

On the other hand, first, Guy was still active in 1320. Besides, at one point (*Quodlibet* II, q. 3; A, f. 31va) Baconthorpe seems to call Pierre Roger “magister meus,” so perhaps we should simply read this as a term of respect. Second, Baconthorpe refers to Auriol’s *Scriptum*, a written work. Auriol’s immediate Parisian followers in time, Landulph Caracciolo and Francis of Marchia, lecturing in 1318–19 and 1319–20 respectively, used *reportationes* rather than the *Scriptum* version of Auriol’s commentary on book I, which does not appear to have been in general use in Paris until the 1320s. Xiberta himself notes that Baconthorpe does not seem to have heard Auriol directly. Baconthorpe’s use of the *Scriptum*, then, suggests rather a later date for his activities, and this is why in his *Quodlibeta* he refers to Auriol’s *sequaces*. In any case, we have no idea when Baconthorpe first saw this work, although he certainly used it extensively and also the written version of Auriol’s Paris *Reportatio* of at least books II and III (dating from 1317–18) in his own written *Sentences* commentary. Third, as Xiberta notes, in the 1321 General Chapter at Montpellier a “Iohannes de Parisiis” was assigned to lecture in 1322–23, and the editor of the acts identified him with Baconthorpe; although Xiberta is correct that this is unlikely, it is at least possible. Fourth, later General Chapters would assign alternates, in case one of the candidates could not lecture, something that apparently became a problem. Thus we do not know for sure who actually did fulfill his commitment.⁸⁷

As a result it seems just as likely that Baconthorpe, a bachelor at the end of the 1320–21 academic year, lectured somewhere in 1319–23 as that he did so before 1318. Other evidence points to 1320–21. Anneliese Maier, although she generally follows Xiberta in dating Baconthorpe’s *Sentences* lectures to ca. 1316–18, provides interesting information from Borghese 39, the very manuscript containing Guy’s and Sibert’s *Quodlibeta* and the dispute between Meyronnes and Pierre Roger. In Roger’s *Principium* for book IV of the *Sentences*, the Benedictine bachelor prefaces the objections of others with this remark: “Sed contra istud est argutum per duos socios.” Then soon afterwards we read: “Alius autem

⁸⁷ Xiberta, “De Magistro Iohanne Baconthorp,” pp. 15, n. 4, and 106, n. 3, and *De scriptoribus*, p. 173; Schabel, “Parisian Commentaries,” pp. 226–8 and 231–2; idem, “The *Sentences* Commentary of Paul of Perugia,” pp. 56–7. For examples of Baconthorpe using Auriol’s books II and III respectively, see Schabel, “Place, Space, and Physics of Grace in Auriol’s *Sentences* Commentary,” *Vivarium* 38.1 (2000) (pp. 117–61), p. 139, and R. Cross, “A Trinitarian Debate in Early Fourteenth-Century Christology,” *RTPM* 70.2 (2003) (pp. 233–74), p. 262.

venerabilis socius arguit contra hoc,” to which statement is attached the marginal note: “Obiectiones Carmelitae.” Maier argued that this Carmelite might be Baconthorpe, because later, as masters, the two had other disagreements, as we see in Baconthorpe’s first two *Quodlibeta*, especially *Quodlibet* II, qq. 2–4. If Maier’s suggestion is correct, then considering that the text is a principal lecture and the Carmelite is called a *socius*, the obvious conclusion is that Baconthorpe was not just a fellow bachelor, but that he was a fellow *sententiarius*, lecturing on the *Sentences* at the exact same time. True, the later editor of the dispute, Jeanne Barbet, was not convinced, but she seems to have thought that Maier’s reasoning was based only on the dating, when in fact Maier stressed the general opposition between Roger and Baconthorpe.⁸⁸

Tentatively we can date Baconthorpe’s *Sentences* lectures to 1320–21. Then, in his *Quodlibeta* I and II, Baconthorpe refers to three masters who did not become doctors until 1322–23: Pierre Roger, the Augustinian Paganus, and the Dominican Hugh. Since Baconthorpe’s written commentary on book I of the *Sentences* cites the *Quodlibeta* and appears to date from 1325, Xiberta dated the *Quodlibeta* to a biennium around 1324.⁸⁹ This seems reasonable for the disputations themselves, and Glorieux assigned the first to 1323–24 and the second to the following year.

Much more than the other Carmelite *Quodlibeta*, however, Baconthorpe’s are a product of a writing process. There are few traces left of the original structure of the debates, although there is absolutely no doubt that the questions stem from them. Not only do we have the explicit and citations of *Quodlibeta* I and II in the *Sentences* commentary, but the number of internal references to other quodlibetal questions in the *Quodlibeta* is staggering, as is the number of cross-references to the *Sentences* commentary. In *Quodlibet* I, there are about forty precise citations of the *Sentences* commentary, mainly book I, while *Quodlibet* II has only a dozen or so. *Quodlibet* I has eleven citations of itself, but these generally do not begin until the tenth question. It has only three references to *Quodlibet* II, whereas *Quodlibet* II cites *Quodlibet* I over thirty times, but refers to itself on only seven occasions. These statistics suggest

⁸⁸ Maier, *Ausgehendes Mittelalter* II, pp. 266–7 and 286–7; Barbet, *Disputatio*, p. 31. Maier follows Xiberta’s dating of Baconthorpe’s *Sentences* lectures in at least four works, e.g., *Ausgehendes Mittelalter* I, pp. 19, n. 32, and 119 (perhaps also erroneously thinking here that Baconthorpe’s written commentary also dates to 1316–18).

⁸⁹ Xiberta, “De Magistro Iohanne Baconthorp,” pp. 18 and 58, and *De scriptoribus*, p. 184.

that, although there are cross-references in the *Quodlibeta* and *Sentences* commentary, there seems to be some linear progression: the *Sentences* commentary was substantially complete before the *Quodlibeta* were written, and *Quodlibet* I was mostly complete before *Quodlibet* II was written. Even within *Quodlibet* I, the earlier part appears to have been finished before the later part. The whole process may not have been completed until around 1326, when Baconthorpe took up new duties.

Moreover, building on the tradition of Peter Auriol's *Scriptum*, Baconthorpe's textual references are extremely detailed, down to the level of articles and even propositions.⁹⁰ Lest one think that these textual references are attributable to the early modern editor of A, it should be stated that they are also present in the two substantial fragments, P and V, and the same is the case for the *editio princeps* and British Library manuscript (L) of the *Sentences* commentary. Indeed, one of the values of P and V (and of L) is that they confirm that almost all the textual references, and in all their detail, belong to Baconthorpe himself. For the *Quodlibeta*, A's editor, Zimara, tells us explicitly on the title page that he added the marginalia—*Additis insuper quotationibus marginalibus*. Included in the marginalia are specific Averroes references, which are not in V, but which the editor of B, Marasca, moved into the text itself. A similar process occurred with the *Sentences* commentary.⁹¹ Baconthorpe cites some fifteen theologians active after 1250, giving well over one hundred references, focusing mostly on Aquinas, Henry of Ghent, Scotus, and Auriol, along with his debating opponents.

Another value of the fragments, of course, is that they provide a separate witness for 40% of the questions. A full collation of one question each from P (III, q. 15) and V (I, q. 13) against A revealed that V is about equal to and P is superior to A in quality.⁹² A and V are closely related. V and AB have some errors, and B, besides making unnecessary modifications, attempted to correct errors in A. Naturally, these attempts were hit and miss. For example, in the first principal argument, the minor in V reads: "sed Filio Dei repugnat non esse, cum sit necesse..." with "cum" written above the line and "tamen" crossed

⁹⁰ For Auriol's method, see Schabel, "Auriol's Rubrics."

⁹¹ See Xiberta, *De scriptoribus*, pp. 179–80 and 183–4; Friedman-Schabel, *The Filioque in Parisian Theology*; and just below.

⁹² L.M. Saggi reprinted *Quodl.* III, q. 12 (Glorieux's 13, on the immaculate conception) from A, in "Joannis Baconthorpe, Textus de immaculata conceptione," *Carmelus* 2 (1955) (pp. 216–303), pp. 240ff.

out. Zimara misread the exemplar's abbreviation for "Filio" as "finitio," and, in an attempt to correct A, Marasca simply erased "finitio" and changed "Dei" to Deo." And while A faithfully copied the "tamen," B, like V, was able to correct it to "cum." A and P are somewhat more loosely related, and so one discovers more errors in AB, such as omissions *per homoioteleuton* of 8 and 11 words.

The existence of the two large fragments provides justification for a complete critical edition. But because of the great size and comprehensiveness of the *Sentences* commentary, also available in print, Baconthorpe's *Quodlibeta* have been little studied. This is unfortunate, because the work is fascinating. *Quodlibet* III is an interesting mix of subjects, but most of *Quodlibet* I and much of *Quodlibet* II are devoted to the still popular topic of cognition and the intellect. Under this rubric Baconthorpe discusses past masters such as Aquinas (often *Sanctus Thomas*), Henry of Ghent, Scotus, Hervaeus Natalis, Thomas Wylton, and Auriol, but he also describes his running debate with colleagues, especially the Benedictine Master Pierre Roger (later Pope Clement VI) and an anonymous doctor, perhaps a Dominican, whom Baconthorpe calls a follower of Thomas (A, ff. 36vb, 62ra, and 63ra). Generally, *Quodlibet* I, qq. 9–13, *Quodlibet* II, qq. 1–8, and *Quodlibet* III, qq. 9, 11, and 14–15 (A's numbering), reflect current debate. In fact, questions 9–12 of *Quodlibet* I and questions 1–3 and 5–8 of *Quodlibet* II are largely devoted to defending against his contemporaries his notion that God's knowledge is directed at creatures *resultative*.⁹³ In other contexts there are references to Hannibaldus, Godfrey of Fontaines, and Durand of St Pourçain. Of course, Baconthorpe cites Aristotle and Averroes on a great number of occasions, but there are also direct or indirect citations of pre-Socratics, classical Latin authors, Greek commentators, and early medieval writers. The more eclectic *Quodlibet* III has perhaps the greatest variety of citations, but it also reflects a shift towards interests in canon law, something Baconthorpe would continue in the second redaction of his commentary on book IV of the *Sentences*, around 1340.

Baconthorpe often provides interesting details about books and debates: "But I proposed to him many serious difficulties of this sort *reportatas* in the Paris *studium*" (A, f. 20ra); "Our copy of Dionysius, which belongs to the community of the English Province at Paris, has

⁹³ See the discussion of the *Quodlibeta* in Xiberta, "De Magistro Iohanne Baconthorp," pp. 58–65, and *De scriptoribus*, pp. 183–5.

some different wording, but the meaning is the same" (A, f. 44ra). Of particular interest are his timely questions on the immaculate conception of Mary in *Quodlibet* III, from Paris, 1330. Discussing Anselm's *De conceptione virginali*, Baconthorpe relates: "I first found this book at the house of the Friars Minor in Cambridge, but later I found the same treatise in Paris in the hands of a common *stationarius*" (A, f. 58va). He stated concerning [Pseudo-]Anselm's "letter *De conceptione Dei genetricis Marie*, which he wrote to certain bishops of England, which exists in many places in England and France: I found it in Paris in the abbey of St Victor" (A, f. 59rb). It is in this context that Baconthorpe refers to "the Provincial Council of Canterbury in the year of the Lord 1328, in the month of January, which declared again that the feast of the conception should be celebrated" (A, f. 59ra). Because he has some reservations about this, he prefaces his remarks by saying that he, "a poor Carmelite," submits his statements "to the correction and judgment of the Holy Apostolic See" (A, f. 59ra–b), something he reiterates at the end of his treatment (A, f. 60rb).

Conclusion

In general histories of medieval philosophy and theology, the Carmelites are often ignored entirely or given a mere mention. A half century ago Étienne Gilson devoted less than two pages of his monumental history of medieval philosophy to "The Carmelite Group," concluding: "These masters can hardly be said to form a school," because their doctrines are not distinct.⁹⁴ Certainly the Carmelites knew each other's works, and in that sense they formed a group, but Guy would attack Gerard, Baconthorpe would oppose Walsingham, and so on. Without *Sentences* commentaries, however, it is difficult to find important subjects that all the early Carmelites discussed, and even where some of them did treat a problem, unless there were distinct school traditions outside the order on that issue, it is difficult to situate the Carmelites. Thus on the issue of the concept of being in God and creatures, which Walsingham,

⁹⁴ É. Gilson, *History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (London 1955), pp. 483–5, quotation on p. 484. Accordingly, L. Renna, "Profilo di Gerardo da Bologna, primo maestro Carmelitano a Parigi," *Aquinas* 10 (1967) (pp. 279–87), pp. 283–4, characterizes the Carmelites as "eclectic," at least before Baconthorpe.

Gerard, and Guy touched upon in quodlibetal debates, the lines were not drawn according to ecclesiastical order.⁹⁵

In the early fourteenth century the issue of Mary's immaculate conception did tend to divide Dominicans who were opposed to from Franciscans who were in favor of the doctrine. Gerard and Guy treated the issue in their *Quodlibeta*, mostly taking the Dominican side. In his *Quodlibet* III, however, Baconthorpe shifted slightly in the direction of the Franciscan position after being wholly opposed in his *Sentences* commentary.⁹⁶

Another issue where the Dominicans and Franciscans were clearly split was on the necessity of the *Filioque*. Here the Carmelites were divided: Gerard, Guy, and Sibert agreed with Aquinas and the Dominicans that the *Filioque* is necessary to preserve the distinction between the Son and the Holy Spirit, asserting that, if the Holy Spirit did not proceed from the Son, the Son and the Holy Spirit would not be distinct. On the contrary, Walsingham and Baconthorpe followed Scotus and the Franciscans in claiming that they would still be distinct, although Baconthorpe stated that the Holy Spirit would then be like a brother to the Son.⁹⁷

Studies of all these Carmelites on certain issues are possible, taking into consideration their other works. For example, except perhaps for Peter Swannington, all the Carmelites dealt with the problem of the increase or decrease of grace, which usually included a discussion of the physics of the latitude of forms. Something similar could be said for the problem of God's knowledge of things *ad extra*, which is connected with divine ideas.

Although there are significant disagreements among the Carmelites, generalizations about any of them are not always safe. For example, Walsingham has been rightly considered a follower of Henry of Ghent and strongly in favor of extreme voluntarism, but on the issue of the moral virtues he supported Godfrey of Fontaines against Henry. Likewise Henry heavily influenced Gerard, but more often for Henry's organization and arguments than for his actual doctrines. Neither a Thomist nor a Scotist, Gerard often adopted a *via media*. Guy, on the

⁹⁵ J.J.E. Gracia, "The Convertibility of Unum and Ens According to Guido Terrena," *Franciscan Studies* 33 (1973), pp. 143–70; Brown, "Gerard of Bologna's *Quodlibet* I, Quaestio 1"; idem, "Guido Terrena"; Goris, "La critique."

⁹⁶ Xiberta, *De scriptoribus*, pp. 227–40; A. Samaritani, "De B.M.V. Immaculata Conceptione in *Quodlibet* XIII–XIV saec.," *Marianum* 23 (1970), pp. 15–49.

⁹⁷ Schabel-Friedman, "Trinitarian Theology" and *The Filioque in Parisian Theology*.

other hand, was known in the Middle Ages as a disciple of Godfrey of Fontaines, and in this he seems to have been consistent, defending for example the extreme primacy of the intellect in many contexts and generally attacking Henry and Scotus. A new factor for both Gerard and Guy was Durand of St Pourçain, whom they both opposed on many occasions, but not always. Guy often took Hervaeus Natalis' side against Durand when treating Aquinas. Like Guy, Sibert, whom Xiberta basically characterized as neither top notch nor stupid, leaned in Godfrey's direction of intellectualism. Guy and Sibert sometimes agreed with Thomas, but sometimes they did not, and on some issues Guy and Sibert have been seen as taking Aquinas as a starting point and moving toward Augustine, and on others the opposite appears true. Baconthorpe was wrongly called the "Prince of the Averroists," and probably the "Baptizer of Averroes" would be more accurate. Although Baconthorpe has been termed a "sophisticated if eclectic Thomist," as often as not he disagreed with or even ignored Aquinas, devoting more attention to Peter Auriol or Thomas Wylton and moving toward voluntarism. Because of his habit of incorporating extensive passages from others, however, historians are sometimes confused about his own opinion.⁹⁸

All the Carmelites knew many of Aquinas' works well—for example, Baconthorpe cited no less than eight of his works in the *Quodlibeta*—but they were not strictly Thomists. The Carmelites also knew Scotus, but they were not Scotists. This should not surprise us. In replying to a scholar's query, "Why didn't Baconthorpe follow Divine Thomas?" Xiberta retorts: "He was a Carmelite, not a Dominican."⁹⁹ Herein lies one of the values of studying the early fourteenth-century Carmelites: loyal to neither Scotus nor Aquinas, they are "impartial" and independent contemporary participants in discussions of topics on which, with notable exceptions, the lines had already been drawn between Franciscans and Dominicans.

⁹⁸ For these characterizations, see in addition to many of the works of Xiberta, Graf, Lang, Maier, Brown, Dumont, and others cited above, C.O. Vollert, *The Doctrine of Hervaeus Natalis on Primitive Justice and Original Sin* (Rome 1947), pp. 117–23 and 280–6 on Guy, with long quotations from *Quodl.* IV, q. 16; Desiderio, *Il valore apologetico del miracolo*, pp. 58–66, on Guy; J.P. Etzwiler, "John Baconthorpe, 'Prince of the Averroists'?" *Franciscan Studies* 36 (1976), pp. 148–76; and recently F. Bertelloni, "Guido Terrena," pp. 291–2, and R. Cross, "John Baconthorpe," pp. 338–9 (for his eclectic Thomism), in *A Companion to Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, Gracia and Noone, eds.

⁹⁹ Xiberta, "De Magistro Iohanne Baconthorpe," p. 103.

APPENDIX I

RECONSTRUCTION OF JOHN BACONTHORPE'S *QUODLIBET* I, QQ. 10–12

In editing Baconthorpe's *Quodlibet* I, q. 10, following Zimara's *editio princeps* of the Carmelite's *Quodlibet* (A), the editor of the second edition (B), Marasca, realized that something was wrong in A's f. 19vb. He then went to his manuscript and discovered that the proper text is interrupted in mid-sentence to be continued on f. 23ra, again in mid-sentence. B therefore continues with the correct text of question 10 on p. 639b until the end of the question on p. 644b, A's f. 24vb. Because at this point A has already jumped to question 11 and continues with question 12, Marasca decided to go back to the beginning of A's question 11 (f. 19vb) and continue from there (p. 645a). When he reached the point where he believed question 11 actually ended (A's f. 21vb; B's p. 651a), he jumped forward again to the beginning of A's question 12 (f. 24vb), continued to the end of the question in A (f. 25ra; B's p. 652a), and then went back to gather the rest of question 12 from A's question 11 (f. 21vb). In effect, Marasca thought that this section in A has the text like this: 1–3–5–2–4. In fact, however, Vat. lat. 5733 (V) shows that A reads like this: 1–5–4–2–3, or rather 1–4–3–2–5. That is, 2–3–4 represent three sections (small quires, perhaps) of A's exemplar that had fallen out. When they were replaced 2 and 4 were reversed. Actually, the situation is more complex with A: –1 2–3 4–5 6–7 8– represent different sized texts (where 2–3, 4–5, and 6–7 are probably quires), and B's attempt at reconstruction resulted in this: –1–2–7–4–3–8–5–6–. We know this not only because of V, but because of the contents. Here is the correspondance chart, with folio and line numbers:

Section 1: "Comprehensio... Et sic" [Et sic <i>om.</i> B]			
V: 294r top	294v.23	q. 10 start until	q. 10, a. 1
A: 19va.46	19vb.27	q. 10 start	q. 10, a. 1
B: 639a top	639b.26	q. 10 start	q. 10, a. 1
Section 2: "Nihil restaret... de cognitione resultativa"			
V: 294v.24	300v bottom	q. 10, a. 1	end of q. 10
A: 23ra.44	24vb.22	middle q. 11	end of q. 11
B: 639b.26	644b bottom	q. 10, a. 1	end of q. 11
Section 3: "Utrum Deus cognoscere... per essentiam suam"			
V: 301r top	302r.14	q. 11 start	q. 11, a. 1
A: 24vb.23	25ra.39	q. 12 start	q. 12, a. 1
B: 651a.34	652a.43	q. 12 start	q. 12, a. 1
Section 4: "Sicut per primarium... secunda [10 B] quaestio supra, capitulo tertio"			
V: 302r.15	302r.19	q. 11, a. 1	end of q. 11, a. 1
A: 21vb.16	21vb.21	middle q. 11	middle q. 11
B: 651a.27	651a.33	q. 11, a. 3	end of a. 3 and q. 11
Section 5: "Sequitur de secundo... unumquodque enim tunc"			
V: 302r.19	307v.6	q. 11, a. 2 start	q. 11, a. 6
A: 21vb.21	23ra.44	middle q. 11	middle q. 11
B: 652a.52	656a.60	q. 12, a. 2 start	q. 12, a. 6
Section 6: "Maxime [<i>om.</i> B] est perfectum... relatio [<i>om.</i> B] articulo 6"			
V: 307v.6	307v.15	q. 11, a. 6	end of a. and q. 11

A: 19vb.27	19vb.36	q. 10, a. 1	end of a. and q. 10
B: 656a.60	656b.5	q. 12, a. 6	end of a. and q. 12
Section 7: "Utrum ad hoc quod Deus... contingenter volibilia"			
V: 307v.16	315v.10	q. 12 start	q. 12, a. 3
A: 19vb.37	21vb.16	q. 11 start	q. 11, a. 3
B: 645a top	651a.27	q. 11 start	q. 11, a. 3
Section 8: "Cuiusmodi sunt... exterius producto"			
V: 315v.10	315v.15	q. 12, a. 3	end of a. and q. 12
A: 25ra.39	25ra.45	q. 12, a. 1	end of a. and q. 12
B: 652a.43	652a.51	q. 11, a. 1	end of q. 11, a. 1

APPENDIX II

PETRI SWANINGTON *QUAESTIO QUODLIBETALIS* 15

Worcester, Cathedral and Chapter Library, MS Q 99 (* = lectio incerta; \words/ = mg./s.l.)

<Q>ueritur an angelus cognoscat certitudinaliter futura contingentia... <per species?>.

[1] Quod sic: species eodem modo se habens uniformiter representat* rem* sive... res sit sive non sit; sed species... <semper se habet eodem modo?>

[2] ... Patet* de representatione rose. [53ra]

[3] Similiter de representatione vini: patet per circulum quod per ipsum uniformiter representatur sive vinum sit sive non. Minor patet, quia non habet eas ex rebus, sed concreatas.*

[4] Item, per species presentes cognoscimus preterita; sed si haberemus species futurorum sicut preteritorum, eodem modo cognosceremus futura; igitur.

[5] Dicitur quod non, quia cognitio non excedit principium cognoscendi; sed species non est principium cognoscendi rem nisi vel in se vel in causa determinata, quia derivatur ab ydea, que est principium cognoscendi res in se vel in suis causis.

[6] [~1] Ad primum, dicitur quod non sufficit uniformitas speciei, sed uniformis habitudo cogniti; sed cognitum non habet eandem uniformitatem quando est et quando non est respectu speciei.

[7] [~2] Ad probationem, dicitur quod non est simile de¹⁰⁰ specie rose, quia abstrahitur a re, et ideo est universalis cui accidit existere.

[8] [~3] Ad aliud exemplum, de circulo, non est simile, quia imponitur ad signandum vinum in generali.

[9] [~4] Ad aliam rationem, dicitur quod species in angelo non imponitur ad signandum futura contingentia.

[10] Contra positionem: aut <species> de se representat futurum aut crastinum, aut non. Si sic, habetur propositum. Si non, cum sibi nihil acrescat ex positione rei, nec cras representabit rem.

[11] Item, species in angelo tantum representat futurum sicut preteritum, quia nulla impressio vel variatio accrescit* circa speciem a preterito magis quam a futuro, quia per¹⁰¹ Augustinum, ad hoc quod sit cognitio memorialis preteriti, oportet quod sit impressio.

[12] Item, res habet duplex esse, scilicet existentie et representatum; sed existere nihil facit ad esse representatum; igitur, etc.

[13] Similiter, ydea uniformiter representat rem sive sit sive non; igitur eodem modo species derivata.

¹⁰⁰ simile *add. et del.*

¹⁰¹ per *iter.*

[14] [~10] Ad primum, dicitur quod licet speciei non acrescat aliquid ex presentia rei, tamen requiritur habitudo nova rei ad speciem antequam intelligatur.

[15] [~11] Ad aliud, quod in cognitione preteriti causatur* habitudo que manet, sic non in futuro.

[16] [~14] Contra: ista habitudo est relatio; sed relatio non est principium cognitionis.

[17] [~14] Item, habitudo preterita ad speciem in angelo non manet; igitur non manet cognitio. Consequentia patet, quia non cognoscimus rem preteritam que prius nullam impressionem fecit.

[18] [~16] Ad primum, dicitur quod habitudo non est principium cognoscendi, sed res sub habitudine, et illa, licet non sit, tamen habitudo manet preterita ad speciem in anima, sicut habitudo manet accidentaliter ad substantiam que prefuit in heukaristia,¹⁰² per quam potest cognosci determinata quantitas substantie que prefuit,¹⁰³ licet substantia panis non maneat.

[19] [~18] Contra: exemplum non est competens, quia substantia non habet aliam latitudinem* vel dimensionem quam habeat quantitas panis; igitur, etc.

[20] Similiter, unum extremum habitudinis non manet; igitur nec habitudo.

[21] Item, species in anima Gregorii representavit* futura; igitur multo magis in angelo.

[22] Similiter, species in angelo derivantur ab ydea in quantum sunt representative et non in quantum active; igitur, etc.

[23] Item, species non est representativa nisi quia similitudo; sed non est similitudo non-entis.

[24] Dicitur ad unam responsionem*¹⁰⁴ quod angelus est compositus ex actu et potentia, et ideo per speciem \illam non* potest cognoscere futura*./

[25] Item, sint* duo... \ 'a' et 'b' / angelus non potest [53rb] cognoscere multa simul. Ponatur¹⁰⁵ quod dum intelligit 'a'; corumpatur 'b'. Quero ergo, aut potest naturaliter cognoscere 'b'; aut non. \Si non, non potest omnem rem existentem in se vel in causa naturaliter* cognoscere, contra responsum/. Si potest, et numquam cognoscit 'b' \presens existens, ergo... res sibi* sci... nec habitudo futura* numquam secundum*... presens ipsi 'b' speciem/.

[26] Item, non cognoscit angelus nisi voluntas copulet intelligibile per speciem cum intelligente; sed non copulat ignoranter* cognitum; igitur ante cognitionem futuri precedit cognitio.

[27] Item, sensus prout optime disponit potest in quodcumque sensibile, igitur intellectus in quodcumque intelligibile, cum sit potentior; sed contingens est intelligibile, quia signabile.

[28] Similiter, cognoscit differentiam inter contingens et necessarium.

[29] Item, omne quod reducitur de potentia in actum reducitur per aliquid novum impressum vel idem quod prius aliter se habens; sed nihil est impressum; igitur oportet ponere idem aliter se habens; sed sic non nisi habitudo quam non est ponere, ut videtur.*

¹⁰² licet *add. et del.**

¹⁰³ manet *add. et del.**

¹⁰⁴ dicitur *add.*

¹⁰⁵ simul *add. et del.*

AUGUSTINIAN *QUODLIBETA* AFTER GILES OF ROME

Chris Schabel and William J. Courtenay*

In many ways the early history of the writings in philosophical theology of the members of the Order of the Hermits of St Augustine, or Austin Friars, parallels that of the Carmelites. Both mendicant orders had vague prehistories as groups of hermits, evolved well after their Franciscan and Dominican confreres, and thus came late to the universities. Like the monastic orders they lagged far behind the two main mendicant orders in the production of *Sentences* commentaries until the third decade of the fourteenth century. Moreover, for the period before the 1320s, both orders are best represented, on the whole, by written *quodlibeta*. Beyond that, however, there are significant differences. The great Augustinian Hermits were overwhelmingly Italian, along with a small number of Germans, French, and Spanish, in contrast to the Carmelites, whose intellectual leadership was more internationally represented.¹ And although all four major mendicant orders made their Paris convent the leading *studium* for their theological program, the Austin Friars did not utilize their *studia* at Oxford and Cambridge in the early fourteenth century to the same extent as did the Franciscans, Dominicans, and even the Carmelites.² On the other hand, the Augustinian Hermits achieved prominence at Paris earlier than the Carmelites.³ Further, unlike the Carmelites, the Augustinians early

* We would like to thank Eric Daniel Goddard for inspecting MS Roma, Biblioteca Angelica 625, and Gisela Drossbach for doing the same for MS München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 26309. Lawrin Armstrong and William O. Duba provided additional assistance.

¹ The geographical distribution of Augustinian scholars corresponds to the provincial structure of the order. By 1300 there were ten Italian provinces containing some 240 convents, four German provinces containing 88 convents, two French provinces containing 24 convents, England and Ireland with 25 convents, and Spain and Portugal with 16 convents; see D. Gutierrez, *The Augustinians in the Middle Ages, 1256–1356*, transl. A.J. Ennis, vol. I (Rome 1984), pp. 43–5.

² On the Augustinians at Oxford and Cambridge, see F. Roth, *The English Austin Friars, 1249–1538*, 2 vols. (New York 1961, 1966).

³ The first Augustinian master, Giles of Rome, read the *Sentences* at Paris in 1276–77, although his promotion to the doctorate was delayed; Gerard of Bologna, the first Carmelite master, became doctor of theology in 1295. In 1303 royal officials considered

on chose an official teaching doctor in Giles of Rome.⁴ Paradoxically, although the Carmelites were eventually to compose more *Sentences* commentaries than the Augustinians (139 to 86),⁵ the Augustinian Hermits were to have a much greater impact on Western thought, especially through Gregory of Rimini. This is attested by the large number of manuscripts of surviving Augustinian theological works, and far more Augustinian theological literature is available in early printed editions and in modern critical editions than is the case with the Carmelites. Finally, the Augustinian theological masters were more active in writing treatises on political theory than any other mendicant order.⁶

Any survey of Augustinian *quodlibeta* after Giles of Rome should begin with the repertory of Glorieux. There are ten Augustinian authors of *quodlibeta* that are known to survive at least in part, all apparently from Paris, eight by Italians. According to Glorieux, this is a chronological chart of these Augustinian theologians:

James of Viterbo, 1293–96 and after (Glorieux I, pp. 214–17; II, pp. 144–47)

Henry the German, 1306 (Glorieux II, pp. 130–31)

Gregory of Lucca, 1310–11 (Glorieux II, p. 106)

Amadeus de Castello, 1313–14 (Glorieux II, pp. 59–60)

Augustinus Triumphus of Ancona, 1315 (Glorieux II, p. 63)

Prosper of Reggio Emilia, 1317–18 (Glorieux II, pp. 233–34)

John of Lana, 1310s (Glorieux II, pp. 153–54)

James of Pamiers, after 1323 (Glorieux II, pp. 142–43)

William of Cremona, before 1326 (Glorieux II, p. 116)

Gerard of Siena, 1330 (Glorieux II, pp. 97–98)

Most of these *quodlibeta* have received less attention from modern scholars than those of their Carmelite counterparts, although the

the Parisian convents of the Dominican, Franciscan, and Augustinian orders important for influencing religious opinion in their campaign against Boniface VIII, but did not bother to include the Carmelites; see W.J. Courtenay, “Between Pope and King: the Parisian Letters of Adhesion of 1303,” *Speculum* 71 (1996), pp. 577–605.

⁴ See Giorgio Pini’s chapter in the previous volume.

⁵ S.J. Livesey, “Lombardus Electronicus: A Biographical Database of Medieval Commentators on Peter Lombard’s *Sentences*,” in *Mediaeval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, vol. I, G.R. Evans, ed. (Leiden 2002) (pp. 1–23), p. 7.

⁶ The major Augustinian contributors in the area of political thought were Giles of Rome, James of Viterbo, and Augustinus Triumphus of Ancona.

Augustinians' theology in general is much better known. This is due to a combination of factors. First, modern Augustinian scholars have focused on editing the main theological works of individual theologians, namely the *Sentences* commentaries of Gregory of Rimini, Hugolino of Orvieto, and John Hiltalinger of Basel, and the *Quodlibeta* of James of Viterbo. Second, unlike the case with the Carmelites, many early Augustinian works were already available in early printings, including the *Sentences* commentaries of Gerard of Siena, Thomas of Strasbourg, and Alphonsus Vargas of Toledo, and the *Quodlibeta* of Gerard and James of Pamiers. Third, most of the other Augustinian *quodlibeta* are small and fragmentary, and only Henry the German's has been substantially edited.

This short chapter will cover Augustinian *quodlibeta* in approximate chronological order. Separate entries will discuss, in brief, dating, location, manuscripts, editions, and the number and characteristics of the questions, going beyond Glorieux where possible, and giving an idea of the impact of these *quodlibeta* on later theologians.⁷

James of Viterbo

James Capoccio of Viterbo read the *Sentences* at Paris around 1288 and became master of theology in 1293, succeeding Giles of Rome as the Augustinians' second regent master at Paris (1293–99). He subsequently taught at the Augustinian *studium generale* at Naples (1300–02), was appointed archbishop of Benevento in 1302, and archbishop of Naples later in the same year or in 1303. He died in 1307 or 1308.

Of his theological writings, his *Quodlibeta* are his most important and broadest work. In the first volume of his repertory, Glorieux noted that some early authors had attributed three or four *Quodlibeta* to James, but that only two could be confirmed, a supposition supported by the fact that the Dominican Bernard of Auvergne had composed a refutation

⁷ Generally for Augustinian theologians of the 14th century, see D. Trapp, "Augustinian Theology of the 14th Century. Notes on Editions, Marginalia, Opinions and Book-Lore," *Augustiniana* 6 (1956), pp. 146–274; A. Zumkeller, "Die Augustinerschule des Mittelalters: Vertreter und philosophisch-theologische Lehre," *Analecta Augustiniana* 27 (1964), pp. 167–262; and idem, *Manuskripte von Werken der Autoren des Augustiner-Eremitenordens in mitteleuropäischen Bibliotheken* (Würzburg 1966).

of James' *Quodlibeta*, but only two.⁸ The two *Quodlibeta* consist of twenty-two and twenty-four questions respectively, and explicits repeat this and label them *Quodlibeta*. Glorieux listed six complete manuscripts, and two more for *Quodlibet* I. Based on James' regency at Paris in 1293–95, Glorieux dated them to 1293 and 1294.

In his second volume, Glorieux reported more manuscripts of these two *Quodlibeta*, now totalling some twenty for both sets with a further four for *Quodlibet* I and three fragments. Moreover, three of these new manuscripts contained an additional *Quodlibet*, one of them with a fourth, thus confirming the opinion of earlier historians. The third *Quodlibet* contains twenty-six questions and carries an explicit stating this exactly as in the first two. Since Godfrey of Fontaines appears to have responded to one of these questions in 1296, Glorieux dated James' third *Quodlibet* to 1295–96. The fourth, with thirty questions, was found in MS Bordeaux, Bibliothèque Municipale 167 (ff. 205vb–217rb). Although Bordeaux has the incipit "Incipit quantum quodlibet domini fratris Jacobi de Viterbio, Ordinis Fratrum Heremitarum Sancti Augustini, quondam archiepiscopi Neapolitani," and a corresponding explicit, the fact that this sort of formula is usually missing actually left Glorieux with doubts about its authenticity, and he left it undated.

Since Glorieux's time, the industry of the Augustinian Eelcko Ypma has provided us with critical editions of most of James' *Quaestiones de divinis praedicamentis* and all of his *Quodlibeta*.⁹ Ypma's research, building at times on that of David Gutierrez, confirmed that the first three *Quodlibeta* were James' and date from 1293–95, but established that the fourth was also authentic and dated 1296. The number of manuscripts containing part of James' *Quodlibeta* climbed to thirty, with four for *Quodlibet* III (two complete) and three for *Quodlibet* IV. At first Ypma believed that *Quodlibet* IV was a crude *reportatio*, in contrast to the *ordinationes* of the other *Quodlibeta*, but then he found that the two new witnesses (Kraków

⁸ The first two, in BAV, Borghese 298, ff. 157r–201v. See Russell Friedman's chapter in this volume.

⁹ Ypma has published Jacobi de Viterbio, OESA, *Disputatio prima de quolibet* (Würzburg 1968), *Disputatio secunda de quolibet* (Würzburg 1969), *Disputatio tertia de quolibet* (Würzburg 1973), and *Disputatio quarta de quolibet* (Würzburg 1975) (= Cassiciacum, Suppl. Bd. 1–4); and *Quaestiones de divinis praedicamentis I–X* (Rome 1983) and *Quaestiones de divinis praedicamentis XI–XVII* (Rome 1986), with many further questions being published in issues of the journal *Augustiniana*. James also composed a somewhat unimportant *Sentences* commentary (in MS Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati G.V.15) and other works, on which see Zumkeller, "Die Augustinerschule," pp. 196–9.

1391 and Cornell University Library B.11) contained a text parallel in polish to *Quodlibeta* I–III, whereas the Bordeaux manuscript on which he based his earlier assessment was in fact defective “to the point of being almost useless.”¹⁰

Ypma’s careful edition makes further discussion of the manuscripts and the contents of the questions unnecessary here, except that the significance of the popular *Quodlibeta* I and II should be noted. They were important enough to be placed on the list of texts available at the Paris *stationarii* to be copied via the *pecia* system.¹¹ Thus James’ 102 quodlibetal questions, some extant in a score of manuscripts, obviously left an impression. Although William of Ockham may have utilized arguments from the first question of James’ first *Quodlibet* in his questions on book I of the *Sentences*,¹² James’ main impact was within his own order, as is clear in the Augustinian *Sentences* commentaries written between the late 1310s and the Black Death: Dionysius de Borgo San Sepolcro¹³ attacked James; Gerard of Siena considered James, along with Alexander of Sant’Elpidio, his primary opponent after Peter Auriol; in turn Michael of Massa focused much of his energy on these same three, as well as on Gerard of Siena himself; Thomas of Strasbourg knew James’ work well; and although James is not mentioned in Gregory of Rimini’s commentary, Alphonsus Vargas of Toledo referred to him on a half dozen occasions. James of Pamiers’ *Quodlibet* also includes attacks

¹⁰ See the introduction to the editions, the quotation being from *Quodlibet* IV, p. v. For further debate on the date of *Quodlibet* I, see J.F. Wippel, “The Dating of James of Viterbo’s *Quodlibet* I and Godfrey of Fontaines’ *Quodlibet* III,” *Augustiniana* 24 (1974), pp. 348–86, where Wippel prefers Lent 1293. James was still a bachelor in October 1292, and a master in May 1293, so Wippel assigns his promotion to November 1292. In the same volume, Ypma, “Recherches sur la carrière scolaire et la bibliothèque de Jacques de Viterbe †1308,” pp. 247–82, had opted for Advent 1293 based on an Easter 1293 promotion. Ypma also claims that James stayed in Paris until 1300, so perhaps *Quodlibeta* III and IV could be slightly later than 1295–96.

¹¹ Introduction to *Quodlibet* I, p. VII.

¹² See William of Ockham, *Scriptum in librum primum sententiarum*, d. 2, q. 7, eds. S.F. Brown and G. Gál, *Opera Theologica* II (St Bonaventure, NY 1970), p. 267.

¹³ The dates given by Zumkeller, “Die Augustinerschule,” p. 174, for the academic career of Dionysius require revision. His year as *sententiaris* was 1317–18 (Erfurt, Universitätsbibliothek, Dep. Erf., CA F.131, f. 96: “Explicit lect. prim. sent. edita fr. D. de Burgo, ord. frat. herm., quam finivit Parisius a.d. M.CCC.XVII xii die Jan.,” i.e. 12 January 1318). He was regent master at the Paris convent in 1325–26 (Paris, Archives Nationales, JJ.65b, f. 63v); see W.J. Courtenay, “The Augustinian Community at Paris in the Early 14th Century,” *Augustiniana* 51 (2001), pp. 159–69.

on James of Viterbo, the “Doctor Inventivus.”¹⁴ Hugolino of Orvieto, in his *Sentences* commentary from the late 1340s, a half century after the publication of James’ *Quodlibeta*, considered him so important that in book I he cited James, mostly via his *Quodlibeta* I and II, almost thirty times, more frequently than Aquinas, Scotus, and Giles of Rome himself and, in fact, more frequently than all other theologians except Henry of Ghent and Gregory of Rimini. For all four books, James shares third place with Giles of Rome.¹⁵ Even in the 1360s, John Hiltalinger would cite James on seventy-two occasions, the first three *Quodlibeta* and the *Quaestiones de divinis praedicamentis*.¹⁶

Henry the German

Henry the German, or Henry of Friemar the Elder, was a prolific and influential author. He presumably came from Friemar, near Gotha in Thuringia. He had served several years as Provincial for the German province (1296–99) when he was appointed to read the *Sentences* at Paris around 1300. He incepted as master of theology around 1305 and was regent for a few years, numbering among the Parisian masters of theology who responded to King Philip the Fair in 1308 concerning the Templars and those who condemned Marguerite Porete in 1310. He subsequently taught at the *studium generale* of his order at Erfurt, where he died in 1340.

His bio-bibliography is confused because of the existence of a Henry of Friemar the Younger and the misattribution of others’ works to him and of his works to others.¹⁷ Fortunately, the explicit in the sole complete manuscript, Padova, Biblioteca Antoniana 662 (ff. 187–209), of Henry’s substantial *Quodlibet* is very clear in its attribution: “Et in hoc completur quod fuit disputatum et determinatum Parisius per fratrem

¹⁴ Trapp, “Augustinian Theology,” pp. 156–7, 161–4, 167, 174, 180 (and n. 39), and 221.

¹⁵ Hugolinus de Urbe Veteri, OESA, *Commentarius in quattuor libros Sententiarum*, ed. W. Eckermann, 4 vols. (Würzburg 1980–88).

¹⁶ Trapp, “Augustinian Theology,” p. 247.

¹⁷ See Zumkeller, *Manuskripte*, pp. 125–63 and 579–89 (p. 154, no. 328, for the *Quodlibet*), and the summary in O. Langholm, *Economics in the Medieval Schools* (Leiden 1992), pp. 536–7. Anonymous *Quodlibet* 32 in Glorieux II, p. 302 (four questions of a planned 15 found in Napoli, BN VII.C.6, ff. 7ra–10rb), may belong to Henry, but it is more likely that of Alexander of Sant’Elpidio, OESA, as V. Doucet maintained; cf. Zumkeller, *Manuskripte*, p. 154, no. 328b.

Henricum de Alemannia, Ordinis Fratrum Sancti Augustini, anno Domini MCCCVI.” The Padua witness contains twenty questions from the Paris 1306 *Quodlibet*: “In disputatione de quolibet prehabita quesita fuerunt quedam de Deo, quedam de creatura.” Fragments in BAV, Vat. lat. 1012,¹⁸ preserve question 14 (ff. 121r–122r) and the interesting question 6 on astronomy (f. 124r–v): “Utrum in primis operibus Dei sit ponere motus excentricos et epicyclos,” which along with question 7 is also contained in a fragment in Assisi, Biblioteca del Sacro Convento 172, ff. 183v–189r.

In 1954 Clemens Stroick published very substantial extracts from all twenty questions, so much of Henry’s *Quodlibet* is already available in print.¹⁹ The incipit describes the content of the quodlibetal questions to be about God and the created order. In addition to theological questions on divine knowledge, divine power, the Trinity, and creation, the subjects treated encompass not only the question on excentrics and epicycles just mentioned, but also questions on the hierarchy of saints (q. 9), on the human intellect and will (qq. 8, 10–11, 16), and on the preferability of elective or hereditary kingship (q. 20). Two are especially interesting for their university links: “Whether any philosopher, however great, can make an argument against the faith that no theologian could solve” (q. 18) and “Whether someone is able licitly to obey an oath he has taken not to follow the arts course and not to be promoted to master” (q. 19).

Stroick’s edition does provoke questions about the explicit 1306 dating, however, if we are to believe his apparatus fontium. In various places Stroick identifies a “quidam” as Durand of St Pourçain, IV *Sentences*; John of Pouilly, *Ordinary Questions*; and the Carmelite Guy Terrena, *Quodlibet* II, all of which postdate 1306, the last coming from about 1314.²⁰ Could perhaps the manuscript’s MCCCVI be an error for MCCCXVI, for example? In the last question our loyal German comes out in favor of elective monarchy rather than hereditary, so perhaps the question was occasioned by the French royal succession of 1314 (Louis X) or 1316 (Philip V), or the disputed imperial election of Louis of Bavaria in 1314. A later date would even entail the possibility

¹⁸ On which see W. Duba’s chapter in this volume.

¹⁹ See C. Stroick, *Heinrich von Friemar: Leben, Werke, philosophisch-theologische Stellung in der Scholastik* (Freiburg i. Br. 1954), pp. 191–246; cf. Zumkeller, “Die Augustinerschule,” pp. 200–1.

²⁰ Stroick, *Heinrich von Friemar*, pp. 196 and 213.

that Henry of Friemar the Younger is the author.²¹ It is probably safer to discount Stroick's apparatus fontium, however.

Augustinian Quodlibeta in Vat. lat. 1086

Manuscript BAV, Vat. lat. 1086, is of crucial importance not only for Augustinian theology in the early 1310s, but for Parisian theology in general in those years. The manuscript belonged to Prosper of Reggio Emilia and contains not only his own works, but also those of several other authors whose writings are otherwise unknown, including some Augustinians. Auguste Pelzer's detailed descriptions of the manuscript allow us to supplement Glorieux.²²

Gregory of Lucca

Gregory of Lucca is the earliest of the Augustinians whose *quodlibeta* are in Vat. lat. 1086. Gregory was present at the General Chapter meeting at Siena in May 1295, where, already a lector, he participated in a quodlibetal disputation under Angelus de Camerino, the newly licensed regent master for the Augustinian Hermits at Paris.²³ If, as Zumkeller surmised, he was *sententiarius* at Paris around 1300 and regent master in 1309–10 (1310–13 according to Glorieux), he probably served his province between the baccalaureate and his promotion to master.²⁴ According to Glorieux, one folio, 119v–120v, contains seven theological questions that Prosper recorded from a *Quodlibet* dating to around 1310–11. The manuscript, however, assigns other questions to Gregory,

²¹ The Elder is listed as master of theology at Paris in 1308 and 1310 (*CUP* II, p. 127, and *CUP* III, p. 660), so the earlier date seems to require identifying the Elder as our author.

²² See A. Pelzer, "Prosper de Reggio Emilia, des Ermites de Saint-Augustin, et le manuscrit latin 1086 de la Bibliothèque Vaticane," *Revue neo-scholastique de philosophie* 30 (n.s. 5) (1928), pp. 316–51; A. Pelzer, *Codices Vaticani Latini II.1. Codices 679–1134* (Vatican City 1931), pp. 654–83; Zumkeller, "Die Augustinerschule," pp. 203–4; W.J. Courtenay's chapter on Vat. lat. 1086 in this volume.

²³ *CUP* II, p. 64n.

²⁴ Gregory is listed among the doctors of theology who participated in the condemnation of Marguerite Porete in April 1310 (*CUP* III, p. 660). Since he was one of three Augustinian masters in the Paris convent at the time, he was probably regent, since the other two, Alexander of Sant'Elpidio and Henry of Friemar the Elder, were no longer regent masters.

whom Pelzer identified with Lucca, so a new list of the sixteen total questions is called for:

1. Utrum divina essentia ut omnino indistincta re et ratione sit principium divinarum productionum ab intra aut non (102r).
2. Utrum Deus possit facere duo alba sine similitudine (108r).
3. Utrum productioni cuiuslibet agentis sit annexa creatio si agat ibi primum agens (108r).
4. Utrum creatum essentialius dependat a causa efficiente quam finali (108r–v).
5. Utrum divina essentia possit intelligi ab intellectu creato abstrahendo ab existentia (119v–120r).
6. Utrum sapientia divina in quantum divina sit attributum (120r).
7. Utrum Deus praedestinatum potest damnare (120r).
8. Utrum persona divina possit assumere creaturam rationalem et illa ignoraret se esse assumptam (120r).
9. Utrum actio de genere actionis in Deo sit (120r–v).
10. Utrum materia possit esse pars essentialis alicuius corporis incorruptibilis per naturam (120v).
11. Utrum fruitio principalius consistat in actu amicitiae vel concupiscentiae (120v).
12. Utrum non existente coniuncto principio formali alicui possit sibi competere operatio (133v–134r).
13. Utrum impossibile sit coincidentia subiecti et finis sicut efficientis et subiecti (134r).
14. <Utrum> substantia generata ex speciebus sacramenti dicatur creari (134v).
15. Utrum practica scientia vel speculativa specificetur a fine vel ab obiecto (134v).
16. Quis sit finis theologiae (134v–135r).

In the form recorded by Prosper, Gregory's questions are brief but nonetheless interesting. They appear to be the sole surviving theological work of Gregory, which may be why he was rarely cited. Prosper himself, however, cites Master Gregory of Lucca elsewhere in the same manuscript, on f. 72va.

Amadeus de Castello

Amadeus de Castello lectured on the *Sentences* at Paris in 1301–02. Based on the inclusion of Amadeus' quodlibetal questions in Prosper's manuscript, however, these questions and Amadeus's regency have been dated to a decade or more later (between 1312 and 1317 according

to Glorieux, or around 1312 according to Zumkeller).²⁵ Nevertheless, since Prosper also included questions by such theologians as Giles of Rome and several theologians who were already masters of theology by 1308, it is possible that Amadeus was regent by 1306. Moreover, since Amadeus's last question and John of Pouilly's *Quodlibet* I, q. 16, both concern the unusual topic whether someone selling a field but retaining the option of recovering it can licitly receive the income from it in the meantime, perhaps Amadeus's *Quodlibet* can be dated to around the same time as Pouilly's first disputation: 1307.²⁶

Glorieux listed fifteen (seventeen if one counts 1a and 1b) questions found on ff. 224v–226r, although he incorrectly claimed that they end on both 225v and 226v. Glorieux proposed a date of 1313–14, or 1316–17, for this material, which he identified as quodlibetal by its nature, although it is in a similar abbreviated form as Gregory's questions. Glorieux omitted the question "Utrum cognitio creditiva supernaturalis de Deo sit possibilis communicari creaturae sine lumine supernaturali," located on 221v and close in theme to the first questions Glorieux listed. The questions display some variety, but most of them are normal for a theological context. The exception is the last question, mentioned above: "Utrum vendens agrum sub conditione reddendi usque ad decem annos possit licite percipere fructus intermedios."

Prosper of Reggio Emilia

Prosper of Reggio Emilia, who is discussed in more detail elsewhere in this volume, has a more extended *Quodlibet* found in this manuscript on ff. 300v–314v. Although fourteen questions are announced, only the first four, on Trinitarian themes, receive full treatment. The incipit labels the text as from a "generali disputatione de quolibet," which, if given at Paris as seems likely, dates between 1316 (when he incepted) and 1317, when he went to Bologna to serve as regent of the order's *studium*

²⁵ Amadeus was appointed to read the *Sentences* at Paris at the General Chapter meeting of the order at Naples in May 1300, with the stipulation "quolibet qui Sententias est lecturus vadat per annum ante tempus inceptiois sue lecture" (*CUP* II, no. 613, p. 85).

²⁶ The contention of Glorieux I, p. 222, that Pouilly's first *Quodlibet* is from after September 1307 is incorrect, both Lent and Advent of 1307 being possibilities. If Lent, then he and Amadeus could have been regent masters in 1306–07, which would explain the absence of Amadeus's signature from the statement against the Templars in March 1308.

generale there in 1318–23. Thomas of Strasbourg cited Prosper’s opinion on intelligible species, which more likely occurred in the Prologue of Prosper’s commentary on the *Sentences*.²⁷

Augustinus Triumphus of Ancona

Augustinus Triumphus (1243–1328), from the March of Ancona, is one of the most important and prolific writers of the Augustinian Hermits at the opening of the fourteenth century. In addition to his contributions in the area of political thought, he authored numerous commentaries on Scripture (Matthew, the Pauline letters, the Apocalypse), as well as philosophical and theological treatises. He read the *Sentences* at Paris around 1303, and his commentary on book I survives in one manuscript, Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale 296, ff. 1–214. He subsequently lectured in various *studia* of the order in Italy: Padua, Venice, and Naples.²⁸

We have only one quodlibetal question, from Paris: “Utrum collegium cardinalium possit facere quidquid potest papa.” In BAV, Vat. lat. 939 (ff. 53v–56), it carries the incipit “Tertia questio erat...” and the explicit “Questio ultima <de> quolibet Magistri Augustini disputatum (!) Parisius de potestate collegii mortuo papa.” So originally there were only three questions, and Glorieux judged from the topic that the disputation took place between Pope Clement V’s death on 14 April 1314 and John XXII’s election on 7 August 1316 (i.e., between Advent 1314 and Lent 1316). Another manuscript, Paris, BnF lat. 4046, preserves the question on ff. 32v–34r, and on the basis of this manuscript Richard Scholz published the question in 1903.²⁹ Given the date, it is possible that Prosper of Reggio Emilia’s citation of Augustinus on f. 75vb of Vat. lat. 1086 refers to one of Augustinus’ three quodlibetal questions.

²⁷ Thomas of Strasbourg, *Commentaria in IV libros sententiarum*, III, d. 23, q. 1, a. 1 (Strasbourg 1490; Venice 1564, reprint Ridgewood, NJ 1965, vol. II, ff. 36ra–va).

²⁸ On Augustinus, see B. Ministeri, *De vita et operibus Augustini de Ancona*, O.E.S.A. (Rome 1953).

²⁹ R. Scholz, *Die Publizistik zur Zeit Philipps des Schönen und Bonifaz’ VIII. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der politischen Anschauungen des Mittelalters* (Stuttgart 1903; reprint Amsterdam 1962), pp. 501–8.

John of Lana

John of Lana, also known as John of Bologna, read the *Sentences* at Paris sometime in the 1310s or 1320s. Glorieux placed his baccalaureate in theology “avant 1316” and Adolar Zumkeller suggested “um 1316,” but since Thomas of Strasbourg in the 1330s is the first person to cite him, he may have read as late as 1330.³⁰ The date for his death is placed in 1347 at Bologna, where he was presumably teaching at the time.

Manuscript BAV, Chigi. E. VIII. 247, contains two *Quodlibeta* of John of Lana of Bologna, along with twenty-two *Quaestiones de anima humana*, and ten *Quaestiones extraordinariae*, which appear to derive from the Prologue to his commentary on the *Sentences*.³¹ *Quodlibet* I, with fifteen questions, is on ff. 55va–78va (old foliation), with the explicit: “Explicit primum Quodlibet fratris Johannis de Bononia, qui dicitur de Lana, Fratrum Heremitarum Sancti Augustini.” *Quodlibet* II consists of thirteen questions on ff. 78vb–98vb, bearing a similar explicit, *mutato mutando*.

Despite the substantial number of questions, we know very little about them. The incipit for his quodlibetal questions reads “Incipit primum Quodlibetum Johannis de Bononia, qui dicitur de Lana, Sacre Pagine bachelarii, Ordinis Sancti Augustini,” leaving open the possibility that he never incepted, which some historians maintain. If so, then we have another example of a bachelor’s theological *quodlibeta*.

Although John’s questions are on a wide variety of theological topics, they are sometimes grouped according to themes. There are some curious ones, like *Quodlibet* I, q. 10, “Whether there is some sign in a human soul separated from the body by which one can know whether it was a man’s or woman’s soul.” All of them are interesting, and the

³⁰ Glorieux I, p. 153; Zumkeller, “Die Augustinerschule,” pp. 205–6.

³¹ Gregory of Rimini, *Lectura super primum sententiarum*, Prol., q. 2, cited an opinion of John of Lana that appeared in the latter’s Prologue, q. 8, a. 1, and which is found in the *Quaestiones de anima*, q. 8, a. 1; see Rimini, *Lectura super primum et secundum sententiarum*, vol. I, eds. D. Trapp and V. Marcolino (Berlin-New York 1981), pp. 60–7. Oxford, Balliol College Library 63, also contains some 18 *Quaestiones de anima* of John of Lana, baccellarii in sacra pagina, on ff. 28r–51v; see F. Pelster, “Zur Überlieferung des *Quodlibet* und anderer Schriften des Petrus Aureoli O.F.M.,” *Franciscan Studies* 14 (1954) (pp. 392–411), p. 400.

fact that both Thomas of Strasbourg and Gregory of Rimini cited John shows that he was not forgotten.³²

William of Cremona

William of Cremona replaced Alexander of Sant'Elpidio in 1326 as Prior General of the Augustinians, serving in that capacity until 1342, when he was appointed bishop of Novara, where he served until his death in 1356. He read the *Sentences* at Paris around 1315 and became master of theology in or by 1320.³³ Glorieux dated his two surviving quodlibetal questions to before 1326, although ca. 1320 is probably a better date. MS Napoli, BN VII. C. 6, ff. 72vb–73va, contains questions 6 and 7 of his *Quodlibet*, both on beatitude. Although he obviously commented on the *Sentences* at Paris as a bachelor of theology, no questions from that work are known to have survived or even circulated, which may explain why his opinions are not cited by subsequent theologians of the order. His only known work apart from his *Quodlibet* is his *Tractatus de Christi et apostolorum paupertate*.

Gerard of Siena

Gerard of Siena read the *Sentences* at Paris around 1325 and was master of theology by 1330.³⁴ Glorieux dated Gerard's single *Quodlibet* to 1330, when Gerard was regent master at Paris.³⁵ While Gerard's commentary on the first two books of the *Sentences* survives in twenty-nine manuscripts (mostly of book I) and a 1598 Padua edition of book I,

³² Trapp, "Augustinian Theology," pp. 180 and 206. Thomas of Strasbourg cites John of Lana in, e.g., *III Sent.*, d. 1, q. 2, a. 3 (ed. Strasbourg 1490; Venice 1564, vol. II, f. 5va). For Gregory of Rimini's citation, see above, note 31.

³³ Zumkeller, "Die Augustinerschule," p. 205. He should not be confused with a Franciscan of the same name, Guglielmo Centueri de Cremona, who read the *Sentences* at Bologna in 1365–66.

³⁴ Zumkeller, "Die Augustinerschule," pp. 208–9; *CUP* II, p. 339; see also Trapp, "Augustinian Theology," p. 173.

³⁵ An agreement between the Augustinian Hermits and the regent masters of theology in May 1330 identifies Gerard of Siena as being regent master *in actu* at the time; see *CUP* II, no. 904, p. 339. For Gerard, see also Zumkeller, *Manuskripte*, p. 117, no. 258.

Glorieux records only two manuscript witnesses of the *Quodlibet*: Roma, Biblioteca Angelica 625, ff. 185v–209r, and München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 26309, ff. 224va–227va; along with two printings: Viterbo 1587 and Rimini 1626 (or Bologna, according to Odd Langholm). The situation among these witnesses is confusing, and it is difficult to understand Glorieux’s concise description. To further complicate matters, the questions in the Angelica manuscript are preceded on ff. 158ra–184vb by James of Pamiers’ sole *Quodlibet*, attributed in the manuscript to Gerard and printed in the 1626 edition and—as Gerard’s *Quodlibet* II—in Cesena in 1630 (see below on James of Pamiers).

Glorieux lists eighteen questions based on the Viterbo 1587 edition.³⁶ For reasons that will become apparent, we will first deal with questions 1–14. According to Glorieux, in the Viterbo edition “on s’est borné pour les qq. 12 et 13 à renvoyer à son Comm. in II Sent.” Moreover, questions 12 and 13 are missing in all other witnesses. Glorieux also states that questions 4, 7, 12, and 13, are missing in the 1626 edition and the Angelica manuscript “qu’elle reproduit.” These same questions are also missing in the Munich manuscript, which further omits questions 1, 6, 8, and 10. This would be Glorieux’s chart of the status of the first fourteen questions, with “x” marking the questions contained in the witnesses, “o” marking absences:

Place/Question	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Munich 26309	o	x	x	o	x	o	o	o	x	o	x	o	o	x
Angelica 625	x	x	x	o	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	o	o	x
1626 edition	x	x	x	o	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	o	o	x
Viterbo 1587	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

Based on an inspection of the manuscripts, we can clarify certain points. First, the Angelica (and probably the 1626 printing) does in fact contain questions 4 and 7, although they are unmarked and linked closely with questions 5 and 6. Question 6 is very brief and question 4 immediately refers the reader to book II of the *Sentences* commentary: “Huius autem questionis determinationem hic ponere non curam quia eam in secundo scripto *Sententiarum* pertractavi (?) et diffuse . . .” Angelica

³⁶ Glorieux II, pp. 97–8.

does omit questions 12 and 13, but they are listed in the two *tabulae quaestionum* (ff. 185va and 209ra). It is thus likely that, as in the case of question 4, 12 and 13 are dropped because the material was already dealt with in II *Sentences*, as the Viterbo printing states. While the 1626 printing follows the Angelica tradition, perhaps even this witness, shared variants in the titles of the selected questions in the densely written Munich manuscript and the Viterbo edition suggest that they belong to another tradition. Besides the omission of several questions, Munich does have one other anomaly: after question 9 there is another one, beginning “Utrum anima humana possit...” Only a critical edition will bring further clarification. The first fourteen questions are as follows, with foliation from the manuscripts (A = Angelica; M = Munich):

1. Utrum sola distinctio rationis sufficiat ad vitandam contradictionem quae in divinis apparet inter communicabile et incommunicabile (A 185vb–189ra; M deest).
2. Utrum generare in divinis sit actus elicited (A 189ra–190va; M 224va–b).
3. Utrum possit efficaci et necessaria ratione probari universalis productio universi (A 190va–193va; M 224vb–225vb).
4. Utrum potentia productiva Dei importet respectum ad aliquod possibile obiectum (A 193va; M deest).
5. Utrum actio et passio sint realiter unus actus (A 193va–195va; M 225vb–226ra).
6. Utrum in natura intellectuali sit dare purum possibile (A 195va–b; M deest).
7. Utrum intellectus creatus, angelicus vel humanus, indigeat obiecto extrinseco ad quod eius cognitio terminetur (A 195vb–198ra; M deest).
8. Utrum intellectus creatus, angelicus vel humanus, indigeat obiecto extrinseco cui eius cognitio per commensurationem aliquam adaequetur (A 198ra–200va; M deest).
9. Utrum cognitio intellectus creati possit absolvi ab indigentia cuiuscumque obiecti extrinseci (A 200va–203ra; M 226ra–va, then adding *Utrum anima humana possit...* 226va–b).
10. Utrum cognitio sit actio de genere actionis (A 203ra–204rb; M deest).
11. Utrum intellectus creatus humanus possit dare alicui enti naturali suum formale complementum (A 204rb–205rb; M deest).
12. Utrum tempus sit numerus in solo motu primi mobilis (AM deest).
13. Utrum in tempore ratio infiniti contradicat rationi praeteriti (AM deest).
14. Utrum esse corporeum de genere substantiae sit a forma substantiali vel a materia (A 205rb–208vb; M 226vb–227va).

With questions 15–18, on usury and other economic matters, the situation is more confused. Although Glorieux was of the opinion that the 1626 edition reproduces the Angelica manuscript throughout, Odd Langholm has shown that this is not quite true. The Angelica manuscript

contains first James of Pamiers' *Quodlibet* (attributed to Gerard: ff. 158r–185v), then Gerard's authentic *Quodlibet* (until Glorieux's q. 14: ff. 185v–208v). Now, as Langholm noted, the Viterbo edition on which Glorieux based himself does not reproduce the Angelica's economic questions, but rather substitutes a treatise on usury that it attributes to Gerard but which turns out to be by Peter John Olivi! Moreover, the 1626 edition does exactly the same thing. So Glorieux is in error and his questions 15–18 in Viterbo and in 1626 are neither quodlibetal nor by Gerard.³⁷

However, in the 1630 Cesena edition, following James of Pamiers' *Quodlibet* (again, attributed to Gerard), one finds two treatises—*De usuris* (with two questions, pp. 165–222) and *De praescriptionibus* (one question, pp. 223–55)—that are, according to Langholm, “based on the economic material of the Angelica manuscript.” Langholm found that after question 14 the scribe adds three main questions on usury, restitution, and prescription that comprise a total of sixteen subquestions (ff. 209r–225r). Just before this section the scribe states (f. 208vb) that he is adding these questions separately. Langholm adds that the titles of these questions, which are not in the Munich witness, “correspond roughly to Glorieux's questions 15–17.”³⁸ As we shall see, the attribution of the Angelica economic questions to Gerard is not in doubt, so the issue is whether they or the ones in the Cesena edition are quodlibetal.

For clarification, it should be noted that the Angelica manuscript contains the exact titles of all of Glorieux's questions 15–18 in the incipit to the entire *Quodlibet*, beginning “In nostro *Quodlibet*” and ending with the two questions on usury and the two on prescription (f. 185va–b):

15. Utrum contractus usurarius sit permissibilis aliquo iure.
16. Utrum homo possit absolvi ab obligatione usurarum sine restitutione per solam viam remissionis vel per aliam viam.
17. Utrum <praescriptio> [descriptio A] sit contra ius naturae.
18. Utrum in praescriptione acquiratur dominium.

³⁷ Langholm, *Economics in the Medieval Schools*, p. 550, and for Gerard's economic thought, pp. 549–60. See also D. Pacetti, “Un trattato sulle usure e le restituzioni di Pietro di Giovanni Olivi, falsamente attribuito a Fr. Gerardo da Siena,” *AFH* 46 (1953), pp. 448–57; Zumkeller, “Die Augustinerschule,” pp. 208–10, esp. n. 138.

³⁸ Langholm, *Economics in the Medieval Schools*, p. 550–1. Lawrin Armstrong is editing these treatises based on the Angelica manuscript and the Cesena 1630 edition, a summary in MS Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 4151, plus his primary witness for *De usuris* MS Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek 894. Armstrong finds that the editor of Cesena, Angelo Vancio, used the Angelica witness plus another manuscript.

Then, after question 14 (f. 208vb), the scribe gives the title of question 15 and a slightly rephrased title for question 16, “Utrum usurarius possit absolvi ab obligatione usurarum sine restitutione vel per aliquam aliam viam,” and adds the confusing remark that “has duas questiones necnon et alias duas sequentes de prescriptione” belong to the *Quodlibet* but are arranged “cum quibusdam aliis questionibus.” Afterwards we have the explicit, “Explicit *Quodlibet* determinatum Parisius per Magistrum Gerardum de Senis, sacre pagine professorem, fratrum Hermitarum Ordinis Sancti Augustini,” and finally a *tabula quaestionum* beginning “Isti sunt tituli questionum istius *Quodlibet*” but giving only the first fourteen. Following the *tabula* (f. 209ra) we have the following remark: “Incipit questio diversa, cum V articulis et cum quodam tractatu addito de restitutione usurarum continente 4 alios articulos, determinata Parisius a fratre Gerardo de Senis in sacra theologia magistro fratrum Hermitarum Ordinis Sancti Augustini.” The first question matches the title of question 15 and indeed has five articles (ff. 209ra–214ra). Then we read “Hic incipit tractatus de restitutione usurarum et quorumcumque male ablatorum editus a fratre Gerardo...,” the treatise containing four articles (ff. 214ra–219ra). Only article two comes close to question 16 (f. 215va): “Utrum usurarius non reddendo usurias possit liberari ab earum obligatione per viam remissionis vel per aliquam aliam viam.” Finally (f. 219ra) we read, “Incipit questio de prescriptione cum VI (read: IV) articulis infrascriptis determinata a fratre Gerardo...,” the question matching number 17 (ff. 219ra–225ra), but article two also matches the title of question 18 verbatim. The explicit (f. 225ra), “Expliciunt questiones de usura et prescriptione disputate et determinate Parisius a fratre Gerardo...,” is followed by a *tabula quaestionum* with sixteen entries corresponding to the three main questions and thirteen articles (f. 225rb).

Given the confusing remark after question 14 and the later descriptions and contents of the economic questions, one is entitled to ask whether the later questions, as they are, stem in fact from the *Quodlibet*. True, some if not all of the material is “disputed” at Paris by Master Gerard, but part of it is called a “treatise.” Moreover, these questions are quite large in comparison to the others, and Lawrin Armstrong has found that at least some of this material circulated separately. Perhaps the quodlibetal questions on usury and prescription were merely the basis for the Angelica questions, which survive in different stages of redaction. We await the completion of Armstrong’s critical edition of these questions for the possible resolution of this issue.

It is difficult to gauge the reception of Gerard's *Quodlibet*, because of the popularity of his *Sentences* commentary, but Gregory of Rimini cited Gerard once, Alphonsus Vargas referred to him at two places (the second time to a "quadam quaestione ordinaria"), and John Hiltalinger of Basel cited him by way of Gregory of Rimini.³⁹

James of Pamiers

James of Pamiers (de Appamiis), from southern France, read the *Sentences* at Paris in or by 1325. He was among the six bachelors of theology at the Augustinian convent in May 1326 awaiting a chance to be promoted to the magisterium.⁴⁰ He was master of theology by 1332.⁴¹ As mentioned above, five manuscripts contain James' *Quodlibet* along with an explicit attribution, although it was printed along with Gerard of Siena's *Quodlibet* in Rimini in 1626 and alone—but with other works of Gerard—in Cesena in 1630, as Gerard's *Quodlibet* II, because a sixth manuscript, Angelica 625, from which the editions stem, assigns it to Gerard. Thus the Cesena edition (p. 9) modifies the incipit "in nostra disputatione de quolibet..." to "in ista (sic) secunda disputatione de quolibet..." According to Glorieux, the extant witnesses are as follows, adding foliation where available and sigla as required in what follows:

Avignon, Bibliothèque Municipale 314 (ff. 60r–92v) (= V)
 Bordeaux, Bibliothèque municipale 167 (ff. 92va–116vb) (= B)
 Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek 529 (ff. 94va–112rb)
 Padova, Biblioteca Antoniana 426 Scaff.XX
 Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria 2006 (ff. 144ra–166va) (= P)
 Roma, Biblioteca Angelica 625 (ff. 158ra–184vb) (= A)
 Rimini 1626 edition
 Cesena 1630 edition, pp. 9–160 (= C)

We have inspected the Cesena edition and the Padova Universitaria manuscript. For the most part they contain the same text, but there are occasional differences, especially toward the end, with entire argu-

³⁹ Trapp, "Augustinian Theology," pp. 221 and 247.

⁴⁰ Courtenay, "The Augustinian Community," pp. 228–9.

⁴¹ Zumkeller, "Die Augustinerschule," p. 210.

ments omitted in *Universitaria*, material missing from Cesena, and slightly differing arrangements. This can only be explained by positing two redactions.

The full incipit states that James was asked several questions that he first divided into two groups, and the first group contained three questions (*Universitaria*, f. 144ra; Cesena, p. 9):

In nostra disputatione de quolibet [I] quaedam quaesita fuerunt circa passiones transcendentes sive passiones entis, [II] quaedam circa entia specialia. Quantum ad [II] entia specialia, [IIa] quaedam quaerebantur circa ens increatum, [IIb] quaedam circa ens creabile, [IIc] quaedam circa creatum. Circa [I] passiones transcendentes quaerebantur tria, [Ia] unum circa distinctionem, [Ib] aliud circa non-identitatem, [Ic] aliud tertium circa multitudinem.

Accordingly, the first three questions of Glorieux's list correspond to what is found in Cesena and *Universitaria* and James' description of Ia–c. James subdivided his second group of questions [II] concerning *entia specialia* into three groups of questions [IIa–c]. Thus after Ia–c we read the following incipit (*Universitaria*, f. 148va; Cesena, p. 42):

Circa [IIa] ens increatum quaerebantur tria, [IIa1] primo utrum essentia et relatio divina possint habere proprias indisiones sine omni distinctione [Glorieux: indistinctione] (= Glorieux's q. 4); [IIa2] secundo utrum generare et spirare in Patre distinguantur realiter (= Glorieux's q. 5/14); [IIa3] tertio quaerebatur de signis originis utrum sint ex natura rei vel per actum rationis.

The Cesena edition calls this second section on *ens increatum* "Pars secunda" of the *Quodlibet*, and begins with "Quaestio prima." There is no "Quaestio secunda," however, because as was said, question IIa2 (Glorieux's 5, or 14) is absent in the editions and in the Angelica. Probably the question in Angelica's exemplar was left incomplete. The Avignon manuscript and the editions stop at the same point as Angelica. The other manuscripts, however, contain about two columns of question IIa2, although it is left unfinished in *Universitaria*, breaking off abruptly. *Universitaria*'s explicit matches the one Glorieux reports for the Bordeaux and Leipzig manuscripts. Ypma was of the opinion that *Universitaria* and Bordeaux, both of which also contain James of Viterbo's *Quodlibeta*, are very closely related, although independent.⁴² Perhaps then there are two traditions. None of the witnesses contains

⁴² *Jacobi de Viterbio O.E.S.A. Disputatio tertia de quolibet*, ed. Ypma, introduction, p. VI.

question IIa3, of course, and the entire sections IIb and IIc on *ens creabile* and *ens creatum* respectively are also missing. Judging from the huge size of IIa1, James managed to rework less than half of his *Quodlibet* into *Ordinatio* form. As a result, in the introduction Cesena speaks of “quaestiones quatuor Quodlibet secundi” (pp. 3–4), even though the text gives the titles for two more questions (IIa2–3) and hints at even more (IIb–c).

Questions Ia–c together are only about one fourth the size of question IIa1. For James’ *Quodlibet*, Glorieux listed a total of fourteen questions based on the Angelica witness, but noted that most manuscripts (Glorieux also gives Bordeaux’s foliation) treat numbers 4–13 as articles of one huge question, number IIa1 or 4. In fact, the *Universitaria* and Cesena witnesses list twenty articles for question 4/IIa1, not ten, although some of them are treated together. It is probable that Angelica deals with articles as well. Given the fact that there are ten more articles of question IIa1/4 than those listed by Glorieux, a new question list is called for. Moreover, since James of Pamiers is in the habit of naming his interlocutors explicitly, it will be useful to list these as well. Many of these references are within the text of both Cesena and *Universitaria*, and although some of Cesena’s marginal references are absent in *Universitaria*, it is clear that they are correct (G = Glorieux):

- Ia. Utrum inter extrema realia quorum utrumque est res possit esse distinctio rationis [G 1: A 158ra; B 92va; C 9–20; P 144ra–145va; V 60ra–62va]. Peter Auriol *mg.*; Francis of Meyronnes (de Maronis) *mg.*; Auriol *mg.*; Auriol; Meyronnes (small section absent in Cesena).
- Ib. Utrum aliqua possint habere aliquam non-identitatem actualiter [actua-lem GV], sine aliqua distinctione actuali [G 2: A 160ra; B 94rb; C 20–30; P 145va–147ra; V 62va–64va]. Meyronnes; Auriol.
- Ic. Utrum aliqua possint ponere in numerum actualiter sine distinctione actuali [G 3: A 161va; B 95vb; C 31–41; P 147ra–148va; V 64va–66va]. magister Stephanus, Robertus monachus.
- IIa1. Utrum essentia et relatio possint habere proprias indisiones sine omni distinctione [indistinctione G] [G 4: B 97vb–116ra; C 42–43; P 148va–b; V 66va–b].
 - I. Utrum essentia et relatio possint habere proprias indisiones sine omni distinctione seu non-identitate ex parte substrati [*om.* G: A 163va; C 43–47; P 148vb–149rb; V 66vb–67va]. Auriol *mg.*
 - II. Utrum per tales non-identitates, si ponantur, seu indisiones sufficienter tollatur repugnantia praedicatorum oppositorum quae dicuntur de essentia et de relatione [*om.* G: C 47–54; P 149rb–150rb; V 67vb–69ra]. Auriol *mg.*
 - III. Utrum ad tollendum [tollendam C] supradictam [*om.* V] repugnantiam requiratur distinctio realis inter essentiam et relationem [inter... relationem *om.* G] [G 5].

- IV. Utrum <ad tollendum supradictam repugnantiam requiratur> distinctio modalis [*om.* G; III–IV together: A 165vb; C 54–62; P 150rb–151va; V 69ra–70va]. Durand of St Pourçain *mg.*; James of Viterbo *mg.*
- V. Utrum <ad tollendum supradictam repugnantiam requiratur> distinctio formalis, ponens aliam et aliam formalitatem [*aliam ... formalitatem om.* G] [G 6].
- VI. Utrum <ad tollendum supradictam repugnantiam> requiratur distinctio formalis secundum quod ly “formaliter” est determinatio compositionis et non extremorum [*om.* G; *om. per homoio.* P in list].
- VII. Utrum posita tali distinctione formali sufficienter tollatur talis repugnata [*om.* G; V–VII together: A 167rb; C 63–88; P 151va–155va; V 70va–76ra]. Scotus *mg.*; Meyronnes *mg.*; Gerard Odonis *mg.*; Thomas Anglicus [Wylton] *mg.*; Francis of Marchia in primo suo; Meyronnes in primo *Sententiarum* quod dicitur *Conflatorum* vel *Conflatum*; Francis <Meyronnes> *mg.*; Meyronnes in primo suo.
- VIII. Utrum per inconvertibilitatem tollatur supradicta [praedicta G] repugnantia.
- IX. Utrum inconvertibilitas ponat aliquam diversitatem inter essentiam et relationem [VII–IX = G 7; VIII–IX together: A 172rb; C 88–98; P 155va–157ra; V 76ra–78rb]. Hervaeus Natalis *mg.*; Hervaeus; Auriol, primo libro *Sententiarum*, d. 2; Auriol *mg.*; Thomas Aquinas; Giles of Rome; Auriol *mg.*
- X. Utrum supradicta repugnantia tollatur ex eo quod relatio diversimode comparatur ad fundamentum et ad oppositum [different wording G] [G 8; A 174ra; C 98–105; P 157ra–158rb; V 78rb–80ra]. Aquinas; Giles; Auriol in primo suo, d. 33; Meyronnes; Marchia, I *Sententiarum*; Aquinas; Giles; Aquinas *mg.*; Giles *mg.*; Auriol; Meyronnes *mg.*; Marchia *mg.*
- XI. Utrum talis repugnantia arguat [arguit G] distinctionem rationis inter essentiam et relationem.
- XII. Utrum <talīs repugnantia> arguat distinguibilitatem ex natura rei ante omnem actum rationis sive [rationis sive *om.* PV] intellectus [XI–XII = G 9].
- XIII. Utrum <talīs repugnantia> arguat non-identitatem indistinguibilitatis [*om.* G; XI–XIII together: A 175ra; C 106–17; P 158rb–160ra; V 80ra–82rb]. Auriol in primo suo; Meyronnes; Meyronnes *mg.*
- XIV. Utrum sufficienter tollatur talis repugnantia per distinctionem rationis [different wording G]. [G 10; AC: see XVI; P 160ra–162va (includes 160bis); V 82rb–88ra].
- XV. Utrum <sufficienter tollatur talis repugnantia> per distinguibilitatem [*om.* G].
- XVI. Utrum <talīs repugnantia> tollatur per non-identitatem indistinguibilitatis [*om.* G; AC have XIV–XVI together: A 177rb; C 117–40; PV have XV–XVI together: P 162va–163ra; V 88ra–89ra]. Meyronnes; Francis *mg.*; magister Stephanus *mg.*; Meyronnes (Ma. P); Bernard Olivarius Ordinis nostri; Bernard *mg.*; Bernard *mg.*;

- Bernard *mg.*; Meyronnes (Ma. P); Meyronnes *mg.* (*om.* P); Franciscus de Maironis (Ma. P) in quadam quaestione quam determinavit in curia.⁴³
- XVII. Utrum distinctio rationis quae ponitur ad tollendum [tollendam C] supradictam repugnantiam arguat compositionem in persona [different wording G] [G 11: A 181vb; C 141–46; P 163ra–vb; V 89ra–90ra]. Auriol in primo suo, d. 1; Auriol *mg.*
- XVIII. Utrum talis compositio rationis repugnet summae simplicitati [*om.* G: C 146–49; P 163vb–164va; V 90ra–91va]. Auriol.
- XIX. Utrum talis repugnantia arguat veram dualitatem inter essentiam et relationem [essentiae et relationis PV] [different wording G] [G 12: A 183rb; C 149–56; P 164va–165va; V 91va–92va]. Michael of Massa Ordinis nostri; Michael.
- XX. Utrum <talis repugnantia> arguat veriolem [minorem C] dualitatem essentiae et relationis quam personae et personae [et personae *om.* C] [different wording G] [G 13: A 184vb; C 157–60; P 165va–166va]. Dionysius <de Borgo San Sepulcro> nostri ordinis.
- IIa2. Utrum generare et spirare in Patre distinguantur realiter [G 14: ACV *deest*; B 116rb–vb, incomplete; P 166ra–va, incomplete]. magister Thomas de Fabriano.
- IIa3. De signis originis utrum sint ex natura rei vel per actum rationis [ABCGPV *deest*].
- IIb–c: *Quaestiones circa ens creabile et creatum desunt* ABCGPV.

As Glorieux remarked, James' primary opponent was Auriol (15 citations), with attacks on the Dominicans Durand (1 reference) and Hervaeus (2), the Franciscans Francis of Marchia, Francis of Meyronnes, and Gerard Odonis (1), and his confrere Michael of Massa (2). For the two Franciscans named Francis, our manuscripts give Marchia three clear references and Meyronnes eleven, while four additional citations of Meyronnes in Cesena could be read as Ma<rchia> in Universitaria; there are also two simple citations of Francis. Damasus Trapp gave

⁴³ Based on Trapp, at first we considered this reference as "Contra istas rationes arguit magister Franciscus de Ma<rchia> in quadam questione quam determinavit in curia..." which would be evidence for Marchia's magisterial activity (his *Quodlibet*?) in Avignon; W.J. Courtenay, "The *Quaestiones in Sententias* of Michael of Massa, OESA. A Redating," *Augustiniana* 45 (1995) (pp. 191–207), p. 195, n. 13 (see Trapp, "Augustinian Theology," p. 174). Later we argued that the reference could be to Meyronnes (Maronis) instead; C. Schabel, *Theology at Paris 1316–1345. Peter Auriol and the Problem of Divine Foreknowledge and Future Contingents* (Aldershot 2000), p. 190, n. 4. Cesena opts for Meyronnes, and one manuscript, Avignon 87rb, spells out "Maronis," so it appears that Meyronnes is meant. See William Duba's chapter in this volume for Marchia and Meyronnes.

a fuller list, adding Thomas Aquinas OP and Giles of Rome OESA (4 each, together), Bernard Oliverii OESA (4, all at once), Master Stephanus (2), James of Viterbo OESA (1), Dionysius of Borgo San Sepolcro OESA (1), John Duns Scotus OFM (1), Thomas Anglicus (Wylton, 1), Thomas of Fabriano OESA (1), Robert the Monk (1, Trapp's "Obertus," but probably Robertus Meduana, master of theology before 1335). Thus James cites seventeen theologians about sixty times. Five of James' interlocutors are Franciscans, but they receive most of his attention, especially Auriol, Marchia, and Meyronnes, lecturing at Paris 1316–21. James only cites six Augustinians, a mere dozen times in total.⁴⁴

Glorieux's dating was very imprecise: "after 1323." Trapp argued on the basis of the citations that all the data pointed to 1326 at Paris, both for Massa's *Sentences* commentary and James' *Quodlibet*. Now it turns out that, although Odonis read the *Sentences* at Paris in 1326–28, he had already done so at Toulouse before 1320, so 1326 would still be possible. Moreover, Durand is cited as being bishop of Le Puy, which he ceased to be after 1326. Nevertheless, Trapp's dating is too early. The reference to Durand as bishop of Le Puy is in the margin of one manuscript in a later hand, diminishing its value as evidence for date of composition, and the present authors have redated Massa's *Sentences* lectures to the early 1330s. Some of the confusion over the chronology of James' academic career can be cleared up. On 28 May 1326, James was one of six Augustinian bachelors of theology present at their convent in Paris. This means he had read the *Sentences* in that or one of the previous three years. His licensing and inception as master must therefore be after 1326, probably around 1330. Thus Zumkeller's alternative dating of James' baccalaureate in theology at Paris "um 1328" is also incorrect, although his promotion to the magisterium in 1332 seems sound, which would put his *Quodlibet* in or after 1332.⁴⁵

Although incomplete, James of Pamier's *Quodlibet* is significant in that it survives in six medieval witnesses. Moreover, the fact that it has

⁴⁴ Glorieux II, p. 142; Trapp, "Augustinian Theology," pp. 173–4.

⁴⁵ Trapp, "Augustinian Theology," pp. 173–5; Courtenay, "The *Quaestiones in Sententias*"; C. Schabel, "Questions on Future Contingents by Michael of Massa OESA," *Augustiniana* 48 (1998), pp. 165–229; C. Schabel, "The *Sentences* Commentary of Gerardus Odonus, OFM," *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale* 46 (2004), pp. 115–61. In 1326 the other five bachelors were Albertus de Padua, Andreas Elemosine de Perugia (DTh 1329), Johannes de Mes [Metz], Nicolaus de Vich, and Thomas de Argenteuil; see Courtenay, "The Augustinian Community at Paris."

a common theme of distinction and relations should make it useful as the object of historical studies of those issues.

* * *

The preceding discussion had the limited goal of introducing Augustinian *Quodlibeta* after Giles of Rome and of correcting and supplementing Glorieux's findings. Besides the revised question lists noted above and other modifications of Glorieux's picture, we propose the following chronology:

James of Viterbo, 1293–96 and after
Henry [of Friemar, Sr.] the German, 1306 (less likely, H. of Friemar, Jr., 1316)
Amadeus de Castello, 1307 (perhaps 1313–14)
Gregory of Lucca, 1309–10 or 1310–11
Augustinus Triumphus of Ancona, 1315
Prosper of Reggio Emilia, 1316–17
John of Lana, 1310s or 1320s
William of Cremona, ca. 1320
Gerard of Siena, 1330
James of Pamiers, 1332

CONTINENTAL FRANCISCAN *QUODLIBETA* AFTER SCOTUS

William O. Duba*

John Duns Scotus left in his wake a generation of Franciscan theologians both on the continent and in England who sought to complete the Subtle Doctor's work, expound and explain it, correct it, and sometimes overturn it. Reflecting the specific influence of Scotus' teaching, and the general interests of the Franciscan theological tradition, the work of these theologians constitutes a vibrant chapter in the history of Scholasticism, full of internal debates and responses to external criticism.

Unfortunately, this work remains only partly understood. Most of the texts rest in manuscript, with a few early modern printed editions and even fewer modern editions of any sort. Redactional complications make matters worse, at times reaching the paradoxical situation of having more redactions of a text than codices containing witnesses.

The written *quodlibeta* left by continental Franciscans reflect both the promise of the intense debate after Scotus and the difficulties of sorting out issues of authorship, dating, and textual interrelationships. The titles of the questions considered reflect not only broad theological issues (such as Trinitarian questions), but also positions associated with Franciscans (such as a tendency towards voluntarism) and even notions specifically associated with Scotus and Scotism (intuitive and abstractive cognition, objective and subjective potency, the formal distinction). This chapter, however, focuses on the textual difficulties. While our understanding remains imperfect, the contribution of three-quarters of a century of scholarship has significantly changed the picture painted by Glorieux.

Since Glorieux, research into the work of individual authors has at once made the situation less and more clear. The situation becomes less clear as studies challenge and overthrow basic assumptions made

* I wish to thank F. Amerini, G. Etzkorn, S. Folger-Fonfara, S. Piron, C. Schabel and the anonymous reader for their comments and assistance in the preparation of this chapter.

by Glorieux, such as that *quodlibeta* were only held by regent masters in theology and that theologians promoted to an administrative position in their order did not hold *quodlibeta*. On the other hand, individual studies and editions have made the situation far clearer through the identification of texts, their authors and circumstances, and the discovery of additional *quodlibeta* and redactions.

This chapter considers the Franciscan theologians active on the continent in the decades after Scotus for whom some trace of a *quodlibet* survives, and it complements, corrects, and extends Glorieux by integrating the literature published since the second volume of *La littérature quodlibetique* and, when possible, a few observations from the manuscripts. In all, it considers sixteen theologians: Peter Sutton, Peter of England, Alexander of Alexandria, Nicholas of Lyra, James of Ascoli, Bertrand de la Tour, Martin of Abbeville, Peter Auriol, William of Alnwick, Francis of Marchia, Francis of Meyronnes, Aufredo Gonteri Brito, Peter of Atarrabia (Navarre), Peter Thomae, Gerard Odonis and William of Rubio. Their quodlibetal activity spans three decades, from the first years of the 1300s to the early 1330s.

The presentation of each thinker begins with a brief biographical discussion and continues with a treatment of the *quodlibeta* and any textual problems, usually followed by a question list. Incipits and explicits are given when available, and when, in the case of incipits, they differ from the title of the first question.

Two Peters from England

Peter Sutton (?)

An early fourteenth-century manuscript, Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Aedil. 164, contains parts of two *quodlibeta* by a Franciscan referred to as “P. d’Ang.” Glorieux suspects him to be Peter Sutton, which would place the *quodlibeta* around 1310, and in Oxford. On the basis of a reference to Richard of Mediavilla, the text has a *terminus post quem* of 1285; the *terminus ante quem* of 1323 is less certain, as it comes from the fact that Thomas Aquinas is not called a saint. The editor, Etzkorn, found a couple references to anonymous contemporary views that might help in dating the text, but one has not been identified and the other is actually a mention of a position not discussed, insufficient

for identification.¹ Still, the lack of mention of Scotus and the correspondences found by Etzkorn between the various thinkers referred to as *quidam* and the positions of scholastics active in the 1280s lead one to suspect that the text is far more likely to be from late thirteenth century.² Thus “Peter Sutton”’s *Quodlibeta* are most likely neither continental, nor after Scotus.

The manuscript contains parts of two *quodlibeta*, one on ff. 1r–12v, the other on ff. 13r–18v. Between ff. 12 and 13, four folios have been cut out; however, f. 112 has a *tabula quaestionum*, and the numeration between the two *quodlibeta* is continuous, so the first question of the *quodlibet* beginning on f. 13r is numbered q. 44. On the basis of internal references, Glorieux notes that the *quodlibet* that starts on f. 13 is also incomplete. Glorieux labels the *quodlibet* starting on f. 13 as *Quodlibet I*, and the text starting on f. 1 as *Quodlibet II*, but Etzkorn reverses this order in his edition.³

¹ Matthaeus ab Aquasparta, *Quaestiones disputatae de gratia*, ed. V. Doucet (Quaracchi 1935), pp. XLV–XLVIII (Codex F^b); Glorieux II, pp. 216–18; idem, “Peut-on identifier P. de Ang.?” *RTAM* 27 (1960), pp. 148–53; G. Etzkorn, “Petrus Sutton (?), O.F.M., *Quodlibeta*,” *Franciscan Studies* 23 (1963), pp. 68–139; idem, “Petrus Sutton (?), O.F.M., *Quaestiones Disputatae*,” *Franciscan Studies* 24 (1964), pp. 101–43. Petrus Sutton, *Quodlibet I*, q. 23, pp. 107–8: “Responsio. Sunt quidam novi qui dicunt omnino quod caritas generari potest ex operibus caritatis, non quidem caritas gratuita, sed alia sibi consimilis quae informis esse potest et tamen caritas nuncupari debet. Quod ostendunt tam a parte causae quam a parte effectus. Ex parte causae sic: quia omnis actus manens in agente derelinquit aliquod vestigium sive impressionem in suo subiecto, si subiectum sit tale quod possit aliquam impressionem retinere... Ex effectu ostendunt hoc idem sic: sint hic duo homines quorum unus exercitatus est in operibus per viginti annos, alius per unum diem tantum...” *Quodlibet II*, q. 1, p. 123: “Ex dictis, iam patet quomodo secundum quosdam nulla forma substantialis est divisibilis, nec in se nec in materia; secundum alios, quod omnis forma suscipit magis et minus, et in se et in materia; secundum tertios, quod aliqua suscipit magis et minus et in se et in materia, aliqua vero nec in se nec in materia. Omnes tamen in hoc concordant quod substantia cuiuslibet angeli vel animae sit in gradu indivisibili ac per hoc non potest successive produci. Est adhuc quarta opinio sed quoniam adhuc nimis recens est, praesentibus non inserui.” After the latter comment, the author provides his own position, and not a summary of the fourth opinion.

² M. Pickavé, in his contribution to this volume (p. 56, n. 131), confirms that, from the perspective of “the doctrine of individuation, this *Quodlibet* could be fairly early (late 1280s).”

³ Etzkorn, “Petrus Sutton (?), O.F.M., *Quodlibeta*,” although for the question titles of *Quodlibet I*, qq. 28–43, on the four folios missing from the Florence manuscript, see Glorieux II, pp. 216–18.

Peter of England

Scotus' contemporary Peter of England appears as a master at Paris in the period 1303–05, and later as Provincial Minister of Upper Germany between 1309 and 1316. He attended the Council of Vienne in 1311 as a master of theology. For Peter of England, BAV, Vat. lat. 932, contains three *quodlibeta* in series, numbered one through three, on ff. 175ra–189ra, 189ra–204rb, and 204rb–217vb respectively. *Quodlibet* III, q. 11, ends with a reference to a discussion *in primo quolibet*.⁴ At the end of the text, a *tabula quaestionum* appears for all three *quodlibeta* (ff. 217vb–218ra), and at the bottom margin of this text appears a second explicit, in a different hand, to *Quodlibet* III, attributing it to Peter of England (f. 218r): “Explicit tertium quodlibet editum a fratre Petro de Anglia, ministro conventus (?) Colonie, magistro in theologia ordinis fratrum minorum.” Glorieux notes that *Quodlibet* II, q. 18, mentions a “new statute” of Pope Benedict XI, a constitution that was issued in February 1304.⁵ On this basis, he dates *Quodlibet* I to 1303–04, II to 1304–05 and III to 1305.⁶ *Quodlibet* III, q. 6, “De personali distinctione in Deo, videlicet *supposito quod Spiritus Sanctus non procederet a Filio, utrum distingueretur personaliter ab eo*,” has been edited by Schmaus.⁷

Among the interesting items in Peter of England's *Quodlibeta* is the incipit for *Quodlibet* I, q. 23 (f. 188rb): “Sequuntur due questiones pertinentes ad creaturam mere corporalem, quarum prima est de re artificiali, secunda que non fuit in disputatione proposita, sed postea missa, de re naturali. Prima questio de re artificiali erat utrum figura incisionis sit ab actu nostro vel a natura.” This indication for the second question (“which was not proposed in the disputation, but was sent afterwards”) shows that questions were sometimes submitted after the *disputatio*, to be dealt with in the master's *determinatio*.

⁴ BAV, Vat. lat. 932, f. 211ra: “In rebus vero incorruptibilibus non est tota causa nec pars cause, sed in eis est talis pluralitas sub una specie ad pulchritudinem universi et ad manifestationem divine bonitatis sicut ostensum est, scilicet in primo quolibet.”

⁵ The statute would be *Inter cunctas sollicitudines*; BAV, Vat. lat. 932, f. 199ra: Novum autem statutum domini Benedicti ponit 7 casus in quibus fratres non possunt absolvere peccata ex vi illius statuti, sed tenentur ad superiorem remittere...

⁶ Glorieux II, pp. 212–15; P. Castagnoli, “Le dispute quodlibetali di Pietro d'Anglia, O.F.M.,” *Divus Thomas* (Piacenza) 20 (1931), pp. 413–18.

⁷ M. Schmaus, *Der Liber Propugnatorius des Thomas Anglicus und die Lehrunterschiede zwischen Thomas von Aquin und Duns Scotus* (Münster 1930), vol. II, p. 311, n. 80.

Glorieux's question list (Glorieux II, pp. 212–15) is fairly accurate, but contains only the titles of the questions. Here is a more complete version:

Quodlibet I

Incipit: In disputatione nostra generali querebantur questiones XXIII^{or}; alique fuerunt de Deo, alique de creaturis. Inter illas vero que fuerunt de Deo una pertinebat ad divini esse perfectionem, alia ad divine persone esse constitutionem, et plures ad divine persone (*lege* potentie) extensionem. 175ra.

1. Prima igitur pertinebat ad divini esse perfectionem, et fuit ista: *utrum Deus sit in predicamento*. 175ra.
2. Secunda questio pertinens ad divine persone constitutionem erat ista: *utrum essentia et relatio concurrant ad constitutionem <persone> in divinis*. 175vb.
3. Postea querebantur tres questiones pertinentes ad divine potentie extensionem, quarum prima erat *utrum Deus posset facere aliquam naturam nobiliorem natura intellectuali*. 177rb.
4. Secunda questio pertinens ad potentiam Dei erat *utrum, quocumque producto, Deus possit producere nobilius*. 177va.
5. Tertia questio pertinens ad divinam potentiam erat *utrum, creatura suprema creata, Deus sibi posset facere equalem*. 178va.
6. Postea querebatur de creaturis, et ibi fuerunt alique questiones pertinentes ad naturam intellectualem vel angelicam, alique ad naturam rationalem, puta hominem, et alique ad naturam mere corporalem. Circa naturam intellectualem sive angelicam querebantur duo, unum pertinens ad angelos in communi, aliud specialiter ad malos angelos. Questio ad angelos in communi fuit *utrum angeli sint in eadem specie*. 179rb.
7. Questio pertinens ad malos [ad malos] angelos fuit ista: *utrum unus malus angelus possit alium illuminare*. 179vb.
8. Postea querebatur de creatura rationali, et ibi fuerunt alique questiones pertinentes ad Christum hominem in speciali, alique vero pertinentes ad hominem in communi. Circa hominem vero Christum querebantur tres questiones ad esse corporis ipsius sub sacramento altaris. Prima questio fuit *utrum corpus Christi in sacramento altaris sit visibile ab oculo glorificato*. 180ra.
9. Alia questio circa corpus Christi sub sacramento erat, *posito quod sacerdos ponat XII hostias et non intendat consecrare nisi XI, querebatur utrum proferendo verba sacramentalia super illas omnes non (lege vere) consecret*. 180rb.
10. Tertia questio circa corpus Christi sub sacramento erat *utrum sacerdos sciens aliquem esse in peccato mortali, cum propter scandalum non debeat sibi negare eucharistiam, utrum debeat sibi dare hostiam simplicem non consecratam*. 180va.
11. Post questiones de Christo homine in speciali sequuntur ille que respiciunt hominem in communi, quarum alique [respiciunt hominem in communi, alique] ex parte anime, alique vero ex parte corporis; inter alias vero que respiciunt hominem ex parte anime, una pertinebat ad potentias anime in communi, alie vero ad ipsas potentias in speciali. Ista vero que fit de

- potentiis anime in communi erat *utrum potentie anime differant per essentiam*. 180vb.
12. Postea querebantur de potentiis anime in speciali, et primo de potentia intellectiva, et postea de potentia voluntativa. Circa potentiam intellectivam primo sunt questiones respicientes ipsius actum et secundo alie que consequuntur actum ipsius. Circa obiectum vero intellectus querebantur duo, primo *utrum veritas prima sit obiectum intellectus nostri primo et per se*. 182rb.
 13. Alia questio pertinens ad oppositum (*lege* obiectum) intellectus erat ista: *utrum intelligibile sub eadem ratione representet se omni intellectui*. 182vb.
 14. Postea sequuntur due questiones pertinentes ad actum ipsius intelligendi, quarum una est de actu intelligendi ipsius anime separate, alia de actu intelligendi ipsius anime reunite corpori glorioso. Prima ergo questio de actu intelligendi anime separate erat *utrum anima post <mortem> intelligat vel reminiscatur naturaliter*. 183rb.
 15. Secunda questio de actu intelligibili ipsius anime reunite corpori glorioso fuit ista: *utrum anima resumpto corpore in paradiso intelligat fantasiando*. 183vb.
 16. Postea sequuntur due questiones circa ea que consequuntur actum intelligendi, quarum prima est *utrum quando* (mg.) *aliqua duo sic se habent quod unum <non> potest intelligi sine alio, eo ipso faciant compositionem realem*. 184ra.
 17. Secunda questio circa ea que sequuntur actum intelligendi erat *utrum sint aliqua que minus differant quam re et plus quam ratione*. 184va.
 18. Sequuntur questiones pertinentes ad voluntatem, et querebantur quedam circa actum voluntatis et aliqua circa habitum ipsius. Circa actum voluntatis una questio circa actum ipsius inquantum debet esse bonum et ad Deum ordinatur (*lege* ordinatum) et erat ista: *utrum teneamur conformare voluntatem nostram voluntati divine*. 185ra.
 19. Alia questio circa actum voluntatis inquantum malum et a Deo deordinatum erat ista: *utrum desperatio in eo qui desperat sine merito sit peccatum mortale*. 185va.
 20. Postea una questio pertinens ad habitum voluntatis et erat *utrum virtus eroica distinguatur essentialiter ab aliis virtutibus*. 186ra.
 21. Postea sequuntur questiones respicientes hominem ex parte corporis et sunt due, quarum una pertinet ad humani corporis compositionem, alia ad ipsius defensionem. Prima, que pertinet ad humani corporis compositionem, erat ista: *utrum corpus humanum constituitur* (*lege* *constituatur*) *immediate ex elementis*. 187ra.
 22. Questio vero pertinens ad corporis defensionem erat *utrum clerici possint pugnare licite contra hostes pro defensione patrie*. 187vb.
 23. Sequuntur due questiones pertinentes ad creaturam mere corporalem, quarum prima est de re artificiali, secunda—que non fuit in disputatione proposita, sed postea missa—de re naturali. Prima questio de re artificiali erat *utrum figura incisionis sit ab actu nostro vel a natura*. 188rb.
 24. Questio sequens circa rem naturalem erat ista: *quare tempore magne siccitatis fontes principales deficiunt et fontes aquarum ut plurimum non dantes reveniunt et proponebatur sine argumentis*. 188va.
- Explicit: ... cum prius non ebullissent propter foramina scaturiginum obturata. 189ra.

Quodlibet II

Incipit: In secunda disputatione nostra generali proponebantur questiones 27; alique questiones pertinentes ad scientiam naturalem seu physicam, alique pertinentes ad doctrinalem seu mathematicam, alique ad harum omnium principalem, scilicet theologicam. Quamvis autem theologia ordine dignitatis omnium scientiarum sit prima, ordine tamen adiscendi omnium est postrema. Ordine enim adiscendi innata est nobis via ex notioribus nobis, cuiusmodi sunt notiora sensibilia quam intelligibilia, quia omnis cognitio nostra ortum habet a sensu. Et ideo primo volo incipere ab illis questionibus que pertinent ad materiam naturalem sive sensibilem, alique ad moralem seu ethicam. Item questiones vere (?) naturales: una erat de rei universalis principio materiali, plures vero de ipso principiatio, scilicet re naturali. 189ra.

1. Prima igitur questio de materiali principio erat *utrum sit dare materiam primam*. 189rb.
2. Postea sequuntur questiones de ipsa re universali, circa quam queritur primo quoad eius constitutionem sive perfectionem, secundo circa eius infectionem, tertio circa eius corruptionem, quarto circa eius mensuram vel durationem. De constitutione vero sive rei naturalis perfectione proponebantur due questiones, una de perfectione hominis, alia de perfectione animalis anulosi corporis. Circa constitutionem sive perfectionem hominis querebatur *utrum principium intellectivum uniatur corpori humano ut forma*. 189vb.
3. Postea querebatur de perfectione animalis anulosi corporis, *utrum videlicet in qualibet parte animalis anulosi corporis de<c>isi sit dare animam sensitivam et motivam*. 190rb.
4. Postea querebatur de re naturali quantum ad eius lesionem sive infectionem, et erat questio *utrum aliquis aspectus malivulus possit inficere corpus humanum*. 190vb.
5. Postea querebatur de rei naturalis corruptione naturali, circumscripta actione contraria continentis, et ostendo quod non...⁸ 191rb.
6. Postea querebatur de re naturali quantum ad eius mensuram sive durationem, que quidem mensura est tempus. De ipso vero tempore querebantur plura, unum videlicet de eius essentia, aliud de eius esse, tertium de instanti, quod est aliquid ipsius temporis, quarto de futuro, quod est pars temporis. De essentia vero sive quidditate temporis querebatur *utrum tempus sit numerus numerans vel numerus numeratus*. 192rb.
7. Postea querebatur de tempore quantum ad eius esse *utrum unum tempus habeat esse suum in anima vel extra*. 192vb.
8. Postea querebatur de instanti, quod est aliquid temporis sicut terminus, *utrum videlicet sit unum et idem instans manens in toto tempore vel sint diversa instantia*. 193vb.

⁸ The title of this question is also missing from the *tabula quaestionum* at the end, f. 218ra.

9. Postea querebatur de futuro, quod est pars temporis sive differentia temporis, *utrum videlicet sit de ratione futuri quod aliquando sit presens*. 194rb.
10. Postea sequuntur questiones pertinentes ad scientiam mathematicam, quarum prima est de astrologia, scilicet de siderum influentia, secunda de geometria, scilicet de partibus continui in potentia. Prima igitur questio est *utrum modica diversitas radiorum faciat diversitatem in effectu*. 195ra.
11. Postea sequitur una questio pertinens ad geometriam, de partibus continui in potentia, *utrum videlicet Deus actu intelligat omnes partes possibiles continui*. 195vb.
12. Postea sequuntur questiones pertinentes ad scientiam moralem sive ethicam, et primo queritur de habitu virtuoso sive gratioso, secundo de habitu vitioso. Circa habitum virtuosum sive gratiosum querebatur *utrum caritas Beate Virginis in vita excedebat caritatem existentium in patria*. 196rb.
13. Postea querebatur de habitu vel actu vitioso, et primo in generali et postea in speciali. In generali vero querebatur *utrum aliquis possit male agere*. 196vb.
14. Postea querebatur de habitu vel actu vitioso magis in speciali, et postea (*lege primo?*) querebatur de ipso quantum ad ipsius perpetrationem, secundo quantum ad ipsius expiationem sive emendationem. De ipsius vero perpetratione sive commissione fuit questio primo de peccato commisso ex ignorantia (querebatur *del.*), secundo de peccato commisso ex certa scientia. De peccato commisso ex ignorantia querebatur *utrum peccans ex ignorantia invincibili sit damnandus*. 197rb.
15. Postea querebatur de peccato commisso ex certa scientia, et primo de peccato sacerdotis, secundo de peccatis aliorum generaliter. De peccato sacerdotis querebatur *utrum sacerdos obligatus ad celebrandum et existens in peccato mortali debeat celebrare*. 197vb.
16. Postea querebatur de peccatis aliorum generaliter et primo de peccato affectus sive incontinentie, secundo de peccato effectus sive usure. De incontinentia vero fuit questio *utrum incontinentia que est circa iras sit peior incontinentia que est circa concupiscentias*. 198ra.
17. Questio sequens erat de peccato usure, videlicet *supposito quod aliquis usurarius ex 5 libris quas acquisivit per usuram lucratus fuerit alias 5 libras, utrum teneatur ad restitutionem lucri*. 198rb.
18. Postea querebatur de culpe perpetrata expiatione sive emendatione, et circa hoc fuerunt due questiones, una pertinens ad confessionem, alia ad satisfactionem. De confessione querebatur sine argumentis *utrum ignorantia confessoris aut impotentia absolventis faciat quod confitens peccata sua non sit vere absolutus*. 198vb.
19. Postea querebatur de satisfactione *utrum aliquis medicus iuvenis qui credit se scire quod nescit, si vadat ad medicandum et interficiat personam, teneatur ad emendam persone vel pecunie*. 199rb.
20. Postea sequuntur questiones pertinentes ad scientiam theologicam, circa quam fuerunt aliqua quesita de Deo, aliqua vero de angelo, aliqua de figura sive de misteriis ostensis in veteri testamento. De Deo querebantur 4. Primum erat de persone divine constitutione, *utrum videlicet paternitas sub ratione qua est relatio constituat primam personam in divinis*. 199vb.

21. Postea querebatur de divinarum personarum adoratione, *supposito* videlicet *quod non possimus plura simul intelligere et quod sint tres persone in divinis, cui persone primo debetur latría*. 201rb.
 22. Postea querebatur de attributorum divinatorum distinctione, *utrum* videlicet *pluralitas attributorum in divinis sit a Deo vel a creatura*. 201vb.
 23. Postea querebatur de creaturarum productione a Deo, *utrum* videlicet *aliquid creatum a Deo possit esse ab eterno*. 201vb.
 24. Postea querebatur <de angelo>, et primo de ipsius compositione, secundo de eius motu seu translatione. Prima igitur erat *utrum natura angelica sit composita ex materia et forma*. 202va.
 25. Postea querebatur <*utrum angelus*> *poterit vel possit movere a loco in locum et in instanti*. 203rb.
 26. Postea querebatur de figuris sive misteriis ostensis in veteri testamento, et primo de cuiusdam sompni verificatione, secundo de quadam mirabili visione sive apparitione. Prima igitur questio erat *utrum sompnia Ioseph fuerint verificata*. 203vb.
 27. Postea querebatur de quadam admirabili visione sive apparitione, *utrum* videlicet *ignis quem vidit Moyses in rubo de quo habetur in Exodo habuit virtutem combustivam*. 203vb.
- Explicit: ... sed est quedam manu ductio ad possibilitatem predictorum facilius capiendam. Explicit etc. 204rb.

Quodlibet III

Incipit: In tertia disputatione nostra generali proponebantur questiones 24, quarum una tangebatur generaliter creatorem et creaturam, quedam vero alie specialiter creatorem, alique vero specialiter pertinebant ad creaturam. 204rb.

1. Illa que tangebatur generaliter creatorem et creaturam erat ista: *utrum veritas sive creata sive increata sit principaliter in re vel in intellectu*. 204va.
2. Ideo postea querebatur specialiter de Deo, et querebantur aliqua de divine persone perfectione, aliqua de personali distinctione, alia vero de nature humane ab ipso Deo assumptione. Circa perfectionem vero persone (potentie *a.c.*) fuit una questio de ipsius potentie divine ostensione, plures vero de eiusdem persone extensione. De primo querebatur *utrum in Christo magis manifestetur virtus divina quam in aliqua alia creatura*. 207ra.
3. Postea querebatur de divine potentie extensione, et circa hoc querebantur tria, primo utrum Deus posset transsubstantiare aliud in se, secundo utrum possit communicare potentiam creandi alicui extra se, tertio utrum possit facere duas species equaliter distantes a se. Prima igitur questio erat *utrum Christus secundum quod homo posset transsubstantiari in Verbum divinum*. 207va.
4. Et querebatur *utrum Deus posset communicare potentiam creandi*. 207vb.
5. Tertio querebatur *utrum Deus posset facere duas species equaliter distantes a se*. 208rb.

6. De personali distinctione in Deo, videlicet *supposito quod Spiritus Sanctus non procederet a Filio, utrum distingueretur personaliter ab eo*. 208va.⁹
7. Postea querebatur de humane nature ad personam divinam assumptione, et fuit questio *utrum Verbum fuerit unitum nature humane*. 209ra.
8. Et querebatur *utrum, si assumpserit duas humanitates, Christus fuisset unus homo vel duo*. 209va.
9. Postea querebatur de creatura, et primo de ipsa in generali, secundo de quibusdam magis in speciali. Circa creaturam in generali querebantur duo, primum de eius possibilitate, secundo de eius finitate. De eius possibilitate querebatur *utrum illud quod non est factibile sit possibile*. 209va.
10. Secundo querebatur de creature infinitate, *utrum videlicet in aliquo finito sit dare potentiam infinitam*. 210rb.
11. Postea querebatur de quibusdam creaturis in speciali, et primo de causa (*lege* creatura) intellectuali, scilicet angelo, secundo de creatura rationali, scilicet homine, tertio de causa (*lege* creatura) mere corporali. De creatura vero intellectuali querebatur *utrum substantie separate, sive angeli sive intelligentie, sint plures in eadem specie*. 210va.¹⁰
12. Postea querebatur de creatura rationali, scilicet homine, et querebantur alia de homine ex parte anime, alia vero ex parte corporis. Ex parte vero anime querebantur alia que respiciunt statum ipsius ut coniuncta est, alia vero respicientia statum ipsius ut separata est. Circa vero statum eius ut coniuncta est querebantur alia que pertinent ad potentiam eius naturalem et unum quod pertinet ad potestatem (?) eius spiritualement. Circa potentiam vero eius naturalem querebantur tria, primum utrum sit necesse ponere intellectum agentem, secundum utrum quidditas abstracta possit movere intellectum, tertium utrum intellectus speculativus et practicus sint una potentia. Primo ergo querebatur *utrum sit necesse ponere intellectum agentem*. 211ra.
13. Querebatur, *supposito quod quidditas rei materialis sit abstracta, utrum possit movere intellectum*. 211vb.
14. Tertio querebatur *utrum intellectus speculativus et practicus sint una et eadem potentia*. 212rb.
15. Postea querebatur de anima quoad potestatem eius spiritualement, et erat questio, *supposito quod aliquis prelatus, trina ammonitione premissa, excommunicavit aliquem qui fecerit tale furtum dummodo subsit ipsi excommunicati et iste qui furatus est impetrat litteras papales (practicales a.c.) quod possit eligere confessorem et ab eo absolvi in omnibus casibus qui non reservantur pape, utrum talis confessor ab eo electus possit eum absolvere a vinculo excommunicationis sicut a furto*. 212va.

⁹ Edited by M. Schmaus, *Der Liber Propugnatorius des Thomas Anglicus*, vol. II, p. 311, n. 80.

¹⁰ Explicit: In rebus vero incorruptibilibus non est tota causa nec pars cause, sed in eis est talis pluralitas sub una specie ad pulchritudinem universi et ad manifestationem divine bonitatis sicut ostensum est, scilicet in primo quolibet.

16. Postea querebatur de anima quantum ad statum ipsius separatum, et circa statum illum querebantur duo, unum de cognitione naturali ipsius anime pro statu illo, aliud de cognitione ipsius supernaturali. De cognitione naturali querebatur, *supposito quod anima ante susceptionem specierum separetur a corpore, utrum actu intellectualis esset*. 212va.
17. Postea querebatur de anima separata quoad cognitionem eius supernaturalem, *utrum videlicet in visione beatifica requiratur habitus cognoscitivus*. 213rb.
18. Postea querebatur de homine ex parte corporis, et circa hoc querebantur duo, unum de operatione ipsius hominis mediante corpore in generali, alia de principio formali cuiusdam operationis, scilicet actus videndi in speciali. Primo igitur querebatur *utrum aliqua (lege aliquae) operatio humana debeat plus poni in una parte hominis quam in alia*. 213vb.
19. Secunda questio erat *utrum species rei in oculo sit realis*. 214ra.
20. Postea querebatur de creatura mere corporali, et primo fuit quesitum de ipso in generali, secundo de quibusdam corporibus in speciali. Circa ipsam vero in generali querebantur tria, primo de eius esse, secundo de eius fieri, tertio de eius numerari. Circa esse vero eius querebatur *utrum natura universalis verius habeat esse in anima aut in ipsis singularibus extra*.¹¹ 214rb.
21. Secundo querebatur de creatura corporali quantum ad eius fieri, *utrum videlicet quidquid est substantie singularis sit per se generabilis et corruptibilis*. 214vb.
22. Tertio querebatur de creatura corporali quantum ad eius numerari, *utrum videlicet in numeris sit abire in infinitum*. 215va.
23. Postea querebatur de quibusdam corporibus in speciali, videlicet de corporibus supercelestibus que pertinent ad quintam essentiam, et circa ea querebantur duo, quorum unum indifferenter respicit omnes planetas, alia vero specialiter unum illorum, scilicet lunam. Questio respiciens omnes planetas erat (*mg.*) *utrum sint ponendi eccentrici et epicycli*. 215vb.
24. Secundo querebatur specialiter de luna, *utrum videlicet cornua que apparent in luna in novilunio sint ibi secundum existentiam vel secundum apparentiam tantum*. 217rb.

Explicit: ...communia sunt motus quies numerus figura et quantitas. 217vb.
 Explicit tertium quodlibet. Si male quid feci veniam peto, si bene grates.
 217vb–218ra has a *tabula quaestionum*. At the bottom margin of 218r, in a different hand there appears: Explicit tertium quodlibet editum a fratre Petro de Anglia, ministro conventus (?) Colonie, magistro in theologia ordinis fratrum minorum.

Alexander of Alessandria

Alexander of Alessandria first appears as licensed in theology in Rome on 23 November 1303. He turns up in Paris four years later. A document

¹¹ This title is missing from the *tabula quaestionum*, f. 218vb.

dated 26 October 1307 relating to the trial of the Templars at Paris names four Franciscan theologians. Two of the three named as bachelors have been identified as Bertrand de la Tour and Nicholas of Lyra. The document also names "Alexander ordinis minorum" as "magister in theologia."¹² In 1309 Alexander was named Prior Provincial of the Terra di Lavoro, and he became Minister General of the Franciscan Order in 1313, dying in Rome on 5 October 1314. On the basis of his duties in the Franciscan Order starting in 1309, Glorieux states that Alexander's sole surviving *Quodlibet* can be dated to the academic year 1307–08 "sans crainte d'erreur."¹³

For the *Quodlibet* attributed to Alexander of Alessandria, Glorieux counts twenty-two questions in his catalogue, although the explicit he quotes from Tortosa, Biblioteca de la Catedral 139, reads: "Explicit quolibet editum a Magistro Alexandro de Alexandria ordinis fratrum minorum in quo continentur questiones numero XXI, quarum tituli inferius per ordinem sunt scripti." Moreover, he lists questions "19" and "20" as treating similar subjects:

19. Utrum in substantiis separatis individuum aliquid addat supra speciem. 217a.
20. Utrum in substantiis separatis sit compositio essentiae et individui.

Glorieux does not assign a folio number (from the Mazarine manuscript) to question "20." Both the Vatican and the Tortosa witnesses have question 19 as reading:

¹² H. Finke, *Papsttum und Untergang des Templerordens* (Münster 1907), vol. II, pp. 309–13 (no. 150); F. Pelster, "Quodlibeta und Questiones des Nikolaus von Lyra O.F.M. († 1349)," in *Mélanges Joseph de Ghellinck, S.J.* (Gembloux 1951), vol. II (pp. 951–73), p. 961.

¹³ Glorieux II, p. 55; L. Veuthey, *Alexandre d'Alessandrie, maître de l'Université de Paris et ministre général des Frères Mineurs* (Paris 1932). For a discussion of the content of Alexander's *Quodlibet*, see F. Krause, "l'Attitude d'Alexandre Bonini d'Alessandria à l'égard du principe d'inviduation," *Studia Mediaevistica* 34–35 (1999–2000), pp. 147–55, using the Mazarine manuscript; cf. idem, "Abriss der Erkenntnistheorie bei Alexander von Alessandria," *Studia Mediaevistica* 20 (1980), pp. 91–125; idem, "Der Erkenntniskonzeption von Alexander Bonini aus Alessandria," in *Sprache und Erkenntnis im Mittelalter*, A. Zimmermann, ed. (Miscellanea Mediaevalia, 13/2) (Berlin-New York 1981), pp. 1074–83; idem, "Filozoficzne poglądy Aleksandra z Aleksandrii i ich wpływ na Uniwersytet Krakowski," *Studia Mediaevistica* 24 (1985), pp. 1–164; idem, "Die Charakteristik des Begriffs Substanz bei Alexander Bonini aus Alessandria," *MPP* 27 (1986), pp. 33–9; idem, "Die Struktur des Seins im Aspekt der Essenz und Existenz bei Alexander aus Alexandria," *Studia Mediaevistica* 25 (1988), pp. 119–43.

Utrum in substantiis separatis individuum aliquid addat supra speciem ita quod in eis sit compositio ex natura et individuo.

Therefore, Glorieux's question 20 is most likely a publication error.

The *Quodlibet* survives in the following manuscripts: London, British Library, Add. 14077 (ff. 148ra–182vb); München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 8717 (f. 93ra, q. 1; f. 47a?, q. 14);¹⁴ Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 889 (ff. 184ra–220vb); BAV, Vat. lat. 932 (ff. 1ra–27vb, 72va–80rb); Tortosa, Biblioteca de la Catedral 139 (ff. 214ra–247va); Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 1447 (f. 96–142); Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio A.886 (fragment).

Question list based on two witnesses: P = Mazarine 889, as reported in Glorieux II, pp. 55–56; V = BAV, Vat. lat. 932; G = Glorieux's numeration:

1. Queritur primo *utrum in una et eadem re simplici possint includi diverse formalitates sive diversa esse quidditativa*. P 184ra; V 1ra.¹⁵
2. Secundo queritur *utrum aliquis relativus (respectus V) sit de primario intellectu (conceptu V) alicuius absoluti*. P 185vb; V 2vb.
3. P: *Utrum similitudo inter Cain et Abel, sive inter duo individua eiusdem speciei, sit relatio realis*. 187ra; V: *Tertio queritur utrum similitudo inter Abel et Cayn que fuerunt de individuo (!) eiusdem speciei sit modus realis*. 4ra.
4. Quarto queritur *que est maior distinctio, aut (an P) illa que est inter attributa aut (an P) illa que est inter relationes divinas*. P 188ra; V 5ra.
5. Quinto queritur *utrum magnitudo sit in divinis ex natura rei*. P 189vb; V 7vb.
6. Sexto queritur *utrum actio in divinis ad intra et relatio differant formaliter*. P 192va; V 9rb.¹⁶
7. Septimo queritur *utrum cognitio creaturarum in Patre (tempore P) precedat productionem (cognitionem V) Verbi*. P 194ra; V 11ra.
8. Octavo queritur *utrum Deus possit facere subiectum absque omni accidente absoluto*. P 196ra; V 12vb.
9. Nono queritur *utrum Deus possit causare cognitionem intuitivam (spat. vac. V) sine existentia rei vel (et P) sine reali presentia obiecti*. P 198va; V 15rb.

¹⁴ Cf. F. Pelster, "Eine Münchener Handschrift des beginnenden vierzehnten Jahrhunderts mit einem Verzeichnis von Quaestionen des Duns Scotus und Hervaeus Natalis (Cod. lat. Monac. 8717)," *Franziskanische Studien* 17 (1930) (pp. 253–72), p. 256 (q. 1), p. 263 (q. 14 = n. 63: "Utrum omnes intellectus actus sint eiusdem speciei"); for q. 14, the folio is listed as "56a (!)," but the sequentially prior and posterior questions are listed as starting on folios 46vb and 48va, respectively. The identification between the question in Munich 8717 and Alexander's q. 14 is made purely on the basis of the *incipit*.

¹⁵ Edition (from Munich 8717), B. Jansen, "Beiträge zur geschichtlichen Entwicklung der *Distinctio Formalis*," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 53 (1929) (pp. 317–44 and 517–44), pp. 538–43.

¹⁶ Partial edition in F. Amerini, "Alessandro di Alessandria sulla natura degli accidenti," *DSTFM* 16 (2005) (pp. 179–235), p. 232.

10. Decimo queritur *utrum, cum dicitur Deus creator* (inv. V) *celi et terre, exprimatur unus articulus fidei*. P 199va; V 16rb.
11. Undecimo queritur *utrum mundus potuerit* (potuit V) *produci ab eterno*. P 201rb; V 17vb.
12. Duodecimo queritur *utrum fieri cuiuslibet rei* (om. V) *factibilis arguat materiam que sit pars rei facte* (substantie eius V). P 203va; V 19vb.
13. Tertiodecimo queritur *utrum intellectus possibilis sit effectivus* (factivus V) *sue operationis*. P 205va; V 21va.
14. Quartodecimo queritur *utrum omnes* (omnis V) *actus intellectus sint eiusdem speciei*. P 207rb; V 23ra.
15. Quintodecimo queritur *utrum aliquid aliud a voluntate possit causare actum voluntatis in voluntate*. P 208vb; V 24vb.
16. Sextodecimo queritur *utrum de ratione voluntatis, ut est distincta contra naturam* (animam V), *sit libertas cum indifferentia ad multa*. P 210vb; V 26va.
17. Queritur *utrum fieri substantiarum separatarum excludat ab eis necessitatem essendi*. P 212ra; V 72va.
18. *Utrum fieri substantiarum separatarum arguat relationem realem in Deo*. P 214vb; V 74va.
19. *Utrum in substantiis separatis individuum aliquid addat supra* (super V) *speciem ita quod in eis sit compositio ex natura et individuo*. P 217ra; V 76va.
20. (G: 21) *Utrum possint esse duo angeli eiusdem speciei*. P 218vb; V 78rb.
21. (G: 22) P: *Utrum Christus fuerit homo in triduo*. 220ra–vb; V: *Utrum Christus in triduo fuerit verus homo*. 79va.

Nicholas of Lyra

Most likely from Lyre, Normandy, Nicholas of Lyra entered the Franciscan convent at Verneuil around 1300 and studied theology at Paris, serving as bachelor in the years 1307–08. He became master of theology by April 1309 at the latest, and was regent for at most two years. He was Franciscan Prior Provincial of France (ca. 1319–24), then of Burgundy (ca. 1324–26). Nicholas died in October 1349, probably on the fourteenth of the month. He was buried at the convent of the Cordeliers in Paris.¹⁷

Nicholas of Lyra published a treatise that some refer to as his *Quodlibetum de adventu Christi*,¹⁸ others as the *Quaestiones Judaicam Perfidiā*

¹⁷ Glorieux II, pp. 200–1; H. Labrosse, “Sources de la Biographie de Nicholas de Lyre,” *Etudes Franciscaines* 16 (1906), pp. 383–404; idem, “Biographie de Nicolas de Lyre,” *Etudes Franciscaines* 17 (1907), pp. 489–505, 593–608; idem, “Oeuvres de Nicolas de Lyre,” *Etudes Franciscaines* 19 (1908), pp. 153–75, 369–79, and 35 (1923), pp. 170–87, 400–31.

¹⁸ J. Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews* (Ithaca 1982), p. 180.

Improbantes, but most frequently as the *Probatio adventus Christi* (as it will be here). This text survives in over one hundred manuscripts and at least twenty-nine early modern printed editions.¹⁹ This work states explicitly that the text was first written in 1309.²⁰ Moreover, Nicholas of Lyra made repeated references in his *Postilla litteralis* to a discussion “in quadam quaestione de quolibet,” in which he claims to disprove interpretations that oppose Christ as the Messiah.²¹ Thus, the treatise must have had its origin as a *quodlibet*, and Labrosse supposes that the text that became the *Probatio adventus Christi* first existed as a question from a quodlibetal disputation held in 1309.

While Labrosse argues that Nicholas’ text exists in two redactions, one from 1309 and another from between 1331 and 1334, Klepper convincingly shows that only a single redaction existed.²² Labrosse’s argument hinges on three elements: first, in the catalogues he surveyed, there are two different *incipits*;²³ second, Nicholas makes references to other works, including his *Postilla litteralis*, which dates to 1331; finally, in the version that Labrosse had access to, Nicholas states: “Ista sunt que dixi de ista ratione quando determinavi, sed postea venit ad manum meam quidam libellus hebraice scriptus ubi predicta ratio alias solvitur et quantum ad istum articulum dixit sic auctor istius libelli...”²⁴ Labrosse believed that he saw here a reference to the treatise Nicholas criticizes in his 1334 *Responsio ad Iudaeum*. Klepper’s revision, on the other hand, points out that, except for the incipit, all the texts available

¹⁹ D.C. Klepper, “The Dating of Nicholas of Lyra’s *Quaestio de Adventu Christi*,” *AFH* 86 (1993) (pp. 297–312), pp. 311–12; E.A. Gosselin, “A Listing of the Printed Editions of Nicolaus de Lyra,” *Traditio* 26 (1970) (pp. 399–426), p. 416; E. Longpré, “Le quolibet de Nicolas de Lyre OFM,” *AFH* 23 (1930) (pp. 42–56), p. 46; Labrosse, “Oeuvres de Nicolas de Lyre” (1923), pp. 177–8, claims “over 80” manuscripts and Klepper claims over 100, but both explicitly list only about 40 of the 80, chiefly the ones that appear in collections in Paris, Munich, the Vatican and Vienna.

²⁰ In arguing that Christ is the Messiah against claims that the Jewish Messiah is yet to come, Nicholas states (Tortosa 139, f. 311vb): “Quod etiam patet per effectum, quia ab illo tempore usque nunc fluxerunt mille trecenti IX anni adminus, quia toto anno incarnationis domini scriptum est hoc opus, et adhuc Iudei videntur a predicto sceptro magis longiue quam a principio.”

²¹ Labrosse, “Oeuvres de Nicolas de Lyre” (1923), p. 178.

²² Labrosse, “Oeuvres de Nicolas de Lyre” (1923), pp. 178–83; Klepper, “Nicholas of Lyra’s *De Adventu Christi*,” pp. 300–8.

²³ Labrosse, “Oeuvres de Nicolas de Lyre” (1923), p. 178, gives “Quaeritur utrum ex Scripturis a Iudaeis receptis possit efficaciter probari salvatorem nostrum fuisse Deum et hominem” and “Quaeritur utrum per Scripturas a Iudaeis receptas possit probari mysterium Christi et in lege et prophetis promissum esse jam completum.”

²⁴ Tortosa 139, f. 96va.

are identical. Moreover, Nicholas of Strasbourg plagiarized the *Probatio adventus Christi* in 1323. Therefore, all versions of the *Probatio adventus Christi* report effectively the same text.

Working from Labrosse's hypothesis of two editions, Ephrem Longpré found the original question that served as the basis for the *Probatio adventus Christi* in a series of fourteen questions contained in a miscellany of Franciscan theological works (BAV, Vat. lat. 869). Thus he identified these questions as Nicholas of Lyra's *Quodlibet*. In addition to the relation between the first two questions and the *Probatio adventus Christi*, Longpré demonstrates that Nicholas, in his *Postilla litteralis*, refers to the third question (on the salvation of Solomon). Finally, while three of the questions appear in the Wadding edition of Scotus' work, Scotus could not have been the author, since the eighth question in the series—on the *usus pauper*—cites *Exivi de Paradiso*, promulgated in 1312. Therefore, Longpré concluded that the entire series of questions constitutes at least part of a *quodlibet* by Nicholas of Lyra.²⁵

In a short note, Franz Pelster called into question this full reconstruction, showing that several questions, starting with the sixth, were instead those of Richard of Mediavilla. He did, however, find an internal reference in the fifth question that associated it with the preceding questions.²⁶ He later attributed to Peter Auriol the question on the *usus pauper* that Longpré had edited.²⁷

Building on this debate, Glorieux (II, p. 201) reported five questions for Nicolas of Lyra's *Quodlibet* (I) with the foliation from BAV, Vat. lat. 869:

1. Quaeritur utrum Iudaei cognoverunt Iesum Nazarenum esse Christum sibi promissum. 130ra.
2. Utrum ex Scripturis receptis a Iudaeis possit efficaciter probari Salvatorem nostrum fuisse Deum et hominem. 130rb.
3. Quaeritur utrum per Sacram Scripturam possit efficaciter probari finalis salus Salomonis. 138rb.
4. Utrum praelati Ecclesiae possint dimittere poenam debitam pro peccatis secundum suam voluntatem, hoc est quaerere utrum indulgentiae tantum valeant quantum sonant. 140vb.

²⁵ Longpré, "Le quolibet de Nicolas de Lyre OFM," *passim*.

²⁶ F. Pelster, review of Longpré, "Le quolibet de Nicolas de Lyre OFM," *Scholastik* (1931), pp. 127–8.

²⁷ F. Pelster, "Zur Überlieferung des Quodlibet und anderer Schriften des Petrus Aureoli OFM," *Franciscan Studies* 14 (1954) (pp. 392–411), pp. 408–11.

5. *Quaeritur utrum sacerdos in peccato mortali actus ecclesiasticos exercens peccet mortaliter in quolibet actu.* 143vb.

Glorieux repeats Longpré's observation that questions 3, 4, and 5 are published as *Quaestiones Miscellanae* 6, 4, and 3 respectively in the Vivès-Wadding edition of Scotus' work.²⁸ Likewise, he reports Pelzer's discovery in the same codex (ff. 222r–225v) of the first two questions "in their original form," that is, a fragment of the original *Quodlibet*, citing two elements in support the relative ordering: first, in the passages parallel to the *Probatio adventus Christi*'s 1309 dating, the "reworked version" gives 1314; second, the "original" text includes a *quodlibet*-like transition between sections of questions.²⁹ Klepper notes, however, that outside of the 1314 date, the two texts are identical.³⁰ Therefore, the *Probatio adventus Christi* was initially part of a *quodlibet*, but also circulated as an independent treatise.

Pelster identified three more *quodlibeta*, contained in BAV, Vat. lat. 982, ff. 81r–118r (= V), as those of Nicholas of Lyra. The first of these, also contained in Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 31 dextr., cod. 3, ff. 160r–166v (= F), is Glorieux's anonymous *Quodlibet XVI*, and the other two are anonymous *Quodlibeta XVII* and *XVIII*, respectively. Pelster shows that the three *quodlibeta* come from same author on the basis of internal stylistic criteria, and he names the author as Nicholas of Lyra because of doctrinal consistency, as well as shared terminology between question 4 above and the first of the three *quodlibeta* in Vat. lat. 982. That same first *quodlibet*, when discussing the coming of the Antichrist, reveals that it was authored in 1310.³¹ In addition, the

²⁸ Iohannes Duns Scotus, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Wadding-Vivès (Paris 1891–1895), vol. V, pp. 404ff. (q. 3 = *Quaest. misc.* q. 6), pp. 370ff. (q. 4 = *Quaest. misc.* q. 4), pp. 357ff. (q. 5 = *Quaest. misc.* q. 3).

²⁹ *Codices Vaticani Latini*, vol. II, pars prior: *Codices 679–1134* ed. A. Pelzer (Vatican City 1931) (pp. 242–54), p. 251; Glorieux II, pp. 200–1; Pelster, "Quodlibeta und Questiones des Nikolaus von Lyra," p. 962, n. 13. The 1314 date is supplied both from a statement (from Pelster) "usque ad annum domini 1314, in quo presens opus fuit scriptum" and a corroborating dating of the time from the destruction of the Temple to the present. The "transition" in Vat. lat. 869 (f. 223r, from Glorieux = V) and Tortosa 139 (f. 313ra = T) reads: "Post questiones (V: conclusiones) que movebantur de Deo in se, solvende sunt questiones que movebantur de ipso in comparatione ad creaturas. Deus pro (T: qui) speciali modo comparatur ad creaturam sibi unitam in unitate suppositi. Et ideo (V: ex unoquoque de hoc movebatur presens solutio | T: una questio que de hoc movebatur primo solvetur), que talis est: utrum ex scripturis receptis..."

³⁰ Klepper, "Nicholas of Lyra's *De Adventu Christi*," p. 305, n. 29.

³¹ The shared terminology noted by Pelster, "Quodlibeta und Questiones," p. 966, is in fact a self-citation in question 4 (f. 141ra), which appears to be borne by q. 18 of

second of the three *quodlibeta* (which Pelster signals as incomplete) refers to a discussion “in primo quolibet quaestione 47a,” which does not correspond to any text in the first or third *quodlibeta*.³²

Quodlibet II (= *Pelster, Quodlibet I; Glorieux, Anonymous XVI*)³³

Incipit: In generali nostra disputatione fuerunt quesita plura respicientia Deum et creaturas. Et respicientia Deum fuerunt variata, quorum aliqua fuerunt quoad naturam divinam et aliqua quoad humanitatem assumptam. Et quoad naturam divinam fuerunt duo, quorum unum respicit productionem personarum, aliud vero productionem creature. V 81r-v; F 160r.

1. Primum fuit *utrum ratio generandi in Patri sit essentia vel proprietas*. V 81r-v; F 160r.
2. Secundum fuit *utrum Deus omnia que fecit bona et bene fecerit*. V 81v-82r; F 160r-v.
3. Quoad assumptam vero humanitatem fuerunt duo, quorum unum respicit vite ipsius manifestationem, secundum vero sacramentalis existentie rationem. Primum ergo fuit *Quare actus Christi non fuerunt plene ab evangelistis in scripturam redacti et maxime quare nihil scripserunt a XIIo anno usque ad XXXm*. V 82r; F 160v.
4. Secundum fuit *utrum Christus prout est sub sacramento altaris possit sentire*. V 82r-v; F 160v.
5. Respicientia vero creaturas fuerunt variata, quorum aliqua respiciebant eas determinate, quedam vero indeterminate. Et hoc fuerunt duo, quorum unum fuit *utrum subiectum possit esse causa efficiens sui accidentis*. V 82v; F 160v.
6. Aliud fuit *utrum ens esset genus*. V 82v-83v; F 160v-161r.³⁴
7. Que vero respiciebant creaturas determinate fuerunt variata, quia quedam respiciebant creaturas viventes, quedam vero non viventes, quedam vero utrasque communiter. Et hec fuerunt duo, unum quoad esse nature, *utrum scilicet mixtum possit corrumpi ab aliquo intrinseco*. V 83v; F 161r-v.

the first *quodlibet* in BAV, Vat. lat. 982 (f. 88va). But since q. 4 belongs to a text with an explicit date of 1309, and q. 18 to one with an explicit date of 1310, and no evidence for more serious textual confusion exists, one must exclude the possibility that q. 4 is in fact referring to q. 18.

³² Glorieux II, p. 295; Pelster, “Quodlibeta und Questiones.”

³³ Pelster numbers the *quodlibeta* found in Vat. lat. 982 as *Quodlibeta I-III*, while noting that the second of the *quodlibeta* refers to a “first quodlibet” that does not appear to be either of the other two, but rather Nicholas of Lyra’s *Quodlibet I* above. Therefore, I have renumbered these *quodlibeta* as II-IV and use the Arabic numerals to refer to Pelster’s numeration.

³⁴ Edited in S.F. Brown, “Nicholas of Lyra’s Critique of Scotus’ Univocity” in *Historia Philosophiae Medii Aevi. Studien zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters. Festschrift für Kurt Flasch zu seinem 60. Geburtstag*, B. Moisisch and O. Pluta, eds. (Amsterdam-Philadelphia 1991) (pp. 115-27), pp. 121-7 (after V).

8. Aliud vero fuit quoad esse rationis, *utrum scilicet actio et passio sint diversa predicamenta*. V 83v–84r; F 161v.
9. Que autem respiciebant creaturas viventes fuerunt variata, quia quedam respiciebant viventes vita rationali, quedam vita sensitiva, unum vero vita intellectuali, et fuit *utrum angelus possit simul intelligere infinita*. V 84r–v; F 161v–162r.
10. Que autem respiciebant creaturas viventes vita sensitiva fuerunt duo, quorum unum respiciebat anime consistentiam, aliud vero operationem. Primum fuit *utrum anima sensitiva sit tota in corde*. V 84v–85r; F 162r.
11. Secundum fuit *utrum motus cordis sit a virtute cordis*. V 85r; F 162r.
12. Que autem respiciebant creaturas viventes vita rationali fuerunt variata tam quoad beatificationem quam quoad cognitionem quam quoad exercitationem. Quoad beatificationem fuerunt variata tam quoad substantialem quam accidentalem. Quoad substantialem fuit *utrum summa felicitas sive beatitudo consistat in aliquo particulari bono citra primum*. V 85r–v; F 162r–v.
13. Quoad accidentalem vero fuit *utrum in anima beati Francisci appareant spiritaliter stigmata illa Christi*. V 85v; F 162r.³⁵
14. Que vero respiciebant creaturas rationales quoad cognitionem fuerunt variata quoad vivos et quoad defunctos. Et quoad vivos fuerunt duo, quorum unum respicit cognitionem que habetur ex consideratione creaturam. Et fuit *utrum astrologus possit iudicare de omnibus effectibus rerum inferiorum*. V 85v–86r; F 162v.
15. Aliud vero respicit cognitionem que habetur ex revelatione prophetarum. Et fuit *utrum possimus scire an Antichristus sit natus vel non natus adhuc*. V 86r–87r; F 162v–163r.³⁶
16. Quoad defunctos vero querebatur *utrum sciant ea que aguntur apud nos in mundo*. V 87r; F 163r–v.
17. Que vero respiciebant creaturas rationales quoad exercitationem fuerunt variata, tam quoad exercitationem electivam status inveniendi quam promotivam per actum vovendi. Quoad primam supposebatur monstrum quoddam apparuisse in natura humana quod a cingulo inferius³⁷ erat corpus unum tantum femineum, a cingulo vero supra erant duo corpora; quorum unum erat sexus feminei, alterum masculini. Masculus volebat religiose et caste vivere; femina volebat matrimonio copulari. Queritur ergo *cuius voluntati sit standum*. V 87r; F 163r–v.
18. Quoad exercitationem vero promotivam per actum vovendi fuit quesitum *utrum pauper usus cadat sub voto paupertatis evangelice*. V 87v; F 163v.³⁸

³⁵ Edited in E. Longpré, "Fr. Rogeri Marston et anonymi Doctoris O.F.M. quaestiones ineditae de B. Francisci stigmatibus," *Antonianum* 7 (1932) (pp. 238–44), pp. 243–4 (from F).

³⁶ As Glorieux noted, this question gives the date 1310 in two places.

³⁷ Inferius, *sic* Glorieux *sed* Pelster *omisit*.

³⁸ Edited from both witnesses in F. Pelster, "Nikolaus von Lyra und seine Quaestio *De usu paupere*," *AFH* 46 (1953) (pp. 211–50), pp. 231–50.

19. Que vero respiciebant creaturas non viventes fuerunt variata tam quoad proprietatem nature quam quoad transmutationem quam quoad mensurationem. Quoad primum queritur *utrum tota aqua debeat esse naturaliter congelata*. V 91r; F 165v.
20. Quoad transmutationem vero fuit quesitum *utrum ex terra possit immediate generari ignis*. V 91v; F 165v–166r.
21. Quoad mensurationem vero quesitum fuit *utrum tempus sit passio motus primi mobilis*. V 91r–92v; F 166r–v.³⁹

Quodlibet III (= Pelster, Quodlibet 2; Glorieux, Anonymous XVII)

Incipit (V: 101r): In nostra generali disputatione non fuit aliquid quesitum directe de creatore, sed omnes questiones fuerunt de creaturis, licet aliqua fuerint in comparatione ad creatorem. De creaturis autem quesitum fuit distincte et indistincte.

1. Indistincte autem quesitum est *utrum omnia subsint fato*. V 101r.
2. Distincte vero quesitum fuit de creaturis multipliciter, quia aliquae questiones respiciebant creaturas superiores, aliquae inferiores. Et superiores vel corporales vel spirituales et utroque modo fuit quesitum unum. Et primo fuit quesitum *utrum corpora celestia sint animata*. V 101v.
3. Secundo fuit quesitum *utrum visio beatorum sit equalis*. V 102r.
4. Questiones vero respicientes creaturas inferiores variate fuerunt secundum operationes humanas meritorias vel remuneratorias. Et hic secundo modo fuit una, scilicet *utrum aliquis existens in vita presenti possit videre Deum eo modo quo beati vident*. V 102r.
5. Circa operationes vero meritorias fuerunt questiones variate, quia vel respiciebant operationum potentiam vel regulam vel decentiam vel gratiam vel licentiam. Circa potentiam vero fuerunt questiones variate, prout hec potentia considerabatur in uno vel in pluribus. Et primo modo fuit una, scilicet *utrum Paulus post raptum habuit fidem*. V 102v.
6. Secundo modo fuerunt duo. Quarum una fuit *utrum extra statum Ecclesie possit aliquis salvari*. V 102v.
7. Alia fuit *utrum in fide Christi existens per se possit aliquis operari que sufficiant ad salutem*. V 102v–103r.
8. Circa vero decentiam harum operationum fuerunt questiones variate, quia una fuit magis generalis, altera quasi singularis. Prima fuit *utrum mulieres post partum debeant se representare ecclesie*. V 103r.
9. Circa decentiam harum operationum fuit questio *utrum beatus Petrus et Andreas decenter et virtuose fuerint secuti Christum*. V 103r–v.
10. Circa vero huiusmodi operationum gratiam fuerunt questiones variate, quia vel respiciebant gratiam predestinationis vel reconciliationis vel

³⁹ After this question, Pelster lists two *quaestiones disputatae*, namely “Utrum habitus caritatis minui possit” (V 94r–97v) and “Utrum virtutes aquisite differant specie ab infusis” (V 98r–100r).

absolutionis. Primo modo fuit una, scilicet *utrum aliquis predestinetur a Deo suis meritis*. V 103v–104r.

11. Circa gratiam reconciliationis fuit quesitum *utrum aliquis peccator possit salvari absque contritione*. V 104r.
12. Circa vero gratiam absolutionis fuerunt 3 questiones, quarum una respiciebat eius virtutem, altera eius communicabilitatem, tertia eius iterabilitatem. Prima est hec: *utrum in absolutione penitentiali a sacerdote remittatur tota culpa et pena*. V 104v.

Quodlibet IV (= Pelster, Quodlibet 3; Glorieux, *Anonymous XVIII*)

Incipit (V 105r): In nostra generali disputatione mota fuerunt dubia respicientia specialiter Deum et creaturas et communiter utrumque. Respicientia Deum specialiter fuerunt tria: unum circa notionem, aliud circa unionem, tertium circa gubernationem.

1. Circa notionem querebatur *utrum innascibilitas fundetur super aliquo positivo*. V 105r.
2. Circa unionem vero querebatur *utrum persona divina possit sibi unire naturam irrationalem in unitatem personalem*. V 105r–v.
3. Circa gubernationem vero querebatur *utrum <Deus> regeret immediate omnia inferiora sua providentia vel per aliqua media*. V 105v–106r.
4. Respiciens vero communiter Deum et creaturas fuit unum, scilicet *utrum idem possit referri relatione reali ad seipsum*. V 106r.
5. Respicientia vero specialiter creaturas fuerunt variata, quia aliqua respiciebant creaturas speciales [*lege spirituales*], alia corporales, alia mixtas ex utraque, scilicet spirituali et corporali. Et spirituales aliqua quoad distinctionem, aliqua quoad operationem. Primo modo fuerunt duo, quorum unum fuit *utrum intellectus agens sit nobilior quam passibilis*. V 106r–v.
6. Secundum fuit *utrum potentie rationales differant a naturalibus per hoc quod sunt ad opposita*. V 106v–107r.
7. Quoad operationem vero fuerunt duo, quorum unum fuit *utrum intellectus agens aliquid agat super fantasmata*. V 107r.
8. Secundum fuit *utrum intellectus possit habere aliquam scientiam de actuali existentia rei solum per fantasma impressum et expressum*. V 107r–v.
9. Secundum fuit *utrum colores qui apparent in yride sint veri colores*. V 107v.
10. Tertium vero fuit quoad actum secundum, scilicet *utrum lumen vel motus de se calefaciat*. V 107v–108r.
11. Quoad situm vero erat unum, scilicet *utrum aliquod corpus immobile, puta turris, sit modo in eodem loco in quo—iam sunt C anni vel citra seu ultra—fuit hedicata*. V 108r–109r.
12. Quoad augmentum vero erat unum, scilicet *utrum quelibet pars augmenti sit aucta*. V 109r–v.
13. Quoad motum vero fuit unum, scilicet *utrum sagitta perveniens ad aliquod corpus inpertransibile possit resilire posterius*. V 109v–110r.
14. Quoad presagium autem querebatur *utrum cometa significet mortem principis*. V 110r.

15. Respiciencia vero creaturas mixtas ex intellectuali et corporali natura fuerunt variata, quia aliqua fuerunt quoad statum civilem, aliqua quoad ecclesiasticum. Quoad statum civilem vel quoad statuum comparationem vel quoad regiminis comparationem primo modo fuit *utrum status philosophi sit nobilior statu principis vel econtrario*. V 110r–v.
16. Quoad regiminis gubernationem fuit *utrum civitas regatur melius optimis viris quam optimis legibus vel econtrario*. V 110v–111r.
17. Quoad statum ecclesiasticum fuerunt dubia et quoad carnis castigationem et debitorum persolutionem et aliorum instructionem. Quoad primum fuerunt duo, unum scilicet *utrum comedendo semel carnes in die intentione ieiunandi ieiunetur*. V 111r–v.
18. Aliud fuit *utrum per potum sumptum ante commestionem solveretur ieiunium*. V 111v.
19. Quoad debitorum persolutionem fuit motum unum, scilicet *utrum non solventes decimas sint in statu salutis vel non*. V 111v–113r.
20. Ultimo remanet unum dubium quoad aliorum instructionem, *utrum scilicet predicatorum qui populo predicant peccent mortaliter non inducendo populum ad solutionem decimarum*. V 113v.⁴⁰

Textual evidence therefore supports Nicholas of Lyra's having held four quodlibetal disputations. One, in Advent 1308, or Lent or Advent 1309,⁴¹ has been claimed to survive in three redactions, but in fact is a single, substantially revised, text that survives in a fragmentary copy and as a separate treatise: A) the fragment of five questions in Vat. lat. 869, ff. 130r–143v, and B) the *Probatio adventus Christi*. The other three *Quodlibeta* are contained in Vat. lat. 982 and do not have clear indications of relative dating, but are stylistically similar. Moreover, the first of the three has an explicit statement placing it in 1310. Given that James of Ascoli's Paris regency is dated to 1309–11, his *Quodlibet* to

⁴⁰ Afterwards, Pelster lists one *quaestio disputata*, namely, "Utrum exitus rerum creaturarum in esse presupponat emanationem divinarum personarum" (V 114r–118r).

⁴¹ Klepper, "Nicholas of Lyra's *De Adventu Christi*," p. 299, n. 6, argues that the dating clauses in the manuscript reflect, as they state, when the text was written, but not when this oral *quodlibet* was given. Since Paris began the calendar new year with Easter, both Advent and Lent *quodlibeta* occurred in the same calendrical year. This line of reasoning should not be applied to *quodlibeta*: unlike the civil authorities, the University of Paris employed the Florentine (Annunciation) style of dating (although in 1309 the difference between the two would have been five days!). In any case, in the passages in question, Nicholas is not interested in giving us a diplomatic date, but in expressing the number of years that have transpired since the birth of Christ, which would even permit starting the new year on 25 December (Nativity style). In other words, when Nicholas writes, "ab illo tempore usque nunc fluxerunt mille trecenti IX anni adminus, quia toto anno incarnationis domini scriptum est hoc opus," we can only interpret this to mean that the text was written some time between 25 December 1308 and 9 April 1310, and the *quodlibet* was held some time before then.

Lent 1311, perhaps one or more of these three *Quodlibeta* are from a Franciscan *studium* elsewhere. In any case, BAV, Vat. lat. 1086, containing Prosper of Reggio Emilia's notebook, has a seemingly complete record of Parisian disputations held during the academic years 1311–15, yet does not witness any of Nicholas of Lyra's quodlibetal disputations.⁴²

James of Ascoli

James of Ascoli first appears with the title of master of theology in April 1310, at the process of Marguerite Porete. His regency at Paris is dated to 1309–11, after which he attended the Council of Vienne. Two questions from James of Ascoli's *Quodlibet* appear in Prosper of Reggio Emilia's collection contained in BAV, Vat. lat. 1086.⁴³ Glorieux hypothesizes that the specific location of James of Ascoli's quodlibetal questions in Prosper's notebook implies that James' *Quodlibet* was held in Lent 1311: in effect, the section of the codex appears to contain *quaestiones* discussed at the University of Paris from 1311–14, and Glorieux further suggested that the order of the *quaestiones* in the manuscript reflects the sequence they were given in. In this section, the very first two *quaestiones* are abbreviations of James of Ascoli's *Quodlibet*. According to Glorieux, if this sequential dating holds, then one would not expect a collection of questions given in an academic year to begin with those from a *quodlibet*, as such disputations are first held in Advent. Moreover, James of Ascoli attended the Council of Vienne, which started in October 1311. Therefore, "it is more natural to believe that the scribe had copied down and underscored a question that had just been edited, although the session was held several months before."⁴⁴ Courtenay, in

⁴² P. Glorieux, "A propos de 'Vatic. lat. 1086'. Le personnel enseignant de Paris vers 1311–14," *RTAM* 5 (1933), pp. 23–39; W. Courtenay, "Reflections on Vat. lat. 1086," in this volume.

⁴³ T. Yokoyama, "Zwei Quaestionen des Jacobus de Aesculo über das Esse Obiectivum," in *Wahrheit und Verkündigung*, L. Scheffczyk, W. Dettloff, and R. Heinzmann, eds. (Paderborn 1967), pp. 31–74; Glorieux II, pp. 141–2; on Vat. lat. 1086, see A. Pelzer, "Prosper de Reggio Emilia, des Ermites de Saint Augustin, et le manuscrit latin 1086 de la Bibliothèque Vaticane," *Revue Néo-Scholastique de Philosophie* 30 (1928), pp. 315–51; P. Glorieux, "A propos de 'Vatic. lat. 1086'."

⁴⁴ Glorieux, "A propos de Vatic. lat. 1086," pp. 24–9, 34: "Il est plus naturel de croire que le scribe a consigné et relevé une question qui venait d'être alors éditée, encore que la soutenance remontât à quelques mois plus haut."

this volume, demonstrates that the questions in the notebook are not in chronological order; consequently, the Lent 1311 date can only be considered likely.⁴⁵

The *Quodlibet* survives in the following witnesses: Assisi, Biblioteca del Sacro Convento 136 (ff. 112–136) and 172 (ff. 141v–142v, q. 11); Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 31, dextr., cod. 8 (ff. 51va–78vb); Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek 609; BAV, Vat. lat. 932 (ff. 36r–68v); BAV, Vat. lat. 1012 (ff. 46ra–60rb); BAV, Vat. lat. 1086 (ff. 101–102, qq. 1 and 4 abridged); Erfurt, Universitätsbibliothek, Dep. Erf. CA Q.170 (ff. 201r–222v, missing question 1); Cambridge, University Library FF.III.23 (f. 129ff.); Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek 307 (ff. 97ra–105vb; 106ra–120vb); Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek 470 (ff. 49r–69v); Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale 994 (ff. 83–124); Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 1447 (ff. 1–33); New Haven, Yale University Library, Marston 203 (ff. 17v–55v).⁴⁶ The question list is based on four manuscripts: F = Firenze (as recorded by Glorieux); V₁ = Vat. lat. 932; V₂ = Vat. lat. 1012; W = Wien.⁴⁷

Incipit and Prologue (from V₁ and W):

Quia teste beato Iohanne, *Apoc.* primo capitulo, Deus est principium et finis omnium, scilicet alpha et omega, idcirco oratione previa (premissa W) deprecabor Dominum et ad Deum ponam eloquium meum. Excedit naturam multum que supereminet humani eloqui facultatem divina immensitas; et inde oritur difficultas fandi, unde adest ratio non tacendi.⁴⁸ (ad Deum *add.* W) Deprecabor ergo in previas (presentis W) Dominum ut meum aperiat intellectum, et ad Deum (et ad Deum *om.* W) ponam eloquium meum ab ipso sumendo nostre inchoationis sermonem.

In nostra disputatione de quolibet querebantur quedam de Deo, quedam de creaturis. De Deo autem querebantur unum pertinens ad intra tantum, et

⁴⁵ Courtenay, "Reflections on Vat. Lat. 1086."

⁴⁶ From Glorieux II, pp. 141–2; V. Doucet, "L'oeuvre scolastique de Richard de Conington OFM," *AFH* 29 (1936) (pp. 396–442), p. 413; B. Shailor, *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University* (Binghamton, NY 1984–1992), vol. III, no. 203.

⁴⁷ This also takes into account Yokoyama's question list ("Zwei Quaestionen des Jacobus de Aesculo," pp. 34–5), based on Vat. lat. 1012, and the Cambridge and Florence manuscripts, but without foliation.

⁴⁸ Leo the Great, *Tractatus septem et nonaginta*, tract. 29, ed. A. Chavasse (Turnhout 1973), vol. I, p. 146.1–6: "Excedit quidem, dilectissimi, multum que supereminet humani eloqui facultatem diuini operis magnitudo, et inde oritur difficultas fandi, unde adest ratio non tacendi, quia in Iesu christo filio dei non solum ad diuinam essentiam, sed etiam ad humanam spectat naturam quod dictum est per prophetam: *Generationem eius quis enarrabit?*" This text is also referred to in the Oxford manuscript of Meyronnes' *Quodlibet*; see below.

duo pertinentia ad extra, et tertium quasi mixtim pertinens partim ad intra et partim ad extra.

1. Illud autem quod querebatur pertinens ad intra erat *utrum simplicitas divine nature compatiatur secum aliquam distinctionem ex natura rei previam distinctioni personarum*. F 51ra; V₁ 36ra; V₂ 46ra; W 1ra (Vat. lat. 1086, 101ra–vb).
2. Secuntur due questiones de Deo in comparatione ad extra, et erat prima questio ista (om. V₂): *utrum perfectiones (personae V₁) creaturarum virtualiter contente in essentia divina secundum quod habent ibi esse proprium et distinctum inter se et ab essentia (divina add. W) precedant rationes ideales*.⁴⁹ F 53ra; V₁ 39vb; V₂ 48rb; W 4vb.
3. Alia questio sequens (inv. V₂W) de Deo in comparatione ad extra erat ista: *utrum Deus posset (possit V₂) facere aliquod compositum ex elementis et aliqua forma intellectuali (intellectiva V₂) differens specie ab homine (et add. W) nobilior (nobilior V₂) ipso homine*. F 54rb; V₁ 41vb; V₂ 49ra; W 7ra.
4. Sequitur una questio de Deo per comparationem ad intra et erat questio (erat questio] extra questio simile V₁) ista: *utrum potentia generandi in Deo Patre (proprie V₁) cadat sub omnipotentia*. F 55ra; V₁ 42vb; V₂ 49vb; W 8ra (Vat. lat. 1086, 101vb–102ra).
5. Expeditis questionibus de Deo, secuntur nunc questiones de creaturis, quarum quedam tangunt omnes creaturas generaliter, quedam vero tangunt quasdam creaturas specialiter. Et quia communior sit nobis notior (communior... notior] communiora sunt nobis magis notiora V₁; communiora nobis sint notiora V₂), sicut patet ex I *Phisicorum*, ideo ab illis primo incipiendum est, et erat (enim V₁) prima questio ista (prima... ista] questio ista prima V₂): *utrum potentia que est differentia entis (om. V₂) sit potentia (om. V₂) obiectiva vel potentia (om. V₂) subiectiva*. F 55vb; V₁ 44rb; V₂ 50rb; W 9va.⁵⁰
6. Sequens questio erat *utrum omnis (om. V₁) habitudo sit relatio*. F 56vb; V₁ 46rb; V₂ 51rb; W 11va.
7. Consequenter querebatur *utrum respectus sit de conceptu quidditativo (alicuius add. V₂) absoluti*. F 58ra; V₁ 48ra; V₂ 52rb; W 13rb.
8. Tertio querebatur circa materiam de relationibus sive respectibus *utrum equalitas fundata super duo qualia (equalia F), puta duo alba, sit alia relatio realis ab ipsa similitudine fundata super eadem alba*. F 58va; V₁ 49ra; V₂ 52va; W 14ra.
9. Deinde sequebantur quedam questiones de creaturis in speciali (de... speciali] in creaturis separatis W), (et add. V₂) quedam erant de creaturis spiritualibus et una tantum (erat V₂) de creaturis (mere add. V₁) corporalibus, et ideo de hac una expediam me prius, et erat questio ista: *utrum scilicet duo corpora simul esse in eodem loco implicet contradictionem*. F 59vb, 61ra; V₁ 51ra; V₂ 53va; W 15vb.

⁴⁹ Edited in Yokoyama, "Zwei Quaestionen des Jacobus de Aesculo," pp. 59–74.

⁵⁰ Edited (from Erfurt, Firenze, Leipzig, Troyes, Wien, Vat. lat. 932 and 1012) by L. Hödl, "Die Seinsdifferenz des Möglichen im Quodlibet des Jakob von Ascoli OM (Quaestio 5—Einführung und Edition)," in *Die Philosophie im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert*, O. Pluta, ed. (Amsterdam 1988), pp. 465–93.

10. Consequenter querebatur: *utrum accidentia in sacramento altaris habeant proprie rationem suppositi*. F 63ra; V₁ 54ra; V₂ 54vb; W 18va.
11. Expeditis questionibus de creaturis corporalibus, secuntur nunc (*om. W*) alique questiones de creaturis spiritualibus, quarum una pertinet ad intellectum, et alia ad voluntatem, et tertia tam ad intellectum quam ad voluntatem. Illa que pertinet ad intellectum (*tantum add. V₁*) est ista: *utrum scilicet intellectus agens sit nobilior intellectu possibili vel econverso*. F 64vb; V₁ 56ra; V₂ 55vb; W 20va.
12. Deinde querebatur questio pertinens ad voluntatem, et erat questio ista: *supposito quod voluntas sit activa et passiva respectu sui actus* (*inv. V₂*), *queritur utrum* (*om. V₂*) *respectus activi et passivi fundentur super eandem rem vel super aliam et aliam* (*et aliam om. V₁*) *rem* (*necessario add. F*). F 66rb; V₁ 57va; V₂ 55A(bis)va; W 22ra.
13. Consequenter querebatur de habitu caritatis et eius actu, et erat (*et erat om. V₁*) questio ista (*scilicet V₂*): *utrum omnis actus caritatis elicitus sit nobilior ipso* (*suo V₂ om. W*) *habitu vel non*. F 69ra; V₁ 60ra; V₂ 56va; W 24va.
14. Postea queritur (querebatur V₂) *utrum agens particulare habeat per se aliquem effectum* (*actum V₂*). F 73rb; V₁ 63va; V₂ 58rb; W 28rb.⁵¹
15. Consequenter querebatur, *supposito quod possibile obiectivum fundetur super aliquid absolutum reale, utrum potentia creandi possit communicari creature*. F 75ra; V₁ 65ra; V₂ 58vb; W 29va.
16. Sextodecimo querebatur *de clerico beneficiato* (*de beneficiato clerico V₂*) *qui habet licentiam standi in studio, si stet in studio sine spe proficiendi, ita quod studio non vacet, sed potius ludat, discurrat et sit vacabundus, utrum teneatur ad restitutionem fructuum perceptorum tempore intermedio pro quo debuit vacare studio et non* (*vacare add. FW*) *otio*. F 78rb; V₁ 68ra; V₂ 60ra; W 32rb.

Explicit: (F 78vb; V₁ 68va; V₂ 60rb; W 33ra) Argumentum ad oppositum, quando dicitur quod fraus et dolus nemini (nulli V₂) debent patrocinari, concedo, quia concludit verum.

One of the manuscripts containing James' *Quodlibet*, BAV, Vat. lat. 1012, contains other series of questions influenced by Scotus that claim to be *quodlibeta* by James of Ascoli, but in fact are either not *quodlibeta* or not by James of Ascoli. Among these figures the question *An Deus cognoscat omnia alia a se* edited by Schwamm and attributed to James.⁵² For a list of these questions, and a discussion of the manuscript containing them, see the Appendix to this chapter.

⁵¹ Z. Wlodek, "Une question scotiste du XIV^e siècle sur la continuité du temps," *MPP* 12 (1967) (pp. 117–34), p. 119, states that Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska 732, has "large parts" of the question; see the Appendix to this chapter.

⁵² H. Schwamm, *Robert Cowton O.F.M. über das göttliche Vorherwissen* (Innsbruck 1930), pp. 44–63.

*Franciscan Quodlibeta in Vat. lat. 1086**Bertrand de la Tour*

Bertrand de la Tour is named a bachelor during the trial of the Templars in 1307–08. Prosper of Reggio Emilia's collection associates with a "Bel. Mi." a series of questions that seems to be a *quodlibet*. Glorieux argues that the identification of the "Bel. Mi." with Bertrand de la Tour should "without doubt" be made, as he was master of theology in 1312 at his election to Provincial Minister of Aquitaine. Glorieux uses the appointment to Aquitaine as a *terminus ante quem*. On Glorieux's logic, Bertrand's *Quodlibet*, and his regency, date from 1311–12. Bertrand later became cardinal, and then, when Michael of Cesena was deposed, vicar general of the Franciscans in 1328. A document from April 1333 mentions him as deceased.⁵³

Bertrand de la Tour gained more attention as a sermonist, politician, and advisor to Pope John XXII than he did as a scholastic theologian.⁵⁴ That his work survives only in Prosper's notebook raises the suspicion that Bertrand never edited his *Quodlibet*, and we owe its survival purely to chance. The question list is from BAV, Vat. lat. 1086:

1. Prima questio *utrum infinitas sit magis ratio essentie divine quam sua actualis existentia*. 117vb.
2. Secunda questio est *utrum in productione Filii contingat Patri cognoscere Spiritum Sanctum*. 118va.⁵⁵
3. (G. 4) *Utrum intellectus beatus una ratione formali cognoscat Deum trinum et unum*. 118va.
4. (G. 5) Quarta questio *utrum visio divine essentie posset communicari viatori*. 118vb.⁵⁶

⁵³ P. Nold, "Bertrand de la Tour, Omin. Life and Works," *AFH* 94 (2001) (pp. 275–323), pp. 275–7; idem, "Bertrand de la Tour, Omin. Manuscript List and Supplement," *AFH* 95 (2002), pp. 3–52.

⁵⁴ On Bertrand de la Tour in general, see P. Nold, *Pope John XXII and His Franciscan Cardinal: Bertrand de la Tour and the Apostolic Poverty Controversy* (Oxford 2003).

⁵⁵ Glorieux's question 3 corresponds to a follow-on question, which is part of the same quodlibetal question: "Secundo *utrum in illo priori contingat Patri aliqua actio*" (118va).

⁵⁶ For the sake of understanding both the nature of Prosper's collection as well as Bertrand's thought, I provide here a transcription of question 4: "Quarta questio: *utrum visio divine essentie possit communicari viatori. — Hic primo quid hic (del.?) vocatur visio divine essentie. Dicendum quod visio intuitiva. — Viator autem est qui est vivens in (iter) carne mortali; quod est in statu merendi (lege mirandi?) largo modo dicitur viator, cum non habet usum sensuum, ut Paulus in raptu. — Dico igitur quod <si> accipiat viator secundo modo et visio in transitu, [dico] quod potest communicari, quia fuit*

5. (G. 6) *Quinta questio utrum habitibus existentibus gloriosis in intellectu et voluntate, possit intellectus intelligere et voluntas non diligere.* 119ra.
6. (G. 7) *Sexta utrum corpus Christi mortuum est adorandum.* 119ra.
7. (G. 8) *Septima questio utrum in conversione panis in corpus Christi substantia adnihiletur.* 119rb.

In addition, the same manuscript has, on ff. 128vb–130ra, four questions on the virtues attributed to a “M. Ber. de Mi.,” probably a “Magister Bertrandus de Minoribus.” These questions most likely do not derive from a *quodlibet*:

1. *Utrum donum creatum quod est caritas sit principium actus meritorii.* 128vb.
 2. *Utrum prudentia inquantum est virtus intellectualis sit nobilior ipsa iusticia.* 129rb.
 3. *Utrum donum quod est caritas sit in potentia beatifica.* 129va.
 4. *Utrum caritas sit in potentia principalius beatificabili.* 129vb.
- Explicit: Item ratio boni est nobilior ratione veri. 130ra.

Martin of Abbeville

Prosper of Reggio Emilia’s notebook associates a “Magister Martinus Minor” with two questions; later a series of seventeen questions is attributed to a “Mar.” Glorieux, following Pelzer, assigns the questions to Martin of Abbeville, mentioned as bachelor in 1303.⁵⁷ Since both series of Martin’s texts appear in Prosper of Reggio Emilia’s notebook, they can be dated approximately to the academic years 1311–14. The first two questions attributed to Martin (BAV, Vat. lat. 1086, f. 148vb: *Utrum in Deo omnes operationes sint immanentes*, and f. 149va: *Utrum habitus caritatis habeat rationem principii activi respectu actus meritorii*) occur in the part

communicata Adam in illo sopore et Moysi et Paulo, ut dicit Augustinus *Ad Orosium*, et credo quod Virgini et multis aliis. Item, Gregorius secundo *Dyologo* videtur dicere quod fuit communicata beato Benedicto.—Si autem accipiat viator abstractus a sensibus et cognitio mansiva, dicendum quod potest Deus, quia quod potest communicari per instans, potest per quodlibet tempus; sed non est congruum, quia non videretur sensibus. Item non meretur, etc.—Accipiendo tunc (?) viatorem primo modo et visionem primo modo et secundo; nam fuit communicata homini unito, scilicet Christo, igitur et non unito, quia unio non est causa formalis istius visionis, quia tunc nullus esset beatus gratia cause efficientis, igitur potest sine visione.—Item, nulla contradictio est, quia vel hec esset quia non stat cum actu merendi (*lege mirandi*?), nam (*illeg*) corporis in mortalitate; nec propter pronitates (?) ad peccata, quia Deus posset auferre.—Tamen dico quod sit incongruum, quia *non videbit me homo et vivet*, nam anima que videt Deum debet esse supra mundum, Gregorius 2 *Dyologo*, nam anima non perciperet alia.—Item, ille status est tranquillius; ideo debet esse abstractus.—Item, ibi est summa intentio intellectus, igitur congruum est (?) ut abstrahatur a sensibus. Hoc dicit Augustinus in quadam epistola ad Paulinum, et est in merito.”

⁵⁷ Glorieux II, p. 192.

of the manuscript that Glorieux dates to 1311–12, and are probably Martin’s principal lectures. In the later, seventeen questions, Glorieux discerns two *quodlibeta*, and thus he dates “*Quodlibet I*” to 1312–13 and “*Quodlibet II*” to 1313–14. Since Courtenay undermines Glorieux’s relative dating scheme for Vat. lat. 1086, however, the most that can be said is that these *Quodlibeta* were most likely held at Paris between 1311 and 1314.⁵⁸

Quodlibet I

1. *Utrum, cessante omni operatione intellectus divini et creati, omnia divina essent idem.* 209ra.
2. *Utrum (mg.: dato quod persona constituatur per relationem) potentia generandi dicat quid vel ad aliquid.* 209va.
3. *Utrum in Christo sint due filiationes.* 209va.
4. *Quarta questio utrum Christus potuerit peccare.* 209vb.
5. *Quinto, utrum virtute naturali possint cogitationes cognosci ab angelo.* 210ra.
6. *Sexta questio utrum habitus ponantur in potentiis ad agendum vel ad paciendum.* 210rb.

Explicit (211ra): Tunc ad questionem patet per dicta.

Quodlibet II

1. *Utrum, dato quod potentie anime sint idem quod essentia, homo esset beatificabilis.* 211ra.
2. *Utrum Deus posset facere quod aliquis eum videret et non diligeret.* 211va.⁵⁹
3. *Utrum beatus eodem actu videat Deum et videat se videre Deum.* 211vb.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Glorieux, “A propos de ‘Vatic. lat. 1086’,” p. 31. Courtenay, “Reflections on Vat. Lat. 1086.”

⁵⁹ “Utrum Deus posset facere quod aliquis eum videret et non diligeret.—Dicendum primo utrum alicui possit inesse habitus beatificus et non sibi inesset actus caritatis. Dicendum quod de potentia ordinata, non de potentia tamen absoluta, sic, tum quia magis dependet actus ab habitu quam econverso, sed actus potest esse sine habitu; tum quia prius potest separari a posteriori; tum quia cessante influentia divina, non erit actus.—Sed dicit ‘ergo habitus erit frustra.’ Dicendum quod non esset, quia perficeret subiectum et reddit eum aptum ad actum.—Secundo ad questionem dicunt quidam quod non posset non diligere. Alii dicunt quod propter libertatem potest, sicut circa alia; sed potest dici quod aliter se habet respectu finis et eorum que sunt ad finem.—Dicendum ergo quod voluntas non posset non diligere, cum non esset beatificus, nec est in potestate creature ad oppositum, ex quo habet habitum. Deus tamen posset facere, etc.—Tertio videndum an possit amari et non videri, et dico quod non, quia talis unio intellectus necessario requiritur.”

⁶⁰ “Utrum beatus eodem actu videat Deum et videat se videre Deum. Hic primo, quod queritur (mg.: an possit <vi>dere actum <suum>). Secundo, utrum eodem actu. Tertio, in quo actu est beatitudo.—Ad primum dicendo quod sic. Nam visio est

4. *Utrum voluntas velit finem eodem actu et ea que sunt ad finem.* 211vb.
5. *Utrum, dato quod intellectus non sit liber in iudicando, voluntas esset libera in eligendo.* 211vb.
6. *Utrum voluntas habeat dominium super actum intellectus speculativi et practici.* 212ra.
7. *Utrum creatura rationalis intelligens per speciem que sibi per speciem representatur possit intelligere.* 212va.
8. *Utrum creatura rationalis magis debeat eligere peccatum mortaliter quam non esse simpliciter.* 212vb.
9. *Utrum visio sit actio manens.* 213ra.
10. *Utrum omnes divine operationes convenient omnibus personis divinis uniformiter et indistincte.* 213ra.
11. *Utrum beatitudo divina consistat in essentia secundum se et absolute sumpta vel secundum quod operatio.* 213va.

William of Alnwick

In all likelihood, William of Alnwick studied with John Duns Scotus at Paris and served as his secretary. He became bachelor of the *Sentences* at Paris ca. 1313–14, and was regent master at Oxford in 1315–16. William passed through Paris in 1316, perhaps teaching there in 1317–18, then was *lector* at Montpellier ca. 1318–20; he is found at Bologna in 1321, and ultimately ended up at Naples, where in 1330 he became bishop of Giovinnazzo. William of Alnwick died at the start of 1333.⁶¹

William of Alnwick has been associated with two *quodlibeta*, but only one has been identified. This *quodlibet* exists in four known manuscript witnesses. Ledoux published it along with six questions *De esse intelligibili*

quedam res, ergo potest eam videre. Item, visio representatur in Verbo. Item, licet plura ut plura non possint videri, tamen ut habent habitudinem possunt.—Ad secundum articulum dicendum quod, cum videt in verbo, [dicendum quod] eodem actu videt; sed ut videt in genere proprio, dicendum quod alio actu, tum quia est aliud obiectum; tum quia unus sit per alium tractum, alius non; tum quia unus beatificus, alius non; tum quia unus est reflexus, alius non.—Ad tertium articulum, dicendum quod in primo actu recte est beatitudo, tum quia eo attingit solum obiectum beatificum; tum quia reflexus est ex propriis viribus.—Item actus beatitudinis est continuus et perpetuus, sed reflexus non est perpetuus.—Ad illud supra ad quod se convertit, etc., dicendum quod verum est ut sine ordine se fert.”

⁶¹ G. Alliney, *Time and Soul in Fourteenth-Century Theology* (Florence 2002), pp. xi–xiii; W.J. Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars in Fourteenth-Century England* (Princeton 1987), p. 188; Glorieux II, p. 114.

in 1937.⁶² The *explicit* in Vat. lat. 1012 and Assisi 166 (in a different hand) states that Alnwick disputed his *Quodlibet* at Oxford, which would place it in 1315–16. In addition, Ledoux remarks that Doucet found a reference to a *quodlibet* from Montpellier in the library catalogue of the Dominican convent of San Giovanni e Paolo of Venice, to a now-lost codex 139.⁶³ Alliney hypothesizes that this continental *Quodlibet* may be the source for the third redaction of the three *Quaestiones de tempore* witnessed by Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska 732, ff. 45ra–48vb. This redaction of the *Quaestiones de tempore* also appears, in a version that suggests a *reportatio*, in BAV, Vat. lat. 1012, ff. 95v–97v.⁶⁴

William of Alnwick's *Quodlibet* survives in the following manuscripts: Assisi, Biblioteca del Sacro Convento 166, ff. 20rb–66rb; Padova, Biblioteca Antoniana 295, ff. 51va–81vb (order: fragment of q. 3, then qq. 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 5, 6);⁶⁵ BAV, Vat. lat. 1012, ff. 12rb–39ra. Question list from Ledoux:

1. *Utrum ad aliqua non esse formaliter sequatur ista esse formaliter distincta, supposita constantia subiecti manente.*
2. *Secundo quaerebatur utrum perfectiones simpliciter sint eadem formaliter in Deo.*
3. *Utrum in divinis sit prioritas et posterioritas secundum rem.*
4. *Quarto quaeritur utrum notitia actualis creaturarum praesupponatur in Deo Patre productionibus passivis aliarum personarum.*
5. *Utrum homo possit consequi omnem beatitudinem per naturam quam naturaliter appetit.*
6. *Postea quaesitum fuit utrum perfectiones creaturarum, prout continentur in Deo virtualiter, distinguantur inter se et a Deo formaliter.*

⁶² William of Alnwick, *Quaestiones disputatae de esse intelligibili et de Quodlibet*, ed. A. Ledoux (Quaracchi 1937).

⁶³ Ledoux, preface to *Quaestiones disputatae*, p. xii, quotes: "Explicit lum Quodlibetum disputatum et determinatum in Monte Pessulano a fratre Ghilielmo de Alvellwic Anglico." Alliney, *Time and Soul*, p. xii, n. 12, draws attention to the Addendum in Ledoux, p. 644, where the latter specifies: "Catalogus hic indicatus est opus Dominici Mariae Berardelli, O.P., et sic intitulatur: *Codicum omnium latinorum et italicorum qui MSS. in Bibliotheca SS. Iohannis et Pauli Venetiarum apud Patres Praedicatorum asservantur catalogus*, in *Nova Raccolta d'Opuscoli scientifici et filologici*, T 32, Venetiis 1778, opusculo 6," and notes that the codex apparently contained four *quodlibeta* of William of Alnwick.

⁶⁴ Alliney, *Time and Soul*, pp. xv–xxvii. Alliney edits the questions in all three redactions; for the third redaction (pp. 115–74), he uses the Krakow manuscript. The questions, as they appear in the Krakow manuscript, are as follows:

1. *Utrum tempus fundatum in motu rerum mobiliu corporaliu sit aliquid reale extra animam.*
2. *Utrum tempus secundum esse reale quod habet extra animam differat realiter a motu.*
3. *Quarto est videre Utrum ad multiplicationem motuum sit multiplicatio temporum an omnium motuum sit tempus unum.*

⁶⁵ Ledoux, preface to *Quaestiones Disputatae*, pp. xix–xx.

7. Supposito, ex superiori quaestione, quod omnes perfectiones creaturarum contineantur in Deo, sequitur secunda quaestio: *utrum omnes perfectiones creaturarum contineantur in Deo unitive per unicam perfectionem ex parte Dei.*
 8. Quaestio tertia de continentia perfectionum creaturarum in Deo est ista, videlicet: *utrum perfectiones creaturarum, prout continentur in Deo virtualiter, distinguantur a Deo et inter se formaliter sive ex natura rei intentionaliter.*
 9. Deinde quaerebatur *utrum Deus cognoscat infinita.*
 10. *Utrum intellectus creatus videns Deum per essentiam possit videre omnia quae Deus videt,* et intelligitur quaestio de actu videndi ut accipitur communiter pro actu intelligendi, non ut notitia visionis distinguitur contra notitiam simplicis intelligentiae.
- Explicit: ...ad quae intellectus non potest se convertere, ut supra probatum est, etc.

Peter Auriol

Lauge Nielsen's contribution to this volume considers the complicated history of Peter Auriol's *Quodlibet*, and readers are referred to his chapter.

Francis of Marchia

Francis of Marchia (Francesco d'Ascoli, Franciscus Rubeus di Pignano) was born in Appignano del Tronto (AP), Italy, around 1290, and probably entered the Franciscan convent there. Friedman and Schabel conjecture, on the basis of a passage found by Girard Etzkorn, that Francis studied at Paris around 1310. Francis would have read the *Sentences* at Paris in the academic year 1319–20, between Landulphus Caracciolo (for whom no *quodlibet* has been identified) and Francis of Meyronnes. In 1321, Francis of Marchia may have been at the court of Robert of Naples, and the next year attended the Franciscan General Chapter in Perugia.⁶⁶ Later he served as *lector* in the *studium* at Avignon.⁶⁷ In

⁶⁶ N. Schneider, *Die Kosmologie des Franciscus de Marchia: Texte, Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Naturphilosophie des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Leiden 1991), p. 15, points out the note from Wadding, *Ann. Min.* VI 423 (n. XL): "Floruisse hoc tempore in regio Coenobio sancti Laurentii Neapoli litteris et virtute, Regique fuisse a consiliis Franciscum Asculanum Picenum Minoritam, scripturae inde transmissae testantur." Cf. also Sbaralea, *Supp.*, v. 1, p. 257, n. mcccclxviii, 595.

⁶⁷ R. Lambertini, "Francis of Marchia and William of Ockham: Fragments from a Dialogue," *Vivarium* 44.1 (2006) (pp. 184–204), p. 187; J. Weisheipl, "Francis of Marchia," *New Catholic Encyclopedia* VI (1967), p. 32.

1328, Francis sided with the Franciscan opposition to Pope John XXII and fled Avignon along with the Minister General Michael of Cesena, Bonagratia of Bergamo and William of Ockham. Francis of Marchia was reconciled with Avignon in the early 1340s, and disappears from view after 1344.⁶⁸

The *Quodlibet*, attributed to Francis of Marchia ever since Ehrle's classic work on Peter of Candia, survives in one manuscript (Paris, BnF lat. 16110, ff. 125ra–146vb).⁶⁹ Question 3 is also contained in BAV, Vat. lat. 6768, and a redaction of questions 4 and 6 appears in BAV, Vat. lat. 1085. Nazareno Mariani edited the *Quodlibet*, and in doing so, corrected Glorieux's imprecise question list.⁷⁰ The date of 1324–28 has been established through a selective use of internal references and explicit indications. In his *Quodlibet*, Francis refers to books I and II of his *Sentences* commentary, and Mariani has found parallel passages in the version of Francis of Marchia's commentary on the *Sentences* contained in BAV, Chigi. lat. B.VII.113. The Chigi manuscript has, after the *tabula quaestionum* of book IV, this explicit (f. 236ra): "Explicit reportatio quarti libri *Sententiarum* sub magistro Francischo de Marchia Anchonita Ordinis Minorum facta per fratrem G de <Rubione> anno Domini 1323, etc." According to the standard interpretation, Francis' *Quodlibet* was held in 1323 at the earliest. Pelster found a reference to Francis at Avignon, for the Augustinian James of Pamiers states in his *Quodlibet* (q. 16), "Contra istas rationes arguit magister Franciscus de Ma<rchia> in quadam questione, quam determinavit in curia, de qua ibi respondi sibi."⁷¹ This quote has served the claim that Francis of Marchia was active in Avignon in 1324.⁷² Francis' text would most likely be an Avignon *quodlibet*, perhaps including the question that he determined *in curia*.

This reconstruction is untenable for three reasons. First, there is no evidence for Francis of Marchia's "curial determination." Second,

⁶⁸ On Francis of Marchia's life and a comprehensive bibliography, see R.L. Friedman and C. Schabel, "Introduction," *Vivarium* 44.1 (2006), pp. 1–20.

⁶⁹ F. Ehrle, *Die Sentenzenkommentar Peters von Candia des pisaner Papstes Alexanders V.* (Münster 1925), p. 253.

⁷⁰ N. Mariani OFM, ed., *Francisci de Marchia sive de Esculo, OFM, Quodlibet cum quaestionibus ex commentario in librum Sententiarum* (Spicilegium Bonaventurianum, 29) (Grottaferrata 1997).

⁷¹ F. Pelster, "Zur ersten Polemik gegen Aureoli: Raymundus Bequini O.P., seine Quästionen und sein Correctorium Petri Aureoli, das Quodlibet des Jacobus de Apamiis O.E.S.A.," *Franciscan Studies* 15 (1955) (pp. 30–47), p. 40.

⁷² W.J. Courtenay, "The *Quaestiones in Sententias* of Michael de Massa, OESA: A Redating," *Augustiniana* 45 (1995) (pp. 191–207), p. 195.

Francis' references to his *Sentences* commentary do not unequivocally indicate the redaction contained in Chigi. Furthermore, they show that the collection is not a *quodlibet*, and they call into doubt the authorship of all but one question.

The testimony of James of Pamiers' *Quodlibet* has been used to support the argument for Francis' tenure as lector in Avignon from 1324, but without firm basis. As Pelster notes, James of Pamiers refers to the theologian in question as *Franciscus de Ma*. In his *Quodlibet*, James cites the position of *Franciscus de Maronis* far more frequently than that of *Franciscus de Marchia*. Moreover, while the manuscript Pelster used only had *Franciscus de Ma*. in the crucial passage, Avignon, Bibliothèque Municipale 314, at least, has the name in full (f. 87rb): *Franciscus de Maronis*. In addition, Francis of Meyronnes was well known for his sermons in the Papal Curia.⁷³ In any case, as Courtenay and Schabel argue in their contribution to this volume, James of Pamiers' *Quodlibet* took place rather late, around 1332, and so the discussion at Avignon did not have to occur in 1324.⁷⁴

Mariani notes three cases where the author of the *Quodlibet* explicitly cites a *Sentences* commentary (and one case of scribal error). All three cases occur on the same page of the *Quodlibet* (f. 125v), and while all three do have corresponding passages in the Chigi collection of Francis' questions, which Mariani provides in transcription along with the edition, they also have correspondences in redactions and texts other than those in Chigi.

Two of the references Mariani finds apparently indicate passages in book I of a *Sentences* commentary. For Francis of Marchia, there survive two major redactions of this work: the *Scriptum* and the *Reportatio*. The explicit to the *Reportatio in primum* provides the year 1320. The *Scriptum in primum* has been dated to 1323 on the basis of the explicit to book IV in the Chigi codex. While the Chigi manuscript contains Francis of Marchia's commentaries on all four books of the *Sentences*, each book is copied in a different hand, so the 1323 date is not certain for the other books.

⁷³ H. Roßmann, "Die Quodlibeta und verschiedene Schriften des Franz von Meyronnes," *Franziskanische Studien* 54 (1972) (pp. 1–76), pp. 58–9, for example, discusses treatises on the Eucharist and on indulgences that derive from sermons given at the Papal Curia in the second half of 1324.

⁷⁴ See W. Courtenay and C. Schabel's chapter in this volume on "Augustinian *Quodlibeta* after Giles of Rome."

One of the three references is an entire question. Question 2 of the *Quodlibet* indicates most likely not a text in Francis' *Scriptum*, but either a discussion in the *Reportatio*, or in a separate *quaestio*. The *Quodlibet*'s question 2 consists merely in a self-reference at the very end of f. 125v, without even an initial to indicate its status as a question. In its entirety, it reads: "*Utrum in mente sit imago Trinitatis distincte: totam illam questionem quere alibi.*" For the corresponding question, Mariani publishes a transcription from Chigi of book I, "d. 1" (= *Scriptum in I*, q. 23, in d. 3): *Utrum Trinitas personarum possit concludi ex creaturis*. The *Reportatio* has a question with the same title (q. 25, in d. 3), and the transition introducing the first question for the next distinction (q. 27, in d. 4) specifies the connection between *being* the image of God and *having in the mind* the image of God: "Having seen what the intellect can achieve concerning [separate] substances, we must see about something else: whether the Trinity of persons enters into the first object of our intellect..."⁷⁵ Therefore, question 2 of the *Quodlibet* could just as likely indicate *Reportatio*, q. 25, and not the Chigi text; in any case, there is no reason to favor the *Scriptum*.

Second, Mariani finds a reference to "distinction 5" and links it to a passage in the *Scriptum in primum* associated with distinction 4 (q. 24). This question has a counterpart in the *Reportatio in primum* (q. 30), and thus as a target for the reference, the *Reportatio* is equally plausible. But the *Reportatio*, like the *Quodlibet*, associates the discussion with distinction 5 (q. 30), and hence is more likely to contain the passage Francis had in mind.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Francis of Marchia, *Reportatio in I*, q. 26, in d. 4, in *Francisci de Marchia sive de Esculo Commentarius in IV libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi II; Distinctiones libri primi a prima ad decimam*, ed. N. Mariani (Spicilegium Bonaventurianum, 32) (Grottaferrata 2006), p. 309: "Viso quid intellectus potest attingere de substantiis, aliud videndum: utrum Trinitas personarum cadat sub primo obiecto intellectus nostri."

⁷⁶ Francis of Marchia, *Quodlibet*, q. 1, a. 3, ed. Mariani, p. 17: "Hoc autem patebit distinctione 5, ubi ponitur differentia inter mutacionem et productionem, et quomodo in diuinis per se ponitur et conceditur productio et non mutacio." The corresponding text in Chigi, (ibid.): "Circa 4 distinccionem, ubi Magister agit quomodo Pater generauerit Filium, quero utrum formaliter terminus generacionis diuine sit essentia uel relatio uel suppositum... 1º, Utrum in creaturis per se relacio sit per se terminus generacionis; 2º, Utrum forma substantialis in creaturis sit per se terminus generacionis; 3º, Utrum forma uel proprietas indiuidualis in creaturis sit per se principium agendi et eciam terminus; 4º, ex hiis, an per se terminus generacionis diuine sit essentia uel relatio uel suppositum."—*Reportatio in I*, q. 30, in d. 5 (cf. R.L. Friedman and C. Schabel, "Francis of Marchia's Commentary on the *Sentences*: Question List and State of Research," *Medieval Studies* 63 [2001] [pp. 31–106], p. 77), ed. Mariani, p. 345: "Circa distinctionem quintam, quero utrum diuina essentia sit formalis terminus generacionis diuine. Videtur

The final reference, to book II of the *Sentences*, does seem to link the *Quodlibet* to a redaction contained the Chigi manuscript. While the situation of book II is more uncertain than for book I, it is clear that there were at least two major texts, which Friedman and Schabel have baptized *Reportatio A* and *Reportatio B*. Chigi contains the *Reportatio A*. As with book I, the two redactions have many parallels. So, while Mariani publishes a transcription of *Reportatio A*'s question 3 as it appears in the Chigi manuscript, in terms of content, the corresponding passage in *Reportatio B*, q. 4, is a just as likely target; both questions fall in the section to Peter Lombard's book II.⁷⁷

But could this reference indicate a *Principium in secundum*? It reads: "Set de hoc in principio secundi libri habebitur."⁷⁸ *Principia* were ceremonial questions dating from his lectures on the *Sentences* as a bachelor of theology at Paris.⁷⁹ Yet Francis of Marchia's *Principium secundi*, published by Mariani (as *Questiones preambule in IV libros Sententiarum, liber secundus questio prima*), concerns the applicability of syllogistic logic to discussions of God, and does not appear to have a passage corresponding to the reference.⁸⁰ *Reportatio A*, however, begins (q. 1) "Circa principium secundi libri queritur," and, while the first question directly parallels the *Principium secundi*, the next incipit relating the commentary to the Lombard's

quod non..."; p. 346: "Secundo, quero utrum divina relacio sit formalis terminus generacionis. Videtur quod non..."; p. 347: "Tercio, quero utrum suppositum divinum sit per se terminus generacionis. Videtur quod non..."; p. 348: "Ultimo, quero utrum essentia divina generet vel generetur..."; p. 349: "Quantum ad primum, dico, primo, ad evidenciam istius, quod aliud est accio, aliud mutacio; mutacio enim concernit duos terminos, videlicet terminum a quo et terminum ad quem; omnis enim mutacio est de opposito in oppositum. Secundum enim Philosophum, V *Physicorum*, 'mutacio est a quodam in quoddam', unde quedam est 'ex subiecto in subiectum', ut alteracio; alia 'ex non subiecto in subiectum', ut generacio; tertia 'ex subiecto in non subiectum', ut corruptio. Accio autem non concernit nisi terminum ad quem..."

⁷⁷ Friedman-Schabel, "Francis of Marchia's Commentary on the *Sentences*," p. 86, 92. In addition, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional 503 (= D), and Paris, BnF lat. 3071 (= H), have a "minor" redaction of book II's *Reportatio A*.

⁷⁸ Franciscus de Marchia, *Quodlibet* (Paris, BNF lat. 16110, f. 125va); ed. Mariani, p. 17 (reads *habetur* for *habebitur*).

⁷⁹ For a discussion of Francis' *Principia*, see R. Friedman, "Principia and Prologue in Francesco d'Appignano's *Sentences* Commentary: the Question 'Quaeritur utrum ens simpliciter simplex possit esse subiectum alicuius scientiae'," *Atti del II Convegno Internazionale su Francesco d'Appignano*, D. Priori, ed. (Appignano del Tronto 2004), pp. 123–49. See also Ehrle, *Die Sentenzenkommentar Peters von Candia*, pp. 39–56.

⁸⁰ N. Mariani, ed., *Francisci de Marchia sive de Esculo Commentarius in IV libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi, Quaestiones Praeambulae et Prologus* (Spicilegium Bonaventurianum, 31) (Grottaferrata 2003).

text is question 13: “Circa primam partem secundi libri.” So, while stretching what constitutes a *Principium*, one could argue that *Reportatio A*’s question 3 occurs in the section designated as the *Principium secundi*. *Reportatio B*, on the other hand, does not carry a text corresponding to the material covered in the *Principium secundi*; questions 1–3 closely match *Reportatio A*’s question 2 and refer to the *Principium secundi* as a separate text. *Reportatio B*, q. 4, begins “Circa distinccionem secundam,” clearly linking the question to a distinction, and placing the question after the *Principium*.⁸¹ So, in this case, *Reportatio A* is a more likely candidate.

Therefore, these references could just as likely be to a different redaction of Francis’ work. But how certain are the references? Rather, how secure are the identities of the text containing the references (i.e., *Quodlibet*, qq. 1–2), and how well does Francis’ text bear out these references? The evidence supporting the identification of the questions as a *quodlibet* is thin, and that for the identity of the author only slightly better. As Mariani notes, the only indication is the title “Quolibeta Francisci di Marchia,” written in a later hand on f. 125ra above question 1. Mariani argues that “this paternity is exact,” by showing that question 5 has strong textual affinity to Marchia’s *Scriptum in I*, q. 27.⁸² But this comparison merely proves paternity, not the legitimacy of the child. It does not show that the questions were a *quodlibet*, nor that all questions were by Francis of Marchia, just that Marchia was the author of question 5. The assigned title itself is imprecise: the plural (*quolibeta*) in the title suggests that the person doing the labeling did not quibble over taxonomy and may have used such an appellation to mean simply “various questions.” Further, there is little explicit connection between the questions. Outside of the “quodlibeta” contained or suspected to be in Prosper of Reggio Emilia’s notebook, this collection here is the only one in this chapter for which there are practically no transition words at all: the only case of a transition occurs between the last two questions. But whereas the questions in Prosper’s notes are brief and schematic, the questions here are extensive and well articulated. In addition, in that sole case where there is a transition, namely between questions 8 and 9 (on celestial mechanics), the first question (starting in the middle

⁸¹ Friedman-Schabel, “Francis of Marchia’s Commentary on the *Sentences*,” pp. 85–6, 92.

⁸² Introduction to *Francisci de Marchia sive de Esculo, OFM, Quodlibet*, ed. Mariani, pp. 27–38. The text also parallels Francis’ *Reportatio in I*, q. 34.

of a column) is missing a title, the first article, and most of the second! This break severely needs some positive indication somewhere—a question list, an internal reference, structural similarities, instances of textual borrowing, doctrinal similarities, something—for us to maintain that what follows belongs with what precedes. Moreover, question 3, which starts at the top of f. 126ra, is missing the title and the arguments *pro* and *contra*, implying a similar break between questions 1–2 and question 3. So the text has one question firmly identified with Francis of Marchia and eight that are linked to it by proximity.

The references in question 1 and in place of question 2 also point to this collection being something other than a *quodlibet* and cast doubt on the authorship. The reference to “distinction 5” reads: “But this will be clear in distinction 5, where the difference between mutation and production will be set forth, and how in things that are in themselves divine, production is posited and conceded, and not mutation.”⁸³ In the corresponding passages, Francis certainly includes a distinction between action and mutation, and he does claim that, *in divinis*, generation consists in communication (primarily) and production (secondarily), but he does not set out the difference between mutation and production.⁸⁴ The distinction mentioned in the *Quodlibet*, q. 1, does not appear to be incompatible with Francis’ view, but it does not seem to be in Francis’ commentary either.

The citation of book II has even less chance of pertaining to Francis’ work:

To the other argument, when it is said that nothing but action or passion is in coming-to-be, it should be said that this is false; for this does not *per se* make something be an action of the genus of action: this is clear in the case of light. And perhaps every creature is in coming-to-be (*in fieri*) with respect to the first agent. But this will be discussed in the *principium* of the second book.⁸⁵

In the section of his commentary on book II, Francis of Marchia does not argue either that light’s persistence disproves the claim that things

⁸³ See n. 76 above.

⁸⁴ Francis of Marchia, *Quodlibet*, appendix from *Sentences* commentary, ed. Mariani, pp. 325, 343–4.

⁸⁵ Francis of Marchia, *Quodlibet*, q. 1, ed. Mariani, p. 66: “Ad aliud, cum dicitur quod nichil est in fieri nisi accio vel passio, dicendum quod hoc est falsum; non enim hoc facit per se aliquid esse accionem de genere accionis: patet de luce; et forte omnis creatura respectu agentis primi, est in fieri. Sed de hoc in principio secundi habebitur.”

in coming-to-be must be actions or passions, or that every creature is in coming-to-be with respect to the first agent. The closest passage defends a position at odds with the one implied in the reference:

Moreover, fourth I argue thus: the order of every effect to the first cause is more essential than the order of any effect to its second cause; but some effects depend on their second cause not just in terms of coming-to-be, but even for their being, as is clear of light, *species*, and many other things; therefore, all the more do all things below the first being need to be conserved in actuality by that first being.⁸⁶

For Francis, this argument works because light's *feri* can be distinguished from its *esse*. That light is conserved in its being is what counts here: likewise, all persistent beings need to be conserved by the first cause, not because they are *in fieri* with respect to divine things, but because they are beings. At first blush, Francis' intention clearly differs from that of the author of the first question of the "Quodlibet."

The final passage makes even less sense as a citation of Francis of Marchia's *Sentences* commentary. In place of question 2, the reader is told to "look elsewhere" ("totam illam questionem quere alibi"). If the text is a *quodlibet* by Francis of Marchia, why would this question point the reader to Francis' commentary on book I, d. 3, while, a few folios later, question 5 reproduces material from the same commentary? More likely, this instruction points to a question already copied in the original manuscript, or to another question in the same collection.

For that matter, question 2 supplies the alibi for the "Quodlibet" as a whole: it consists in *Sentences*-commentary excerpts. The title of q. 2 is "Utrum in mente sit ymago Trinitatis distincte," and as Mariani points out, its (unsatisfactory) counterpart in Francis of Marchia's *Sentences* commentary would be in book I, d. 3 ("Utrum Trinitas personarum possit concludi ex creaturis"). A much better fit would be a question such as that by John Duns Scotus, *Ordinatio I* (d. 3, par. 3, q. 4): "Ultimo circa istam distinctionem quaero utrum in mente sit distincte imago

⁸⁶ Francis of Marchia, *Quodlibet*, appendix from *Sentences* commentary, ed. Mariani, pp. 348–9: "Preterea, quarto arguo sic: essentialior est ordo quorumcumque effectuum ad primam causam quam alicuius effectus ad suam causam secundam; sed aliqui effectus dependent a causa secunda eorum, non tantum quantum ad <feri, sed etiam quantum ad> esse eorum, ut patet de lumine, de specie, et de multis aliis; ergo multo magis omnia citra primum indigent actu conservari ab ipso primo." The words in angle brackets are omitted *per homoioteletuton* in the manuscript Mariani employed, but they are in other witnesses, such as Chigi.

Trinitatis,”⁸⁷ or its counterpart in the *Lectura I* (d. 3, par. 3, q. 4): “Utrum in mente secundum quod distinguitur a parte sensitiva, sit proprie imago Trinitatis.”⁸⁸ In the same part of the distinction one finds in the *Ordinatio* (q. 2): “Utrum pars intellectiva proprie sumpta vel aliquid eius sit causa totalis gignens actualem notitiam vel ratio gignendi,”⁸⁹ and in the *Lectura* (q. 3): “Utrum principalior causa respectu notitiae genitae sit obiectum, praesens in se sive in specie, vel anima, sive aliquid animae.”⁹⁰ These last two questions address the same issues as the *Quodlibet*’s question 1: “Utrum in intellectu nostro sit aliqua noticia actualis genita.” Most likely, questions 1 and 2—the source of all the references—come from a commentary on book I, d. 3, of the *Sentences*. This is why both the citation to “distinction 5” and that to “book II, in the *principium*” use the future tense, and why the mention “distinction 5” does not need to specify which book.⁹¹

The following five questions all discuss ontology, and four of them have “intencio entis” in the title. Sabine Folger-Fonfara is currently working on a detailed study of these questions, demonstrating their internal coherence and their close connections with Francis’ unquestionably authentic *Metaphysics* commentary, as well as their singular importance in the history of philosophy. Therefore, while paternity has not yet been demonstrated, there is cause to suspect Francis for questions 3–4 and 6–7. If they are all by Francis of Marchia, then their thematic coherence suggests they might be *quaestiones ordinariae*.⁹² The last two

⁸⁷ John Duns Scotus, *Ordinatio I*, d. 3, p. 3, q. 4, eds. C. Balić et al., *Opera omnia* III (Vatican City 1954), p. 338.

⁸⁸ John Duns Scotus, *Lectura I*, d. 3, p. 3, q. 4, eds. C. Balić et al., *Opera omnia* XVI (Vatican City 1960), p. 395.

⁸⁹ John Duns Scotus, *Ordinatio I*, d. 3, p. 3, q. 4, eds. Balić et al., p. 245.

⁹⁰ John Duns Scotus, *Lectura I*, d. 3, p. 3, q. 3, eds. Balić et al., p. 370.

⁹¹ Incidentally, while Francis of Marchia’s treatments of the subject in distinction 5 do not have any direct correspondence to the discussion of the difference between *mutatio* and *productio* and their application in *divinis*, Scotus’ does, further strengthening the suspicion that the question is strictly Scotist, and not by Francis of Marchia. See John Duns Scotus, *Lectura I*, d. 5, par. 1, q. un, eds. Balić et al., pp. 444–5: “Et ideo alios terminos habet formaliter mutatio et productio, nam terminus mutationis est ipsa forma inducta in materia, sed terminus proprius productionis est totum compositum... Et ideo generatio tantum transfertur ad divina prout includit productionem, et non mutationem...”

⁹² In addition to her forthcoming book, see S. Folger-Fonfara, “Franziskus von Marchia: Die erste Unterscheidung einer Allgemeinen und einer Besonderen Metaphysik,” *DSTFM* 16 (2005), pp. 461–513, esp. pp. 472–3; eadem, “Prima del

questions, on celestial mechanics, are clearly related, and perhaps come from a treatment of book II of the *Sentences*.

In summary, the only positive indication that this collection is a *quodlibet* or written by Francis of Marchia is the title applied after the text was copied. Only question 5 can be positively shown to be by Francis of Marchia. For the others, there is no other basis for the attribution, and sufficient evidence to cast doubt on authorship and genre.

“Quodlibet” (from Mariani):

1. *Utrum in intellectu nostro sit aliqua noticia actualis genita.* (= not by Francis) 125ra–vb.
2. *Utrum in mente sit ymago Trinitatis distincte.* (= not by Francis) 125vb.
3. *Utrum intencio entis sit prima rei intencio.* (= uncertain) 126ra–128rb; BAV, Vat. lat. 6768, ff. 98rb–100vb.
4. *Utrum ens includatur quidditative in quolibet.* (= uncertain) 128rb–132ra; 138va–vb (fragmentary); BAV, Vat. lat. 1085, ff. 243vb–248ra (different redaction).
5. *Utrum intencio entis sit univoca decem predicamentis.* (= Francis of Marchia) 132ra–135vb; 138vb–141vb.
6. *Utrum intencio entis sit univoca Deo et creaturae.* (= uncertain) 135rb–137rb; 141vb–143vb; BAV, Vat. lat. 1085, ff. 248ra–vb (different redaction).
7. *Utrum intencio entis ex natura rei differat positive ab intencione unius, veri et boni, vel sint omnino idem formaliter.* (= uncertain) 137rb–138va; 143vb–145ra.
8. <*Utrum motus celi fiat a virtute intrinseca sive extrinseca.*> (= no reason for attribution) 145ra–va.
9. *Ex quo supposito tunc erit utrum <motus celi> fiat ab illa virtute extrinseca secundum potentiam finitam vel infinitam.* (= no reason for attribution) 145va–146va.

Francis of Meyronnes

The Provençal Francis of Meyronnes (born ca. 1288) joined the Franciscan convent of Digne and lectured on the *Sentences* at Paris in the year 1320–21. At the request of King Robert of Sicily, on 24 May 1323, Pope John XXII ordered the University of Paris to award Francis the title of master of theology. From the same year, Francis was Provincial Minister of Provence. In 1324, Francis appears in the

Primo: Francesco d'Appignano sui concetti primi,” in *Atti del III Convegno Internazionale su Francesco d'Appignano*, D. Priori, ed. (Appignano del Tronto 2006), pp. 47–56.

Papal Curia in Avignon and on an embassy to Gascony. Francis died in Piacenza in 1328.⁹³

Francis has left two known *Quodlibeta*, the first of which Glorieux dates to around 1323–24—between Francis’ becoming master and his departure for Gascony—on the basis of question 11, “Utrum principatus regni Sicilie ex hoc sit nobilior, quia subiectus Ecclesie.” Beyond evoking the circumstances of Francis’ promotion this question reflects the ongoing negotiations in Paris for Prince Charles’ marriage.⁹⁴

Francis of Meyronnes’ *Quodlibeta* present several textual challenges stemming from the number of copies, redactions, and relatively short period in which they occurred. Since Glorieux, Meyronnes’ *Quodlibeta* have been the subject of two extensive textual studies.⁹⁵ Roth and Glorieux identify two *Quodlibeta* and a possible third; Roßmann excludes the third (Assisi, Biblioteca del Sacro Convento 157) as containing questions not by Francis of Meyronnes, but by Henry of Ghent.⁹⁶

Both of the authentic *Quodlibeta* for Francis of Meyronnes exist in multiple redactions. The relation between these two *Quodlibeta*, and their various redactions, the dates they were composed, and the order among them are all open to discussion. Therefore, I adopt Roth’s distinction between the two as the “Printed” and “Unprinted” *Quodlibet*, understood as synecdoche: the “Printed *Quodlibet*” includes among its redactions a printed edition; the “Unprinted *Quodlibet*” appears in its fullest form in BAV, Vat. lat. 900.

The Printed Quodlibet (Glorieux, Quodlibet I)

One of Meyronnes’ *Quodlibeta* was printed several times along with Francis’ *Sentences* commentary, and is most commonly available in the Venice 1520 edition.⁹⁷ Unfortunately, the printed edition is not entirely reliable; its editor lamented the quality of his (single) manuscript and

⁹³ R. Lambertini, “Francis of Meyronnes,” in *A Companion to Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, J.J.E. Gracia and T.B. Noone, eds. (Oxford 2003), pp. 256–7; F. Fiorentino, *Francesco di Meyronnes: Libertà e contingenza nel pensiero tardo-medievale* (Rome 2006), pp. 9–55.

⁹⁴ Glorieux II, p. 89.

⁹⁵ B. Roth, OFM, *Franz von Mayronis OFM, Sein Leben, sein Werke, seine Lehre vom Formunterschied in Gott* (Werl in Westfalen 1936); Roßmann, “Die Quodlibeta.”

⁹⁶ Roßmann, “Die Quodlibeta,” p. 3, n. 6.

⁹⁷ Other editions are Venice 1507 and 1519. See Roßmann, “Die Quodlibeta,” p. 4, and Roth, *Franz von Mayronis*, pp. 180–3.

explicitly corrected the text.⁹⁸ The questions as they appear in the printed edition:

Incipit/proemium (227A): Videmus nunc per speculum in enigmate, tunc autem facie ad faciem, prima Cor. 13 cap. scribitur istud verbum. Quia vero, secundum doctrinam beati Dionysii, *Celestis hierarchie* circa principium, habitus divinarum disciplinarum quo instruimur in sacra theologia sunt nobis imago future contemplationis qua illustrabimur in patria, sicut sumptio divine eucharistie est imitatio illius fruitionis beatifice qua satiabimur cum apparuerit (inquit) gloria eius. . . .

1. Quia in ista salutari doctrina est nobis innata via a difficilioribus ad faciliora, et a superioribus ad inferiora, secundum premissa, et articulus Trinitatis in theologica facultate est difficillimus et supremus, idcirco in nostra prima generali disputatione facta Parisiis fuit prima quaestio facta: *utrum articulus Trinitatis possit defendi a fidelibus contra philosophicas impugnationes*. 227K.
2. Secunda questio est *utrum articulus Trinitatis sit demonstrabilis*. 229G.
3. Tertia questio est *utrum divina essentia sit in tribus personis beatissime Trinitatis distincte*. 230E.
4. Quarta questio est *utrum Deus possit revelare suam essentiam alicui viatori abstractivae*. 233D.
5. Quinta questio: *utrum Deus possit revelare suam essentiam intuitive alicui viatori*. 234E.
6. Sexta questio: *utrum sit dare entia rationis pertinentia ad scientiam theologie*. 235C.
7. Septima questio: *utrum entia rationis sint necessaria*. 238K.
8. Octava questio est *utrum esse essentie creabilium quidditatum fuerit eternum*. 241G.

⁹⁸ Ed. Venice 1520 (cited also in Roßmann, "Die Quodlibeta," p. 6, nn. 16–17, as deriving from the 1507 edition), f. 262rb: "Advertat diligentissimus lector quod has questiones hoc ordine in unico originali, penitus discorrecto et fere totaliter extincto, reperimus atque emendavimus magno certe labore et vi ingenii plerumque. Sicubi vero defectus aliquos quod perraro erit, invenerit in dies, quia facile inventis addere castigabit. Dicam enim cum magno Africano cum nec pigebit me sicubi hesitet querere nec pudebit sicubi error discere. Possent alio modo ordinari et alie plures, quas doctor ingeniosissimus iste seorsum scripsit, questiones eis adiungi. Sed ordo in his maxime, que de quolibet disputantur, non est multum ponderandus. . . ." Explicit: "Illuminati doctoris fratris Francisci de Mayronis ordinis minorum, provincie sancti Ludovici subtilissime questiones quolibetales, correcte atque decorate antea summa cura atque sollertia sacre theologie doctoris eximii, patris fratris Mauriti de Hybernia eiusdem religionis, dignissimi archiepiscopi Tumamensis, dum actu theologiam publice in alma universitate Patavina legebat, nunc vero per quendam bene doctum virum revise, fine felici terminantur. Venetiis mandato et expensis heredum quondam nobilis domini Octaviani Scoti, civis ac patricii Modoeiensis, anno Domini 1520, die 7o Aprilis. Ad laudem et gloriam domini nostri Jesu Christi qui est benedictus in secula. Amen." Such complaints of poor manuscript witnesses need to be understood critically, as they very often are forms of modesty or invocations of the reader's benevolence.

9. Nona questio fuit *utrum Christianus sufficienter in theologia instructus possit defendere articulum creationis contra adversarios veritatis quantumcumque peritos*. 244M.
10. Decima questio fuit *utrum in Christi humanitate sit aliqua perfectior entitas eius anima rationali*. 248L.
11. Undecima questio fuit *utrum principatus regni Sicilie ex hoc sit nobilior, quia subiectus Ecclesie*. 250L.
12. Duodecima questio fuit *utrum obedientia sit nobilissima virtutum moralium*. 253N.
13. Tertiadecima questio fuit *utrum tres persone beatissime Trinitatis servant ordinem originis in creando, ita quod una divina persona primo producat creaturam secundum ordinem originis quam alia*. 258L.
14. Secunda questio est (a. l. quartadecima. Est 1 lateralis in hac materia mg) *utrum producat beatissima Trinitas creaturas in esse secundum quid, antequam producat eas in esse reali simpliciter*. 260A.
15. Tertia questio est (a. l. quintadecima questio, sed est 2 lateralis in hac materia mg) *utrum emanatio creaturarum a Deo presupponat emanationem personarum divinarum*. 260P.
16. Questio fuit facta (a. l. sextadecima questio. Sed est materia incidentalis seorsum forte mota mg) *utrum in eadem potentia operativa possunt simul esse plures operationes*. 261I.

Explicit (262D): Dicitur autem ad rationem factam in principio questionis quod, licet simplicia non sint divisibilia, sunt tamen communicabilia; ergo etc.

Roth suspected that the original *Quodlibet* had thirteen questions, because of a change in the *incipits* of the individual questions in the printed editions. While questions 2–13 begin according to the formula “secunda quaestio,” “tertia quaestio,” all the way to “tertiadecima quaestio,” questions 14 and 15 begin “secunda quaestio” and “tertia quaestio,” respectively. Question sixteen does not contain such an incipit at all.⁹⁹ Roßmann counters that marginal notations indicate an *alia littera* numeration as 14 and 15; moreover, question 15 contains internal references to material discussed in questions 13 and 14.¹⁰⁰ Francis’ references to his *Sentences* commentary, to the position of John of Prato, OP, and to Pierre Roger (promoted to master in 1323) as “*unus doctor famosus*” provide positive evidence that Francis held this *Quodlibet* as a master in theology; his statement that these questions were raised “*in nostra prima generali disputatione facta Parisiis*” means that he must have held the *Quodlibet* before leaving in 1324. Therefore, the Printed *Quodlibet* can be comfortably dated to Advent 1323 or Lent 1324.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Roth, *Franz von Mayronis*, p. 182.

¹⁰⁰ Roßmann, “Die Quodlibeta,” p. 7.

¹⁰¹ Roßmann, “Die Quodlibeta,” pp. 7–9.

The printed editions witness a redaction not entirely preserved in any surviving manuscript. Several manuscripts, however, do have some of the questions, or different redactions of the questions: Tortosa, Biblioteca de la Catedral 96, f. 143va has at least the prologue to the *Quodlibet*.¹⁰² BAV, Vat. lat. 901, has a question (f. 1ra) identical to question 9 and one (f. 4vb) very close to question 1 (without proemium) numbered as questions 1 and 2.¹⁰³ Roth notes that München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 3726, ff. 231r–238r, and the printed edition in Universitätsbibliothek, Incun. 1166, pp. 249–90, provide a shorter version of question 1, along with a second part of the question that does not show up in the printed version, and provides an edition from these witnesses.¹⁰⁴ Roth reports Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 1560, as having copies of questions 1, 2, and 10 identical to the printed version.¹⁰⁵

In actuality, the Vienna manuscript has no parallel to question 2 and reports the same redaction of question 1 as the Munich manuscripts, and henceforth the version witnessed by Vienna and the Munich texts will be called the “Munich Redaction.” In addition, after this version of question 1, there follows immediately (f. 105ra) “tractatus Magistri Francisci de Maronis de virtutibus moralibus.”¹⁰⁶ After the treatise, on ff. 126ra–127va there is indeed a question identical (same redaction) to q. 10 of the printed text. It is then followed by the questions (f. 127vb) *Utrum corpus Christi quod fuit sanctificatum ex purissimis sanguinibus Beate Virginis fuit semper a Verbo assumptum* and (f. 129ra–b) *Utrum anima Christi intelligat omnia in Verbo que intelligit Verbum*.

The Munich Redaction of question 1, *Utrum theologus catholicus in theologicis sufficienter instructus possit articulum Trinitatis defendere contra emulum veritatis*, reports an early version of the question. The text is very similar to the printed version, but with a few notable changes, such as the use of *emulus veritatis* both in the title and throughout the text where the

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Roth, *Franz von Mayronis*, p. 183; Roßmann, “Die Quodlibeta,” p. 11, n. 36.

¹⁰⁴ Roth, *Franz von Mayronis*, pp. 335–47.

¹⁰⁵ Roth, *Franz von Mayronis*, pp. 183–4.

¹⁰⁶ According to Roßmann, “Die Quodlibeta,” p. 62, n. 190, this derives from the “Verbum caro factum” redaction of Francis’ commentary on book III of the *Sentences*. The section preceding the Munich version of q. 1 in ÖNB 1560 is missing from the manuscript, but the *tabula quaestionum* at the end of the codex lists questions (f. 128vb) from the same redaction of book III of Francis’ commentary; see, Roßmann, “Die Sentenzenkommentare des Franz von Meyronnes OFM,” *Franziskanische Studien* 53 (1971) (pp. 129–227), pp. 212–17.

printed redaction has *philosophus*. The redaction witnessed by the printed text appears to include extensions and elaborations of arguments found in the Munich witnesses. For example, a comparison of the two redactions in discussing the objection that expository syllogisms do not work in Trinitarian arguments reveals that the Printed *Quodlibet* contains a more complete list of arguments, and a more nuanced exposition:

Munich Redaction (Wien 1560, f. 103va; Roth, p. 339)	Printed <i>Quodlibet</i> (P = 1520 ed.; V = Vat. lat. 901, f. 5va)
Quantum ad tertium punctum dicent emuli veritatis quod syllogismus expository qui fit ex puris singularibus est certissimus, cum fiat circa terminos in quibus nulla multiplicitas cadere potest, nec per consequens medium variari. Et ideo, cum iste obviet articulo Trinitatis, non poterit defendi articulus contra ipsum. Quod autem forma eius obviet articulo declaratur tripliciter in tribus figuris.	Quantum ad tertium punctum dicent philosophi quod syllogismus singularis, qui vulgo dicitur expository, ex terminis pure singularibus constans est certissimus, quia circa ipsum propter significationem terminorum nulla potest contingere multiplicitas. Et ideo, cum forma istius syllogismi obviet articulo Trinitatis, non potest defendi contra ipsum. Quod autem ista forma obviet contra istum articulum Trinitatis declaratur quadruplici via.
Primo sic: 'hec essentia est hic pater; hic filius est hec essentia; ergo hic filius est hic pater'; non tamen sequitur conclusio ex premissis.	Primo in prima figura affirmative: 'hec essentia est hic pater; et hic filius est hec essentia; ergo hic filius est hic pater', quod est contra distinctionem personarum.
Secundo sic: 'hec essentia est hic pater; hic filius non hic pater; ergo hic filius non est hec essentia'; et tamen conclusio est falsa in secunda.	Secundo in eadem figura negative: 'hec essentia non est ad aliud; hic pater est hec essentia; ergo hic pater non est ad aliud'.
Tertio sic in postrema figura: 'hec essentia est hic pater; hec essentia est hic filius; ergo hic filius est hic pater'.	Tertio in secunda figura: 'hic filius non est hic pater; hec essentia est hic pater; ergo hec essentia non est hic filius'.
	Quarto in tertia figura: 'hec essentia est hic pater; hec essentia est hic filius; ergo hic filius est hic pater'.

These passages reveal three major differences between the redactions. First, as noted, the opponents are called *emuli veritatis* in the Munich

Redaction and *philosophi* in the printed version. Second, in the printed version, Francis clarifies a case of sloppy technical language: an expository syllogism normally is a syllogism of the third figure (with singular terms), but the point here is that, in each of the three Aristotelian figures for syllogistic, a valid syllogism can be constructed using singular Trinitarian terms and yet have a false conclusion. The printed version notes that *expositorius* is being used broadly (*syllogismus singularis, qui vulgo dicitur expositorius*), while the Munich Redaction merely refers to it as a *sillogismus expositorius* that can be constructed according to the three figures. Finally, the printed redaction has an extra case: “in the first figure, negatively.” Since the Munich text announces the three cases as corresponding to the three figures (*declaratur tripliciter in tribus figuris*), while the printed version simply states that there are four ways (*declaratur quadruplici via*), neither the omission in the Munich Redaction nor the inclusion in the printed version appears incidental, the result of scribal error. Nor does a case for the Munich Redaction being an abbreviation of the printed version seem likely: the addition of the imprecision concerning expository syllogisms would mix poorly with the added elegance of a threefold division according to the three figures. Either both versions derive independently from the same discussion, or, more likely, the printed version is a later revision of the Munich text.

The latter hypothesis finds additional support in the second article of the question. In the Munich Redaction, the second article is provided in full as the investigation of *si iste articulus (scil. Trinitatis) potest defendi*.¹⁰⁷ The argumentation contained in this article has a correspondence in the printed version of the *Quodlibet*, but in question 9, a. 2: so the Munich redaction is not “more complete” because of its developed second article; rather the Printed *Quodlibet* contains the same argumentation, in greater detail, elsewhere.

As rendered in the Munich Redaction, question 1 seems to predate the redaction contained in the 1520 printed edition of Francis of Meyronnes’ *Quodlibet*. This may seem to confirm Roßmann’s suspicion that the relationship between the Munich Redaction and the Printed *Quodlibet* is analogous to that between Meyronnes’ 1320–21 *Disputatio collativa* and his later printed *Sentences* commentary.¹⁰⁸ More precisely,

¹⁰⁷ Wien, ÖNB 1560, f. 104vb.

¹⁰⁸ Roßmann, “Die Quodlibeta,” pp. 9–10.

the *Quodlibet*, as it appears in printed form, seems to contain a written revision of the text of the Munich Redaction.

Other witnesses further complicate the picture. Oxford, Balliol College Library 70, has questions 11 (pp. 195, 197b, 75, 199) and 12 (pp. 199–200b, 76, 202).¹⁰⁹ Question 8 also circulated separately as a treatise, called the *Vinculum Francisci Maronis*, or as just the *De esse essentiae et existentiae*, and appears in many manuscripts.¹¹⁰ Ephrem Longpré found in Marseilles (Bibliothèque Municipale 256) another manuscript of the Printed *Quodlibet*, which contains (ff. 52ra–91ra) the same prologue and questions 1–10 and 13–14 (numbered 1–12), but adds a series of questions apparently different from those in the Printed *Quodlibet*, namely (from Roßmann):¹¹¹

- 13*. Tertia decima quaestio fuit: *Utrum articulus Trinitatis possit defendi a fidelibus sine distinctione essentiae et proprietatis*. 91ra.
- 14*. Quarta decima quaestio fuit: *Utrum in divinis sint duae emanationes seu duae productiones*. 101rb.
- 15*. Quinta decima quaestio fuit: *Utrum generatio sit eiusdem rationis in Deo et creatura*. 106ra.
- 16*. Sexta decima quaestio est: *Utrum divina essentia generet*. 110ra.
- 17*. Decima septima quaestio est: *Utrum gratia gratum faciens sit composita ex genere et differentia, sicut ex partibus quiditative distinctis*. 118rb.

After question 17 follows a different redaction of the *Replicatio* from the *Disputatio collativa* pertaining to book IV of the *Sentences*, along with

¹⁰⁹ Roth, *Franz von Mayronis*, p. 183.

¹¹⁰ Roth, *Franz von Mayronis*, pp. 187–8: 1. Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka B 1604 ff. 320–324. 2. München, Nationalmuseum Bibliothek 935, ff. 473r–478r, “Franciscus de Mayronis, De esse et essentia” (1478) (cited through Roth from P. Lehmann, *Mittelalterl. Hss des Nationalmuseums zu München* [Munich 1916], p. 31). 3. München, Universitätsbibliothek 2°, 40, ff. 54v–61v and 242v–250v. 4. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, lat. 975 (theol. qu. 32) ff. 157b–162b. 5. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní Kapituli 1389 (1453–54), ff. 319a–330a: “Franciscus de Maronis: Vinculum.” 6. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní Kapituli 1439 (1447–50), ff. 1a–10a. 7. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní Kapituli 1446 (mid 15th cent., 1449), ff. 22a–32b. 8. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní Kapituli 1599 (late 15th cent.), ff. 95a–101b. 9. Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska 2060 (15 cent.). 10. Venezia, BN Marciana, Marc. lat. III.104, ff. 73–79: “Francisci de Maronis de potentia obiectiva” (from the catalog entry; Roth suspects this to be a manuscript of the *Vinculum*). To which can be added: 11. Bologna, Biblioteca del Collegio di Spagna 47, ff. 349r–357v.

¹¹¹ “Die Quodlibeta,” p. 10; J. Barbet “Un témoin de la discussion entre les écoles scotiste et thomiste selon François de Meyronnes,” in *De doctrina Ioannis Duns Scoti. Acta Congressus Scotistici Internationalis... 1966* (Rome 1968), pp. 21–33. A comparison between the Marseilles manuscript and the Printed *Quodlibet* for the passage from q. 1 compared above confirms Longpré’s observation.

a transition (“Since incidentally there happened to be two *replicationes* concerning this text . . .”) implying that Francis of Meyronnes authored the revision.¹¹²

Since question 15 (which is absent from Marseilles) of the Printed *Quodlibet* refers to questions 13 and 14 (in Marseilles as questions 11 and 12), Roßmann suspects that this text reflects an early phase of development of the *Quodlibet*.

Oxford, Magdalen College Library 9, ff. 113v–144r, contains some of the questions of the Printed *Quodlibet*, but in a different order (qq. 14, 15, 1, 7, 8, 9, 10, 6 with some additional complications in the copying). The prologue is written in a different hand from the rest of the text, and contains a reference to the *determinatio*: “Et ideo praemissa generali disputatione ad quaestionum determinationem est accedendum.” While arguing that the arrangement is probably not authoritative, Roßmann supposes that this prologue reflects an earlier redaction of the text.¹¹³ If it is authentic, such a prologue could be seen as reflecting the orality of a *reportatio* as opposed to a written account.

Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale 995, reports a copy of Francis of Meyronnes’ commentaries on books III and IV of the *Sentences*, followed by three separate questions on relations and modes in God, followed by a *quodlibet* (ff. 161va–192rb).¹¹⁴ The *quodlibet* features a prologue very

¹¹² Roßmann, “Die Quodlibeta,” p. 11 (Marseilles, BM 256, f. 122rb): “Quia tamen incidentaliter circa istam materiam occurrebat duae replicationes, quarum una erat de concordia et altera de collocutione, idcirco circa earum considerationem prolixius intendendo, pro utraque seorsum sunt duodecim punta declaranda . . .”

¹¹³ Roßmann, “Die Quodlibeta,” pp. 12–14. The full prologue reads: “Cunctae res difficiles, et non potest homo eas explicare sermone; Eccle. primo cap. (v. 8) scribitur istud verbum. In quo quidem sermone Sapiens describit duas difficultates quae inveniuntur in rebus inquirendis: quarum prima est ad res ipsas intelligendas; secunda est ad res intellectas pronuntiandas. Quorum primum pertinet ad bene addiscendum, et secundum ad bene docendum. Difficultas actus intelligendi tangitur, cum praemittitur: Cunctae res difficiles—; sed difficultas fandi patet, cum sequitur: et non potest homo explicare sermone. Iste autem duae difficultates tolluntur per duplicem actum scholasticum, quia difficultas fandi tollitur per actum disputationis, difficultas autem intelligendi per actum determinationis.—Et ideo praemissa generali disputatione ad quaestionum determinationem est accedendum. Quaestio autem fuit: Utrum christianus in theologia sufficienter instructus possit defendere articulum creationis contra veritatis adversarium quantumcumque peritum.”

¹¹⁴ Roßmann, “Die Quodlibeta,” pp. 14–15; J. Barbet, *François de Meyronnes-Pierre Roger Disputatio 1320–1321* (Paris 1961), pp. 17ff; P. de Lapparent, “Notes sur les manuscrits 994 et 995 de Troyes,” *Bibliothèque de l’Ecole des Chartes* 104 (1943), pp. 261–6. Roßmann provides a question and article list for the three separate questions and suspects they are either part of an intermediary redaction of a commentary on book I of the *Sentences*, or simply separate questions.

similar to that found in the Magdalen College version¹¹⁵ and the following questions:¹¹⁶

- 1**. Inter questiones autem de quolibet proponebatur *utrum Christianus sufficienter edoctus in theologia possit evidenter defendere et defensare articulum Trinitatis contra veritatis emulum*. f. 161va.
- 2**. Querebatur secundo *utrum essentia divina aliquo modo distinguatur in tribus suppositis divinis*. 165rb.
- 3**. *Utrum quidditates creabilium ante omnem creationem habeant esse essentie in se [ante omnem creationem]*. 169va.
- 4**. Deinde orta est questio de facto *utrum quidditates creaturarum distinguantur a sua creabilitate*. 171va.
- 5**. Deinde orta est questio *utrum quidditates creabilium ante suam creationem vere contineantur in Deo*. 174ra.¹¹⁷
- 6**. Deinde est questio *utrum res ante suam creationem sint vere causatae*. 176ra.¹¹⁸
- 7**. *Utrum genus et differentia distinguantur formaliter*. 176va.
- 8**. His tres unum sunt; [I] Joan. 5. cap. (v. 7) scribitur istud verbum, quia vero intentio beati Iohannis evangeliste est in loco isto astruere misterium beatissime Trinitatis... *Utrum articulus Trinitatis posset defendi a fidelibus sine distinctione essentiae et proprietatis*. 181vb.

According to Roßmann, question 1** is yet another earlier redaction of the printed question 1 similar to the Munich Redaction—and indeed the reference to an *aemulus veritatis* suggests an affinity; moreover, in the passage parallel to the case noted above, the passage begins, “Tertius punctus est de sillogismo singulari, sive expositorio qui fit in terminis singularibus,” and only gives the three cases.¹¹⁹ The next question (2**)

¹¹⁵ Roßmann, “Die Quodlibeta,” p. 16 (Troyes 995, f. 161va): “Cunctae res difficiles, ait Salomon, nec potest eas homo explicare sermone, Eccle. 1 (v. 8). In rebus namque invenitur duplex difficultas: prima quantum ad actum considerandi, secunda quantum ad actum pronuntiandi. Prima fit per actum determinationis (!), secunda per actum disputationis. Praemisso igitur actu disputationis de quolibet, sequitur actus determinationis, secundum quod possibile est. Prima difficultas tangitur ibi: Cunctae res difficiles—; secunda nec potest homo explicare sermone.—Inter quaestiones autem de quolibet proponebatur *utrum christianus sufficienter edoctus in theologia possit evidenter defendere et defensare articulum Trinitatis contra veritatis aemulum*.”

¹¹⁶ Roßmann, “Die Quodlibeta,” pp. 16–20.

¹¹⁷ Edited in Roßmann, “Die Quodlibeta,” pp. 36–43.

¹¹⁸ Roßmann emends the MS’s *creatae* in *causatae*.

¹¹⁹ Troyes 995, f. 162va: “Tertius punctus est de sillogismo singulari, sive expositorio qui fit in terminis singularibus, circa quem non contingit multiplicitas et ideo est certissimus sillogismus. Modo diceret adversarius quod iste sillogismus non tenet in divinis. Probatur tripliciter.—Primo sic in prima figura: hec essentia est hic pater; hic filius est hec essentia; ergo hic filius est hic pater. Maior et minor sunt vere, conclusio tamen est falsa.—Secundo sic in secunda figura: hec essentia est hic pater; hic filius non est hic pater; ergo hic filius non est hec essentia. Conclusio est falsa; maior et minor

is likewise a prior version of the printed question 3. Questions 4**–7** treat material found in question 8 (that is, the *Vinculum*), and question 5 apparently has parallels to Francis of Meyronnes' *Conflatus* (I *Sent.*, d. 42, q. 3). Question 8** corresponds not to any text in the Printed *Quodlibet*, but to question 13* in the Marseilles manuscript.¹²⁰

The Unprinted Quodlibet (Glorieux, Quodlibet II)

In addition to these questions that find a redaction in the Printed *Quodlibet*, Roth notes a second, six-question *Quodlibet* in BAV, Vat. lat. 900 (ff. 87v–116r).¹²¹

Incipit: Unus Dominus, una fides... in omnibus nobis. Ad Ephesios III^{or} (!) capitulo. Quia vero fides catholica est hostium omnium spiritualium perfectionum, existens prima in ordine virtutum theologicarum... idcirco in omni inquisitione theologica a fide videtur iniciandum, et propter unius Dei misteria sacratissima, cum sit fides orthodoxa quasi fundamentum permictenda (!), fuit

1. Prima questio facta in disputatione nostra generali [fuit] *utrum sit XIII^{im} articuli fidei tantum.*
2. Secunda questio fuit facta, *utrum annuntiatio angelica fuerit virgini sacratissime gratiosa sive gaudiosa.*
3. Tertia questio fuit facta, *utrum prestantissimum gaudium sancte Dei genitricis fuerit in eius felici annunciatione.*
4. Quarta questio fuit facta, *utrum mater domini nostri Ihesu Christi fuerit sanctificata secundum totam capacitatem beatissime anime sue.*
5. Quinta questio fuit facta, *utrum mater domini nostri Ihesu Christi fuerit vere gratia plena.*
6. Sexta questio fuit, *utrum B. Johannes Baptista sit maximus et supremus omnium sanctorum post Christum et matrem eius benedictam.*

Roth noted that the second part of the first question circulated separately as a *Tractatus de articulis fidei*. Roßmann corrects this, noting that the text in fact differs from the *Tractatus de articulis fidei*, giving three redactions of the text: a) the one contained in the second part of question 1 of the Unprinted *Quodlibet* and also in Piacenza, Biblioteca Landiana 112 (393), ff. 69r–79r; b) a separate redaction as its own treatise (the *Tractatus de articulis fidei*), and c) an abbreviated redaction included in

vere.—Tertio in tertia figura: hec essentia est hic pater; hec essentia est hic filius; ergo hic filius est hic pater. Conclusio est falsa; premissae vere.”

¹²⁰ Roßmann, “Die Quodlibeta,” pp. 16–20.

¹²¹ Roth, *Franz von Mayronis*, pp. 189–90.

the major redaction of Francis' commentary on *De summa Trinitate et fide catholica* of Gregory IX's decretals (on the creed as described in the Fourth Lateran Council). According to Roßmann, this latter carries a secure date of 1321–22 and was a commentary that Francis “had assembled from many originally independent texts.”¹²² Therefore, according to Roßmann, the commentary must be the latest version, and the *Quodlibet* the earliest.

From this reconstructive work, there are four possibilities concerning the text referred to here as the Unprinted *Quodlibet*. First (and this is the position that Roßmann favors), the *Quodlibet* could have come from a “non-magisterial” *quodlibet* at Paris, when Francis was a bachelor. If so, it would represent an important step in the development (or rather, decline) of the genre of theological *quodlibeta*, as originally bachelors in theology did not determine *quodlibeta*.¹²³ On this reading, the Unprinted *Quodlibet*'s mention of “prima questio facta in disputatione nostra generali,” conflicts with the Printed *Quodlibet*'s reference to “in nostra prima generali disputatione facta Parisiis.” If the Printed *Quodlibet* is from “our first general disputation at Paris,” how could Francis have forgotten that he already gave one?

Second, Francis could have held this *quodlibet* as a lector of theology elsewhere, before coming to Paris. Such a position has the advantage of only positing a particular novelty—that of Francis of Meyronnes teaching somewhere other than Paris—, rather than a general one, namely of *quodlibeta* held by persons other than the highest teaching authority. This particular novelty, moreover, would not be particularly novel: it would cohere with the Franciscan practice of having students study at Paris, become *lectors* at provincial *studia*, then return to Paris to read the *Sentences* and become masters of theology. On this reading, the operative word in the reference “in nostra prima generali disputatione facta Parisiis” would be *Parisiis* and not *prima*, for Francis had already held a *generalis disputatio* somewhere else.

Third, Roßmann's position that the *Quodlibet* predates Francis' commentary could be mistaken. It apparently rests on an assumption concerning the spontaneous, oral nature of a *quodlibet*, namely that a

¹²² Roßmann, “Die Quodlibeta,” pp. 3–4; for the dating of the *Tractatus de articulis fidei*, see p. 46, n. 131. The *Tractatus de articulis fidei* appears in Francis of Meyronnes' *Sermones de laudibus sanctorum* (Venice 1493 and Basel 1498).

¹²³ Cf. Hamesse, “Theological *Quaestiones Quodlibetales*,” and Piron, “Franciscan *Quodlibeta* in Southern *Studia* and at Paris,” in volume I.

quodlibetal question can only provide the basis for a later treatise, and that treatises and written works do not normally find their way into written *quodlibeta*. If we discard this assumption, then Francis could easily have disputed the Unprinted *Quodlibet* after the printed one, and at Paris or Avignon; the Printed *Quodlibet* would then be truly the record of Francis' *prima generalis disputatio*.

Fourth, the Unprinted *Quodlibet* could be part of the same disputation as the printed one. All redactions of the Printed *Quodlibet* feature questions concerning the articles of faith in prominent locations. Likewise, the Unprinted *Quodlibet* begins with a discussion of the articles of faith. Beyond this superficial similarity, however, there is no positive evidence for these questions having been part of the same debate.

While the evidence cannot exclude any of the possibilities, parsimony and positive evidence favor the second and the third, with the third possibility as most likely. Often, the questions raised against a master in a quodlibetal disputation concerned theses the master was publicly known to have held, or consequences of those theses. It is not surprising, then, that a master who had already published material concerning the articles of faith would be asked about such positions in his quodlibetal disputations. Afterwards, when he set about to produce a written version, Francis of Meyronnes availed himself of material he had already composed. Nor would it be surprising if, even in preparation for the oral *determinatio*, Francis were to consult such works and structure a response along those lines.

Franciscans at the Barcelona Convent

Aufredo Gonteri Brito

As many as four Franciscans active in the 1320s held quodlibetal disputations at the order's Barcelona convent, an important intellectual center at the time. On his own testimony, Aufredo Gonteri was a follower of Scotus and, as a student in Paris, heard the Subtle Doctor's lectures. He later read the *Sentences* at Barcelona in 1322 and Paris in 1325.¹²⁴ In the prologue to his Parisian commentary on book I, he

¹²⁴ S. Dumont, "The Scotist of Vat. lat. 869," *AFH* 81 (1988) (pp. 254–83), pp. 280–3; M. Schmaus, "Uno sconosciuto discepolo di Scoto," *Rivista di filosofia neo-scolastica*

states, concerning intuitive and abstractive cognition, “quomodo possunt simul esse in intellectu respectu obiecti increati vel creati declaravi in quadam quaestione de quolibet.”¹²⁵ Doucet finds in both the Paris and Barcelona commentaries references to both a *quodlibet* and a text that Aufredo Gonteri indicates interchangeably as a *Tractatus de beatitudine* and “quaedam quaestio disputata super quartum,” distinct from his commentary on book IV of the *Sentences*. Aufredo Gonteri refers to this text in the Paris and Barcelona commentaries.¹²⁶

Both Doucet and Amorós point to the testimony of the Franciscan theologian Guillaume de Vorillon.¹²⁷ Vorillon, in his ca. 1447–48 commentary on book IV of the *Sentences*, cites Aufredo Gonteri Brito’s *Quodlibeta* in distinction 45, q. 1: “Utrum anime beatorum in suis receptaculis suffragiorum vianitium recordentur aut ea cognoscant.” Specifically, in article 2, conclusion 3, Vorillon argues:

The third conclusion: if distance does not impede, the blessed are always able to know our prayers in themselves in the Word of God and to beseech God for us.

The first part is proven, because a separate substance has power over the entire created being unless it is impeded from somewhere. For if my intellect can know my volition, why would a more perfect, unimpeded intellect be unable to do so? And if an angelic intellect can know the substance of my soul, which is closer to it than [my] intellection, why can it not naturally know that intellection? And if one objects: A) because, in Isaiah 63(16), “he said ‘Abraham did not know you and Israel was ignorant of you’”; B) again, in Psalm 93 (= 94), “The Lord knows the thoughts of men, that they are vain.”

To the first (A), the Doctor says three things: first, that Abraham did not know by intuitive cognition, because they were too distant. Therefore the conclusion supposed *if distance did not impede*. Second, that he was not then blessed, or he did not have the vision of God in which revelations of this type come about. Third, that ordinarily (*regulariter*), to the blessed

24 (1932) pp. 327–55; V. Doucet, “Der unbekannte Skotist des Vaticanus lat. 1113 Fr. Anfredus Gonteri, OFM,” *Franziskanische Studien* 25 (1938), pp. 201–40; L. Amorós, “Anfredo Gontero, O.F.M., discípulo de Escoto y lector en el Estudio General de Barcelona: Su comentario al lib. II y III de las Sentencias,” *Revista española de teología* 1 (1940–41), pp. 545–72.

¹²⁵ Doucet, “Der unbekannte Skotist,” p. 226, from BAV, Vat. lat. 1113, f. 11va.

¹²⁶ Amorós, “Anfredo Gontero,” pp. 560–6; Doucet, “Der unbekannte Skotist,” pp. 225–7.

¹²⁷ On Guillaume de Vorillon, see F. Tokarski, “Guillaume de Vaurouillon et son commentaire sur les *Sentences* de Pierre Lombard,” *MPP* 29 (1988), pp. 49–119.

are revealed such things as pertain to their causality with respect to their beatitude. From this the second part of the conclusion is clear. For it is not necessary that God do this, but it befits His magnificence.

To the second (B), I say three things: first, that God knows universally the thoughts of men, and from His proper perfection, which an angel does not, and God is superior. Second, that He knows them as judge, which an angel does not. These two are from Scotus. Third, that God knows them before they come to be. This third item was added by his (Scotus') egregious disciple, Brother Gauffredo or Aufredo Gonteri, *licentiatius* in theology at Paris, Breton by birth, of the convent of Quimper, in his *Quodlibeta*.¹²⁸

The reference concerns the comparison between God's knowledge and that of the blessed. God knows all the thoughts of men, judges them, and knows them before they are even thought. Created intellects do not know the thoughts of men in these ways.

Dumont suggests that Aufredo Gonteri's *Quodlibet* could be the anonymous *De cognitione Dei*, contained partially in BAV, Vat. lat. 890, and published by Wadding. The fragment truncates the sixth question, but this text could indeed be a written version of Aufredo Gonteri's *Quodlibet*. Moreover, the *De cognitione Dei* bears substantial similarities to a set of *Quaestiones in De anima*, which Dumont convincingly dates on implicit evidence to 1313–16 and situates in Paris.¹²⁹ Aufredo Gonteri's

¹²⁸ *Guillelmus Vorriolus super quattuor libris Sententiarum* (ed. Venice 1496), f. 303va–b: “Tertia conclusio: si distantia non impedit, in se in Verbo Dei semper nostras preces possunt cognoscere beati et pro nobis Deum exorare.—Prima pars probatur, quia in totum ens creatum potest separata substantia nisi aliunde impediatur. Si enim intellectus meus potest cognoscere volitionem meam, quare non poterit intellectus perfectior non impeditus? Et si intellectus angelicus potest noscere substantiam anime mee, que sibi est intimior quam sua intellectio, quare non poterit cognoscere naturaliter ipsam intellectionem? Et si obiiciatur quia Ysaie LXIII, *Dicit Abraham nescivit vos* (sic) *et Israel ignoravit vos*. Rursus in ps. dicitur: *Dominus scit cogitationes hominum quoniam vane sunt*.—Ad primum (scil. Is.) doctor dicit tria: primum, quod Abraam non novit intuitiva noticia, quia nimis distabant. Ideo conclusio viam posuit *si distantia non impedit*. Secundum, quod non fuit tunc beatus vel non habuit visionem Dei in qua fiunt huiusmodi revelationes. Tertium, quod regulariter beatis talia revelantur tamquam pertinentia ad causalitatem eorum respectu beatitudinis eorum. Ex quo patet secunda pars conclusionis. Non est enim necesse Deum hoc facere, sed decet magnificentia eius.—Ad secundum dico tria: primum, quod Deus novit universaliter cogitationes hominum, et ex propria perfectione, quod non angelus, et est superior. Secundum, quod novit ut iudex, quod non angelus. Hec duo sunt Scoti. Tertium, quod novit antequam fiant. Hoc tertium addit suus egregius discipulus frater Gauffredus seu Auffredus Ganterii licentiatius in theologia Parisius, Brito natione, conventus Corisopitensis, in suis quolibetis.”

¹²⁹ Dumont, “The Scotist of Vat. lat. 869,” pp. 281–3; the *De cognitione Dei* is found in Iohannes Duns Scotus, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Wadding-Vivès (Paris 1891–1895), vol. V,

reference to his own *Quodlibet* in his Barcelona *Sentences* text produces a *terminus ante quem* for the text of 1322: presumably Aufredo Gonteri held his *Quodlibet* as lector at Barcelona. But is the *De cognitione Dei* the (perhaps reworked) written version of his *Quodlibet*?

The *De cognitione Dei* is a collection of six questions arguing for an intermediate manner of cognizing God, between the *cognitio fidei*, the knowledge had of God in this life, and the *cognitio patriae*, the knowledge obtained through the direct, face-to-face vision of the divine essence. The *cognitio patriae* is an intuitive cognition, whereas this intermediate cognition is abstractive and apparently mediated through species. In the Wadding edition, the text breaks off before the author specifies when, how, and who has this abstractive cognition.

Since Dumont's suggestion, nearly the entire text of the *De cognitione Dei* (missing the beginning of the first question) has been found in Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College Library 335, ff. 139ra–148va. It confirms the suspicion raised by a question list in another manuscript, München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 8717, that there are eleven questions in all, with the last five apparently shifting the discussion from created intellects cognizing God to created intellects cognizing creatures.¹³⁰ This shift might constitute an interesting modulation on the common division of a *quodlibet* into *questiones de cognitione Dei* and *creaturarum*; in any case, the self-reference to simultaneous intuitive and abstractive cognition of the same object might be borne out by the last question of the collection, "Utrum de eodem obiecto cognitio intuitiva sit prior abstractiva." However, it is highly doubtful that the *De cognitione Dei* contains the passage mentioned by Vorillon, as the discussion does not seem to provide a suitable opportunity to discuss God's unique foreknowledge of human thoughts. Nevertheless, Vorillon's question concerned the cognition of separate souls, so he *might* be referring to a discussion in the Cambridge manuscript, perhaps in the question "Utrum intellectus noster separatus ex puris suis naturalibus possit

pp. 318–37. Dumont's other candidate for the authorship of the treatises in BAV, Vat. lat. 869, is Hugh of Novocastro. C. Bazàn, K. Emery, R. Green, T. Noone, R. Plevano, A. Traver, *B. Ioannis Duns Scoti quaestiones super secundum et tertium De anima, Opera Philosophica V* (Washington, DC 2006), pp. 47*–8*, note that Dumont has since withdrawn his conjecture concerning Vat. lat. 869.

¹³⁰ Bazàn, Emery, Green, Noone, Plevano, Traver, *B. Ioannis Duns Scoti quaestiones super secundum et tertium De anima*, pp. 31*–3*; V. Doucet, "A propos du Cod. lat. Monacensis 8717," *AFH* 26 (1933), pp. 246–7; F. Pelster, "Eine Münchener Handschrift," pp. 263–4, qq. 83–87.

habere de re sensibili cognitionem intuitivam.” Irrespective, the *De cognitione Dei* also differs from the *Tractatus de beatitudine*, which contains a demonstration that the optimal object of the intellect is God considered in His essence.¹³¹ Of course, the *De cognitione Dei* could derive, in whole or in part, from Aufredo Gonteri’s *Quodlibet*.

Peter of Atarrabia

Peter of Atarrabia (Peter of Navarre) served as Provincial Minister of Aragon in 1317. Very little is known about his life: he may have studied in Paris, possibly under John Duns Scotus. He probably lectured at Barcelona in the early 1320s. By 1325, beside the title of “minister of the province of Aragon,” he is called “professor of *sacra theologia*,” and a 1328 document refers to him as “maestro en teologia,” and sees him on an embassy to Paris on behalf of the queen of Navarre. From the end of the next year, King Philip III of Navarre granted Peter a pension, which was paid through 1346. Peter most likely died in 1347.¹³²

Pío Sagüés Azcona edited Peter’s commentary on Book I of the *Sentences*, and, on the basis of internal references, identified a few questions in the miscellany contained in BAV, Vat. lat. 1012, with Peter of Atarrabia, further suggesting that they might be from Peter’s *Quodlibet* (see Appendix). In his introduction, he provides a transcription of two questions, namely *utrum cognitio intuitiva et abstractiva distinguantur ab invicem per hoc quod est continere vel non continere existentiam rei sub ratione obiecti cogniti* and *utrum circumscriptis relationibus maneant persone distincte*. Azanza discusses the content of the first question, and, on the basis of the editor’s hypothesis, refers to it as *Quaestio Quodlibetalis I*.¹³³

¹³¹ Aufredus Gonteri Brito, *In III Sent.*, Lüneborg, Ratsbücherei, Theol. 2 19, f. 125vb: “Est etiam consona rationi naturali, quia beatitudo consistit in visione perfecta nature intellectualis cum obiecto optimo sub ratione nobilissima; huiusmodi est Deus sub ratione essentie sue; ergo etc. Maior patet X *Ethicorum*, c. 8; minor patet ex questione quadam disputata super Quartum, et patebit 4o libro, d. 49.”

¹³² P. Sagüés, *Doctoris fundati Petri de Atarrabia sive De Navarra, OFM in Primum Sententiarum Scriptum* (Madrid 1974), pp. 14*–25* and the bibliography there cited.

¹³³ Sagüés. *Doctoris fundati Petri de Atarrabia*, pp. 38*–48*, 48*–69*; A. Azanza, “La polémica de Pedro de Atarrabia (m. 1347) con Pedro Auréolo (m. 1322) sobre la intuición del no-existente,” *Revista Española de Filosofía Medieval* 2 (1995), pp. 71–8.

Peter Thomae

Peter Thomae studied theology at Paris and appears at the condemnation of Arnau de Vilanova in 1316. He then became a *lector* in the Franciscan *studium* in Barcelona. In 1332, he shows up in Avignon as a papal *abbreviator*. In 1333 he was appointed papal penitentiary under John XXII. His fortunes turned shortly after Benedict XII became pope, and in 1336 we find Peter Thomae under investigation for sorcery and witchcraft. He died in early October 1340 in the papal prison at Noves. The most recent study of Peter Thomae's thought gives "1323–1326" as a "reasonable guess for Peter Thomae's commentary" on the *Sentences*, a *reportatio* of his lectures in Barcelona.¹³⁴ Peter's *Quodlibet*, which has been critically edited,¹³⁵ contains references to books I and II of his *Sentences* commentary, so it dates to sometime after 1323, and most likely to when Peter was a *lector* at Barcelona. On Buytaert's reconstruction, questions 6 and 7 existed prior to the *Quodlibet* as part of the treatise *De modis distinctionis* and were integrated into the written version.¹³⁶

In addition, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional 2017, ff. 1–40, is indicated as being a "quodlibet" of Petrus Thomas.¹³⁷ This "quodlibet" has also been identified with the "Anonymous of Prague" contained in BAV, Vat. lat. 11610, ff. 1ff, and Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní Kapituli, M.92, ff. 103–105. In fact, however, the incipit and explicit match that of Paul of Venice's *Quaestio de universalibus*.¹³⁸

¹³⁴ C. Schabel, "Peter Thomae's Question on Divine Foreknowledge from His *Sentences* Commentary," *Franciscan Studies* 61 (2003) (pp. 1–35), p. 3; cf. S. Dumont, "The Univocity of the Concept of Being in the Fourteenth Century: II. The *De ente* of Peter Thomae," *Mediaeval Studies* 50 (1988), pp. 186–256; G. Gál, "Petrus Thomae's Proof for the Existence of God," *Franciscan Studies* 56 (1998), pp. 115–51; Martí de Barcelona, "Fra Pere Tomàs (XIV). Doctor strenuus et invincibilis," *Estudis franciscans* 39 (1927), pp. 90–103; E.M. Buytaert, "The Scholastic Writings of Petrus Thomae," in *Theologie in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, J. Auer and H. Volk, eds. (Munich 1957), pp. 927–40; I. Brady, "The Later Years of Petrus Thomae, OFM," in *Studia mediaevalia et mariologica P. Carolo Balić OFM, septuagesimum explenti annum dicata* (Rome 1971), pp. 249–57.

¹³⁵ Petrus Thomae, *Quodlibet*, eds. M.R. Hooper and E. Buytaert (St Bonaventure, NY 1957).

¹³⁶ Buytaert, "The Scholastic Writings of Petrus Thomae," pp. 938–9; Petrus Thomae, *Quodlibet*, pp. X–XI.

¹³⁷ Noted in M. de Castro y Castro, *Manuscriptos Franciscanos de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid* (Valencia 1973), pp. 116–17, n. 111.

¹³⁸ Johannes Sharpe, *Quaestio super universalibus*, ed. A. Conti (Florence 1990), pp. xviii–xix, describing Paris, BnF lat. 6433B, at p. xix, n. 6; see also C. Lohr, "Medieval Latin Aristotle Commentaries, Authors: Narcissus-Richardus," *Traditio* 28 (1972), p. 316, n. 2. The only major difference is that the explicit noted by Castro has *intus* instead of *intellectus*.

Peter's authentic *Quodlibet* survives in Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 1494, ff. 67–103, with questions 6 and 7 supplemented by Oxford, Magdalen College Library 80, ff. 54–60. Question list is from Hooper and Buytaert:

Incipit: Deus fecit hominem simplicem et rectum, et ipse infinitis se miscuit quaestionibus; Ecclesiastes 7o. In quo quidem verbo innuitur...

In *Quolibet* ergo nostro, secundum istum statum naturae destitutae, fuerunt quaedam proposita respicientia transcendentia; quaedam alia soli Deo competentia; alia creaturis communia, alia propria. Quantum ad primum, quaerebantur octo.

1. Primum est de quiditate perfectionis simpliciter, videlicet: *Quid sit perfectio simpliciter.*
2. *Utrum haec sapientia creata sit individuum sapientiae transcendentis vel praedicamenti qualitatis.*
3. *Utrum unitas, veritas, bonitas, ut sunt passiones entis, dicant aliquid absolutum vel relativum.*
4. *Utrum condicio necessarij sit simpliciter perfectior condicione contingentiae.*
5. *Utrum idem sit aliqua in aliquo contineri virtualiter, realiter, eminenter et unitive.*
6. *Utrum identitas identica possit poni in aliquo sine infinitate intensiva utriusque vel alterius extremorum.*
7. *Utrum distinctio ut est ad genus et differentiam et diversitatem dicat aliquid positivum formaliter.*
8. Ultimo quantum ad materiam aliquam quaerebatur: *utrum communicatio, qua natura dicitur communicari supposito, dicat aliquid reale positivum, distinctum ab ipso supposito et natura.*
9. Deinde querebatur quaedam respicientia Deum, et primo *utrum ratio quare memoria in Filio non est principium productivum sit, quia, ut est in proposito, est terminus productionis sive dictionis adaequatae.*
10. *Utrum ex comprehensione obiecti infiniti possit concedi necessario notitiam comprehensivam esse infinitam.*
11. *Utrum necessarium sit aliquam executivam potentiam distinctam ab intellectu et voluntate in Deo ponere.*
12. *Utrum causa prima necessario coagat cuilibet causae secundae agenti.*
13. Tertio quaerebantur quaedam communia creaturis, et primo *utrum conceptus decem praedicamentorum sint aequae simpliciter simplices.*
14. *Utrum constitutio generis et differentiae speciei materialis sit eadem cum constitutione materiae et formae eiusdem speciei.*
15. *Utrum aptitudo dicat formaliter aliquid positivum distinctum ab eo cuius est.*
16. *Utrum tempus habeat esse in aliquo subjective.*
17. *Utrum instans dicat aliquid formaliter positivum.*
18. Deinde quaerebantur quantum ad creaturas in speciali aliqua, et primo una quaestio personalis: *Utrum beatus Franciscus potuit habere stigmata per naturam.*

Explicit: et hoc est quod dicit *Glossa*.

William of Rubio

By birth, the convent where he professed as a Franciscan, his role as the order's Provincial Minister of Aragon (in 1334 at least), and perhaps his scholastic writings, William of Rubio fits squarely under the Barcelona rubric. He did study theology at Paris, acting as *reportator* for Francis of Marchia, since William is named as such in the 1323 explicit to Marchia's commentary on book IV of the *Sentences*. Later William composed his own *Sentences* commentary, which the Franciscan Order approved on 25 May 1333.¹³⁹ Although there is no positive evidence, it is possible that William's commentary is based on lectures given at Paris. Nevertheless, William's main modern student, José Maria Rubert Candáu, suggests Barcelona as a plausible place for the *Sentences* lectures, especially since William uses the city in examples in his text. Given the careers of the three Franciscans just discussed, Barcelona would indeed seem more likely.

The *Sentences* commentary survives only in a printed edition (Paris 1518) and contains references to at least two *Quodlibeta* (from Rubert Candáu):¹⁴⁰

Book I, d. 3, q. 4 (f. 49ra), "Prima <conclusio> est quod obiectum non intellectum nec aliquo modo cognitum potest esse supernaturaliter volitum vel nolitum. Hec, quam alias prolixius probavi in quodam quolibet, apparet mihi evidens et a quolibet theologo concedenda..."

Book I, d. 33, q. 1 (f. 197vb): "Hoc siquidem simpliciter est falsum ut in quadam questione superius, et in quodam Quodlibet prolixius est ostensum. Ut enim ibi est probatum omne finitum per seipsum, et per suam rationem propriam qua est illud quod est, non per aliquid sibi additum est finitum; et similiter nihil dicitur esse infinitum per aliquid sibi additum positivum, quia alias Deus non posset dici infinitus, cum

¹³⁹ For the explicits to book IV, see Friedman-Schabel, "Francis of Marchia's Commentary on the *Sentences*," p. 106. On William, see J.M. Rubert Candáu, "Fr. Guillermo Rubió, O.F.M.: Apuntes bio-bibliográfico-doctrinales," *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 30 (1928), pp. 5–32; idem, "Fr. Guillermo Rubió, O.F.M.: Doctrinas filosóficas," *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 32 (1929), pp. 145–81, 33 (1930), pp. 5–42; idem, *El conocimiento de Dios en la filosofía de Guillermo Rubió: una aportación a la filosofía española medievav* (Madrid 1952); idem, *La filosofía del siglo XIV a través de Guillermo Rubió* (Madrid 1952); LL.M. Farré, "La concepció immaculada de la Verge segons Fr. Guillem Rubió, O.F.M.," *Analecta Sacra Terraconensia* 7 (1931), pp. 1–44; Glorieux II, p. 312; H. Schwamm, *Das göttliche Vorherwissen bei Duns Scotus*, pp. 255–6; F. Ehrle, *Die Sentenzenkommentar Peters von Candia des pisaner Papstes Alexanders V* (Münster 1925), pp. 254–60.

¹⁴⁰ Rubert Candáu, "Fr. Guillermo Rubió, O.F.M.: Apuntes bio-bibliográfico-doctrinales," pp. 29–31; idem, *El conocimiento de Dios*, pp. 24–7.

non sit in Deo formaliter aliquid a se quomodocunque in re extra distinctum, ergo, etc.”

Book II, d. 1, q. 2 (f. 248va): “Omnia autem extra intellectum distincta in creaturis, et realiter et essentialiter distinguuntur, ut in secundo Quodlibeto fuit prolixius declaratum.”¹⁴¹

Book III, d. 1, q. 4 (f. 11vb): “Hoc autem est falsum et impossibile ut in prima questione primi quodlibeti est ostensum: nec enim risibile dicit aliquid distinctum ab homine propter actum ridendi, nec unibile dicit aliquid in homine nec in verbo propter terminum extrinsecum connotatum... Alia etiam multa absurda ad positionem illam sequuntur, ut in questione prima prolixius explicatur, quare, etc.”

Because the order explicitly approved his *Sentences* commentary, and it contains references to *quodlibeta*, the surviving commentary has been suspected to be a second redaction. Given that William lectured on the *Sentences* after 1323, his quodlibetal disputations would have been held between around 1325 and Advent of 1332, perhaps at Barcelona.

Gerard Odonis

Gerard Odonis was born around 1285 at Camboulit in Lot, near Figeac, where he entered the Franciscan Order. He taught at various Franciscan *studia*, including Toulouse. He read the *Sentences* at Paris, perhaps in the academic year 1326–27, and definitely in 1327–28. On 10 June 1329, Gerard Odonis became Minister General after Michael of Cesena was stripped of his leadership. Pope Benedict XII sent Gerard on a mission to Bosnia where, working with the king of Hungary, he was to encourage the battle against heretics. The newly elected Clement VI named him patriarch of Antioch on 27 November 1342 and gave him the rich episcopal seat of Catania, where he died of the plague in 1349.¹⁴²

What has been claimed to be Gerard Odonis' *Quodlibet* survives in a single manuscript (BAV, Ottob. lat. 280, 53 folios) and contains a

¹⁴¹ Rubert Candáu, *El conocimiento de Dios*, p. 25, also points out to a similar reference in book II, d. 1, q. 12 (f. 264va).

¹⁴² Guiral Ot, *La vision de Dieu aux multiples formes*, ed. and trans. C. Trottmann (Paris 2001), pp. 9–15; L.M. de Rijk, “Works by Gerald Ot (Gerardus Odonis) on Logic, Metaphysics and Natural Philosophy rediscovered in Madrid, bibl. nac. 4229,” *ADHLM* (1993), pp. 173–93; Giraldu Odonis OFM, *Opera Philosophica, I Logica*, ed. L.M. de Rijk (Leiden 1997); C. Schabel, “The *Sentences* Commentary of Gerardus Odonis, OFM,” *Bulletin de Philosophie Médiévale* 46 (2004), pp. 116–61.

single question, recently published by Christian Trottmann.¹⁴³ The text itself presents some problems and has been at the center of academic controversy for some time. The incipit reads: "In nostra disputatione de quolibet inter cetera querebatur, *utrum doctrina theologica sit speculativa an practica.*"¹⁴⁴

The bulk of the text concerns a discussion of when the beatific vision is obtained and what sort of vision of the divine essence the separate souls have. It is clearly in support of Pope John XXII's thesis, first stated at the end of 1331, that the full, complete beatific vision of the divine essence is not granted to the saints until after the Last Judgment. Ample evidence dates Odonis' text to the end of 1333.

In September 1333, Pope John XXII sent Gerard Odonis and Arnaud de Saint-Michel on a mission to negotiate a peace between England and Scotland. They passed through Paris, where they defended the pope's view, irritating King Philip VI Valois. The controversy raged in Paris, with the king threatening Gerard and Arnaud, and the pope reprimanding the king. Immediately after the departure of the emissaries of the pope, the king convoked a meeting at Vincennes of all the masters of theology in Paris, and this commission of twenty-nine masters (four of them, including the Franciscans, arrived late) produced a statement of doctrine that excluded the pope's understanding of the beatific vision and that of Gerard Odonis.¹⁴⁵

From this time of crisis comes this single manuscript witness of a sole question by Gerard Odonis. Pelzer saw the text as a *reportatio* of Odonis' *Quodlibet*, as it begins the way a *quodlibet* should (*In nostra disputatione de quolibet*).¹⁴⁶ Glorieux disagreed, classifying Odonis' text among the non-*quodlibeta* and stating rather brusquely that this *incipit* was merely a reference to a quodlibetal discussion, since this question was one of several (*inter cetera querebatur*). Anneliese Maier found evidence in contemporary

¹⁴³ The introduction to the published edition at times uses a slight imprecision, which could lead the reader into believing that the two *articles* are *quaestiones* (cf. Trottmann, Guiral Ot, *La vision de Dieu*, pp. 37 and 72).

¹⁴⁴ Guiral Ot, *La vision de Dieu*, p. 86.

¹⁴⁵ Trottmann, Guiral Ot, *La vision de Dieu*; idem, *La vision beatifique des disputes scolastiques à sa définition par Benoît XII* (Rome 1995), pp. 714–24; A. Maier, "Schriften, Daten und Personen aus dem Visio-Streit unter Johann XXII," in eadem, *Ausgehendes Mittelalter. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Geistesgeschichte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, 3 vols. (Rome 1964–77), III, pp. 543–90; eadem, "Die Pariser Disputation des Geraldus Odonis über die Visio beatifica Dei," *ibid.*, pp. 319–72.

¹⁴⁶ A. Pelzer, *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 32 (1936), p. 981; See also the summary in Trottmann, Guiral Ot, *La vision de Dieu*, pp. 36–7.

chronicles that Gerard Odonis held a disputation at Paris at the end of 1333, one that created a great deal of controversy, and, on 17 December 1333, the king summoned Odonis to the presence of a commission of ten theologians, who compelled him to recant privately his view on the beatific vision. On this basis, Maier identified the treatise as a *quodlibet* held in Advent 1333.¹⁴⁷ Maier further argued that Odonis' opponents, such as the king, did the Minister General a disfavor in identifying his position with that of John XXII; for Odonis, unlike John, holds a certain kind of vision of the divine essence for the saints before the Last Judgment. Moreover, at the beginning of the determination, after the *divisio textus*, Gerard includes a lengthy protest:

But before I procede in this discussion, I protest that in this question, as in any other, I do not intend to assert anything pertinaciously, nor do I wish to defend anything pertinaciously, but rather I submit in all devotion everything that I will say or write to the correction of the Holy Apostolic See.

Secondly, I protest that if something different should seem to the venerable masters and doctors to be the case, I am always ready to adhere to the sounder (*saniori*) position.

Thirdly, I protest that whatever of my statements may be reported by word or writing outside of those things that are in the present quire, which I will give as an exemplar, I hold as not being said, and I reckon them not to be my sayings, nor expressing my meaning.

Fourthly, I protest that those things that I am about to say I do not mean to say as Minister General of the Order of Friars Minor, but as an individual master and as an alumnus and member of my venerable mother, the University of Paris.¹⁴⁸

According to Maier, the third statement suggests that Odonis' position was misrepresented in *reportationes*, and that would have explained why

¹⁴⁷ Maier, "Die Pariser Disputation."

¹⁴⁸ Guiral Ot, *La vision de Dieu*, p. 88: "Ante tamen quam in ista discussione procedam, protestor quod in ista questione, sicut in qualibet alia, nichil intendo pertinaciter asserere, nichil volo pertinaciter defensare, sed omnia que dixero vel scripsero, correctioni Sancte Sedis Apostolice, cum omni devotione submitto.—Secundo protestor quod si venerabilibus magistris et doctoribus aliud videatur, ego semper paratus sum stare sententie saniori.—Tertio protestor quod quecumque reportabuntur verbo vel scripto de dictis meis preter illa que in quaterno presenti, quem pro exemplari dabo, habeo pro non dictis et ea non reputo dicta mea, nec ex mea intentione dicta.—Quarto protestor quod ea que dicturus sum non intendo dicere sicut Generalis Minister Ordinis Fratrum Minorum, sed sicut particularis magister et sicut alumnus et membrum venerabilis matris mee Universitatis studii Parisiensis."

the popular understanding of Gerard Odonis' position differed from that in his *Quodlibet*.

Odonis' protestations should put to rest the arguments that, as Minister General of the Franciscan Order, Gerard Odonis could not hold a *quodlibet*. The fourth protest makes clear that Gerard made his determination as was his right as master of the University of Paris. Perhaps, given the controversy, the University recess of Advent, and his need to leave Paris before the end of the year, Odonis felt that the *quodlibet* was the only appropriate forum open for him to defend his theological position.

In the introduction to the edition, Christian Trottman reconstructs the vicissitudes of this debate, and argues that Gerard Odonis in fact changed his position at the last minute, mitigating his hard-line support for John XXII's position. Nevertheless, Odonis' main goal was to argue, and strenuously, for the pope's position. Trottman's interpretation hinges on a quantitative observation: far more columns of the text engage in polemic than provide doctrine.

The question's articulation, as presented in the Trottman edition (and facing-page translation), with page numbers in parentheses:

(86) Q: Utrum doctrina theologica sit speculativa an practica

Et arguebatur primo quod speculativa...

Sed ad oppositum arguebatur...

(88) Pro solutione questionis huius et argumentorum que videntur tendere ad inquirendum finem doctrine theologice, due difficultates occurrunt primo discutiende, ut ex earum discussione possim clarius ad questionem respondere.

Est autem difficultas prima scire quis est finis doctrine theologice, secunda que sit differentia doctrine speculative et doctrine practice.

Ante tamen quam in ista discussione procedam, protestor...

Ad evidentiam autem prime difficultatis, sex conclusiones declarare propono...

(90) Prima conclusio (*scil.* quod beatissima et ex toto perfecta divine essentie visio, quam post finale iudicium electi omnes habebunt, est ultimus finis quo doctrine theologice, pro quanto finis consistit in cognitione) probatur ita...

(110) Secunda conclusio principalis, videlicet quod vera divine essentie visio, quam sancti et sapientes viri nunc habent, est finis proximus doctrine theologice, declaratur hoc modo...

(128) Tertia conclusio principalis, quod scilicet sancta divine essentie visio, quam sancte anime a corporibus separate iam habent, est finis medius doctrine theologice, probatur hoc modo...

(156) Quarta conclusio, scilicet quod anime sancte a suis corporibus separate nondum habent illam perfectissimam visionem quam supra dixi esse finem ultimum doctrine theologicæ, probatur quintupliciter...

(212) Quinta conclusio, videlicet quod rationes inducte ad probandum quod anime sancte iam habent visionem, que dicitur ultimus finis doctrine theologicæ, non concludunt, probatur hoc modo...

(258) Sexta conclusio, scilicet quod rationes inducte ad probandum quod anime sancte nondum habent illam divine essentie visionem que superius dicta est finis medius doctrine theologicæ non concludunt, probatur hoc modo...

(260) Sed hic fuerunt mihi facte in quadam cedula quattuor questiones: prima utrum moderna visio animarum sit per aliquam creatam speciem an non; secunda utrum anime clarius videant deitatem quam humanitatem an e converso; tertio utrum plus gaudeant de visione deitatis quam humanitatis; quarta utrum clarius videant animam Christi quam corpus Christi...

(262) De secunda vero difficultate dico...

(264) Ad questionem igitur principalem secundum premissa respondeo quod doctrina theologica est simpliciter practica...

Per hoc ergo patet responsio ad argumentum in oppositum...

Explicit tractatus de multiformi visione Dei per fratrem G. Odonis de Cambolico magistrum in theologia ordinis fratrum minorum Parisius in quadam determinatione prolatus.

Trottmann points out that most of the treatise's space is taken up by the six *conclusiones*, and of those, only the first half discuss Gerard's doctrine; nearly 60% of the entire text concerns conclusions four and five, which clearly defend the pope's view. Gerard uses his division of the multiple levels of vision of the divine essence to defend the pope's position. In addition, conclusion five contains material heavily influenced, in both content and order, by the Avignon condemnation of Durand of St Pourçain, in which Odonis participated.¹⁴⁹

In the sixth conclusion Gerard insists, contrary to John XXII, that the separate souls have some sort of vision of the divine essence, and argues against those who would deny it. But, Trottmann judges, the quantity of arguments *pro* and *contra* John XXII, as well as the quality of those against the pope's position, call into question Gerard Odonis' sincerity:

¹⁴⁹ Trottmann, Guiral Ot, *La vision de Dieu*, pp. 37–41; also idem, "Vision Béatifique et science théologique. Interférences scotistes dans le quodlibet parisien de Guiral Ot (décembre 1333)," *Via Scoti Methodologica ad mentem Joannis Duns Scoti, atti del Congresso Scotistico Internazionale...*, L. Sileo, ed. (Rome 1995), vol. II, pp. 739–47.

We even ask ourselves if the last conclusion were not added in haste, at the moment of the determination, precisely because of the scandal caused in Paris by his steadfast support of the pope's thesis, and chiefly with the goal of escaping censure.¹⁵⁰

Trottmann concludes that Gerard Odonis' thesis is very original, but he casts doubt on its qualities as a faithful representative of the oral *Quodlibet*.¹⁵¹

From what we have seen, we can support Trottmann's suspicions on the relationship between the written and oral versions of the *Quodlibet*. Several authors revised their *quodlibeta* to include material that was not discussed; Roßmann reconstructs how Francis of Meyronnes worked four quodlibetal questions (as reported in Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale 995, as 4**–7**) into a single twenty-article question (q. 8 of the Printed *Quodlibet*), which then circulated independently as the *Vinculum*. It is perfectly conceivable that, when Odonis held his *quodlibet*, his determination of the question *Utrum doctrina theologica sit speculativa an practica* did not provide the conclusions in such detail, or even did not contain some or any of the conclusions.

When the structure of the text is considered, and not merely the number of pages, the response to the question does not seem superficial as much as the six *conclusiones* seem excessively detailed. One would expect a *reportatio* of a quodlibetal question to look something like the text edited by Trottmann, but only pages 86–90 and 260–64. The question appears to have been reworked to discuss the beatific vision in more detail.

Moreover, as Trottmann noted, it is somewhat odd to see Gerard Odonis use a question on theology as a science as a platform to engage in an extended polemic about the beatific vision. Without doubt, the questions are related, for theology involves the knowledge of God, and the highest form of knowing God is that obtained in the beatific vision. Still, Nicholas of Lyra (*Quodlibet* III, q. 4), Bertrand de la Tour (*Quodlibet* I, q. 6) and Francis of Meyronnes (Printed *Quodlibet*, q. 5) were all asked whether God could grant a vision of the divine essence to a person in this life. Such a question would be a much better fit

¹⁵⁰ Trottmann, Guiral Ot, *La vision de Dieu*, p. 42: "Nous nous demandons même si la dernière conclusion n'a pas été ajoutée à la hâte, au moment de la détermination, précisément en raison du scandale déclenché à Paris par ce soutien affiché de la thèse du pape, et dans le but principalement d'échapper à la censure."

¹⁵¹ Trottmann, Guiral Ot, *La vision de Dieu*, p. 73.

for an excursus on the view of the divine essence in the next life than one about theology as a practical or speculative science. In general, *quodlibeta* do not lack questions directly concerning the beatific vision; after all, quodlibetal disputations were the occasion where members of the University community could ask masters of theology their opinion on controversial topics, and even seek to embarrass them. Yet here we have a question on whether theology is a practical or speculative science; of the arguments made by the bachelors in the *disputatio*, the one for speculative science includes a reference to eternal life as the cognition of God. Nothing apparent in the logic of the discussion requires Gerard Odonis to specify that the full cognition of God only occurs after the Last Judgment, and even his response to the question does not require such a digression.

Perhaps it was a direct question. For in the prologue of his commentary on book I of the *Sentences*, Gerard Odonis argues extensively that theology is a practical science. In responding to the *dubium*, “if an angel would have moral knowledge of our temperance if theology were a practical science,” he states:

It should be said that in an angel, or in a separate soul, or in glorified man, the knowledge of temperance would be just as truly practical as in us, because it has being practical precisely from the object, as was shown above.¹⁵²

Thus Gerard clearly puts angels, the saints after the Last Judgment, and the currently separated souls of the saints in a group together with respect to knowledge, in this case, practical knowledge for which the praxis is no longer applicable: for “in a similar way, Peter has the prudence by which he knows his father and mother, concerning whom,

¹⁵² Gerardus Odonis, *Quaestiones in I Sent*, Prologue, pars I, q. 7, Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, CCl 291, f. 269ra: “Quantum ad quartum articulum moventur aliqua dubia . . . Tertium si angelus haberet scientiam moralem de nostra temperantia, si esset practica . . . (269ra–b) Ad tertium dicendum quod in angelo scientia de temperantia, vel in anima separata, vel in homine glorificato, esset eque vere practica sicut in nobis, quia esse practicum habet precise ab obiecto, ut ostensum est supra. Ipsa enim remaneret de eodem obiecto et directiva in eandem actionum (*lege* actionem), quia non oportet quod scientia practica coexistat illi virtuti que nata est agere secundum directionem eius, quod quia omnis prudentia est habitus activus et practicus, ex 6 *Ethicorum*, sed princeps potest habere aliquam prudentiam que non est nata dirigere aliquam actionem principio, puta notitiam legis huiusmodi, scilicet nullus sit ausus ad regem ingredi non vocatus. Et simili modo Petrus habet prudentiam qua novit patrem et matrem, quibus mortuus ridiculum esset dicere, quod ista prudentia esset stellificata et translata ad scientias speculativas.”

when they are dead, it would be ridiculous to say that this prudence were starrified (*stellificata*) and transferred to the speculative sciences.” Human theological knowledge serves to direct humans to a goal. Those who possess the goal do not need the means to it. Hence those without such means can still have the knowledge. Angels and the saints in glory no longer have the means, because they have achieved the goal; the implication is that the separate souls are in a similar state.

Odonis states in detail his position on the status of the separate souls in book IV of his *Sentences* commentary, dd. 47–48, q. 5:

Fifth it is asked whether beatitude can be had before resurrection. I reply and say that “having beatitude before resurrection” can be understood in two ways: either in the souls separated from bodies and in the other life, or in the souls united to their bodies in this life.

If in the first way, then still in two ways, because one can ask about essential or accidental beatitude. If it is asked about essential beatitude, which consists in three things, namely seeing God clearly, loving him and holding him, I say yes, because these things are suited to man through his soul. If it is asked about accidental beatitude, I say that it cannot be had, because, since the soul is naturally inclined to the body, it cannot have all its desires fulfilled [without the body].¹⁵³

In the distinction that follows (d. 49), Gerard specifies that essential beatitude includes the intuitive cognition of the divine essence. Thus Gerard Odonis held unambiguously in his commentary on the *Sentences* that the separate souls have beatitude essentially and that essential beati-

¹⁵³ Gerardus Odonis, *In IV Sent.*, dd. 47–48, q. 5, Tarragona, Biblioteca Pública Ms. 57, f. 84va: “Quinto querebatur utrum citra resurrectionem possit haberi beatitudo. Respondeo et dico quod haberi beatitudinem citra resurrectionem potest intelligi dupliciter: vel in animabus separatis a corporibus et in alia vita, vel in animabus unitis corporibus in hac vita.—Si primo modo, adhuc dupliciter, quia potest queri de beatitudine essentiali vel accidentali. Si queratur de essentiali, que consistit in tribus, scilicet in videre clare Deum, amare et tenere, dico quod sic, quia ista conveniunt homini per animam. Si queritur de accidentali, dico quod illa non potest haberi; cuius ratio est quia, cum anima inclinetur ad corpus (universaliter *del.*) naturaliter, non potest habere omnia desideria sua completa.—Si autem loquamur de beatitudine in hac vita, hoc potest intelligi dupliciter, videlicet vel de beatitudine meritoria vel premiatoria, et tunc dico quod meritoria beatitudo potest haberi in hac vita, quia iusti sunt beati, sed premiatoria non. Patet, quia bona meritoria sunt illa per que homo dignus est beatitudine et illa excludunt mala culpabilia, non autem penalia; sed ista bona possunt haberi in hac vita. Bona autem premiatoria includunt bona quibus homo dignus est vita eterna; et bona per que dignus est excludunt mala tam culpabilia quam penalia, et in istis consistit complementum nostrorum desideriorum, que haberi non possunt in vita hac; quare nec beatitudo premiatoria bene potest in presenti vita, ergo etc.”

tude includes the vision of God, understood as the intuitive cognition of the divine essence.

Odonis' support of the papal position must have been a shock to the theologians at the University of Paris: while there were many opinions on the relationship between the beatific vision and beatitude, or how the beatific vision occurred, or what it contained, the one thing Parisian theologians thought they agreed upon was that the separate souls of the saints currently enjoyed it. So, when Odonis came out in support of the pope, a reasonable reaction would be to find some passage in his previous works where he appears to argue for the beatific vision before the Last Judgment. The first place such a passage appears is in the prologue to book I. Drawing attention to Odonis' position in the prologue, with the standard question about the nature of the science of theology, has another advantage: it accuses Gerard Odonis of perverting his entire theological system, from the prologue of his *Sentences* commentary clear through the end of book IV, in the name of political expediency.

On this reading, the question tried to put Gerard in a bind, but Gerard had anticipated it. He could not say that the souls do not see the divine essence until the Last Judgment without contradicting his previous teaching and leaving himself open to the charge of intellectual dishonesty. Neither could he take a route similar to the *De cognitione Dei*, and go a step further and claim that the souls have abstractive cognition of the divine essence, for he had specified that beatitude includes intuitive cognition of the divine essence. So he developed his own "middle way" that caused some controversy and possibly derision, as witnessed by the *cedula* of four questions concerning the *moderna visio animarum*.¹⁵⁴

But how does one explain the six *conclusiones* that constitute the bulk of the question? Perhaps the easiest solution is to follow the text. It begins "In nostra disputatione de quolibet," which could indicate the entire quodlibetal affair: *disputatio* and *determinatio*. On the other hand, this introduction could be a signal that the master is delivering a *determinatio* to a *disputatio*, implying that it is the second part of a *quodlibet*, the *determinatio*. The *explicit* states that the text is a "tractatus... in quadam determinatione prolatus": a treatise that was "brought forth"

¹⁵⁴ Indeed, the mention of such a *cedula* is itself a strong argument that this disputation took the form of a *quodlibet*.

in a *determinatio*—or possibly “extended” from one (understanding the explicit in the sense of *ex quadam determinatione prolatus*). The protest at the beginning of the determination makes clear that Odonis read the determination from a *quaternus* that he intended to consign afterwards. Yet the text of the treatise is unlikely to be what Odonis read aloud: for the *cedula* of four questions on the *moderna visio* shows that Odonis was able to respond to the reactions of his audience. The written version is a revision: Gerard took the straightforward structure of his *determinatio* and added in conclusions drawn from polemical material he had at hand.

Gerard Odonis did defend in public the position of a *moderna visio animarum* different from the beatific vision, and most likely defended the view around Advent 1333, piquing curiosity and interest. His view is different from that of the pope, and this difference is not merely an afterthought to avoid censure, but rather central to Odonis’ effort at maintaining doctrinal consistency between his previous theological works and his pro-papal position on the beatific vision.

Conclusion

Gerard Odonis’ *Quodlibet* is the last surviving written text of a Franciscan quodlibetal disputation held on the continent. The fourteenth century witnessed the gradual dissolution of the genre, as manuscript witnesses become increasingly rare. The period under study here opens with written *quodlibeta* being distributed as a regular part of a University career; even when political events disrupted the University, such as the exile of Parisian masters during Peter of England’s regency, quodlibetal disputations were held, and the determinations were written up according to a standard form. Two decades later, Francis Meyronnes would repeatedly revise his *Quodlibet*, develop material into separate treatises, and possibly integrate prior material into them. Gerard Odonis represents the final stage for the Franciscans: his treatise on the vision of God is so unlike the classic form of the *quodlibet* that many scholars do not believe it is a true *quodlibet*. The structure of the determination has been distorted to the degree that it is difficult to make out the outlines of the original discussion.

The decline of the written *quodlibet* could be due to any number of factors. John XXII’s papacy saw the rise of Avignon as a theological center. As Gerard Odonis’ *Quodlibet* demonstrates, defenders of theological

positions found themselves at the center of political power plays: if we are to believe the contemporary chroniclers, what he defended in a *quodlibet* as a master of theology, he was forced to recant a few days later; in any case, shortly after his *Quodlibet*, all the masters of theology in Paris assembled and condemned Odonis' view. Alternatively, the scarce number of written *quodlibeta* could be due to the internal crisis of the Franciscan Order at the end of John XXII's reign.

Maybe the disappearance of written *quodlibeta* has an institutional basis. The content of teaching could have changed: Aufredo Gonteri Brito, for example, produced a *Sentences* commentary that is more a *compendium* of questions by other authors than an original work. Perhaps the practice of lecturing *secundum alium* extended to *quodlibeta* as well.¹⁵⁵

In any case, a lack of written *quodlibeta* does not necessarily mean that the Franciscan masters of theology ceased to hold disputations. The testimony of Prosper of Reggio Emilia's notebook serves as the only record of the *quodlibeta* of Martin of Abbeville and Bertrand de la Tour, and those of many other masters active at the time. Many masters presumably did not prepare their determinations for publication, or at least their debates did not generate enough interest to motivate anyone to produce copies. Moreover, the production of student texts on the continent, and above all at Paris, would rely on the efficient operation of University *stationarii*. Any perturbation of their function in the University would manifest itself as a sudden decline or disappearance of a genre.

¹⁵⁵ On the practice of reading *secundum alium*, see C. Schabel, "Haec Ille: Citation, Quotation, and Plagiarism in 14th Century Scholasticism," in *The Origins of European Scholarship*, I. Taifacos, ed. (Stuttgart 2006), pp. 163–76.

APPENDIX

THE QUESTIONS OF VAT. LAT. 1012

A recurrent theme in discussions of *quodlibeta* is the distinction between the *quodlibet* as an event, occurring in Advent and Lent, and divided into *disputatio* and *determinatio*, and the *quodlibet* as a written form. Likewise, there are two *quodlibeta* to reconstruct: the enduring written text and the moments that produced it. In a sense, *quodlibeta* have two contexts: as university debates and as written records, and each informs the other. So, the manuscripts containing written *quodlibeta* can be used to establish texts, and through those texts, they can help populate the disputation hall with masters, bachelors, students and passers-by, engaged in debating the burning topics of the day; but they also testify to how and in what context the written *quodlibeta* were received and used.

In the discussion of Franciscan *quodlibeta* after Scotus, a few manuscripts regularly recur. One of these, Prosper of Reggio Emilia's notebook, BAV, Vat. lat. 1086, is the subject of a chapter in this volume by William Courtenay. Another, BAV, Vat. lat. 932, is a composite written in many hands and worthy of detailed study.¹⁵⁶ This appendix considers a third, BAV, Vat. lat. 1012, a witness to *quodlibeta* and disputed questions in the first two decades of the fourteenth century, and a codex long recognized as an important source for the study of medieval Scotism.

BAV, Vat. lat. 1012, contains a collection of University texts, all of them labeled *quodlibeta*.¹⁵⁷ In reality, it has entire *quodlibeta*, *quaestiones ordinariae*, individual quodlibetal questions, and questions of undetermined nature. Originally, the codex was two separate books. The first section (ff. 1–45) contains the work of William of Alnwick: his *Quaestiones de esse intelligibili* (ff. 1–12rb), followed by his *Quodlibet*, and then two further questions on human knowledge. The second section begins with the *Quodlibet* of James of Ascoli, and is followed by his five *Quaestiones ordinariae*.¹⁵⁸ Finally, there are eighty-four questions by various authors, some of which have been identified, and Wlodek has shown that some exist in copies in Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska 732.¹⁵⁹

The questions should not be considered apart from the record provided by the book that contains them. Three moments in the fourteenth century defined this book: the production of the two sections as separate codices and their assembly into the cur-

¹⁵⁶ Pelzer, *Codices Vaticani Latini*, vol. II, pars prior: *Codices 679–1134*, pp. 341–55.

¹⁵⁷ These observations are based on examination of a microfilm copy of the manuscript, and the excellent entry in Pelzer, *Codices Vaticani Latini*, vol. II, pars prior: *Codices 679–1134*, pp. 493–9. Since I have not physically seen the manuscript, any conclusions are tentative.

¹⁵⁸ The colophon to another copy states that they are *quaestiones ordinariae*; see B. Shailor, *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University* (Binghamton, NY 1984–1992), vol. III, no. 203: “[concludes with a list of the 5 questiones and the colophon:] *Expliciunt questiones ordinarie Iacobi de esculo*.”

¹⁵⁹ Z. Wlodek, “Une question Scotiste du XIV^e siècle sur la continuité du temps,” *MPP* 12 (1967), pp. 117–34.

rent codex. The scripts used at the three moments are all from the first half of the fourteenth century and appear to be all from Germany.¹⁶⁰

In William of Alnwick's section, after it was assembled someone numbered the questions and also wrote the current question number at the bottom of each folio. At the end (45va) was added a question list that refers to the whole preceding text as a *quodlibet*.¹⁶¹

In the other section, James of Ascoli's *Quodlibet* does not begin with the proemium, nor even, as it does for the other questions, the words preceding the question ("Illud autem quod querebatur pertinens ad intra erat"). Rather, it begins directly with the question title. Nevertheless, there does not seem to have been a preceding section. In the miscellany that follows James' works, a reference makes clear that the second section, at the time it was written, began with the current f. 46. The question (C:18, f. 81rb) *Utrum agens particulare habeat per se aliquem effectum* has the same title as James of Ascoli's *Quodlibet*, q. 14, but the text is not identical. Wlodek states that a copy of C:18 in the Krakow manuscript "contains large parts of the fourteenth question of James of Ascoli's *Quodlibet*."¹⁶² C:18, however, does not contain this question; it refers to the reader directly to it: "Quantum ad secundum articulum, an videlicet agens particulare habet per se aliquam effectum quere quere (*sic*) in secundo sexterno XIII questione quodlibet Magistri Iacobi de Esculo" (82ra). It is tempting to imagine the scribe writing the first "quere," then stopping to check the reference and continuing with the second.

The sextern that has most of James of Ascoli's *Quodlibet* (the "first sextern"), and currently the first of the second section, also has a graphical peculiarity that is difficult to explain. Throughout the whole sextern (ff. 46–56, including a "f. 55a"–55bis) the first two lines of every column appear to have simply vanished. There is ample space above each column, but no sign (on the microfilm, at least) that there was ever anything written there. Yet at times the column begins in the middle of a word, such as "<crea>tis" (f. 50va). The missing lines are filled in at the bottom of each column, in a different hand.

The next sextern contains the end of the *Quodlibet* and James's five *Quaestiones ordinariae*. The innermost two bifolios (currently folio pairs 61–64 and 62–63) are bound in reverse order.¹⁶³ A medieval script gives the standard instructions ("verte folium ad tale

¹⁶⁰ A full analysis will have to await physical examination of the manuscript. It suffices here to note that, in all medieval scripts on the manuscript, the abbreviations used for *est*, *esse* and *con* are all typical of German scripts; moreover, the names of authors given in the marginal notes have a Germanic form (e.g., "Heinricus de Gand," f. 110va).

¹⁶¹ Vat. lat. 1012, f. 45va: "Incipiunt tytuli questionum de quodlibet fratris Wilhelm de Alnewych de ordine fratrum minorum doctoris sacre theologie et queritur..."

¹⁶² Wlodek, "Une question Scotiste," p. 119, "La question du f. 66v: *Utrum agens primum habet aliquam causalitatem effectivam respectu effectus causati immediate a causa secunda*, contient de grandes parties de la XIV^e question du quodlibet de Jacques d'Ascoli." For the identification of this question with the Vat. lat. question, see p. 118, n. 1. V. Doucet, "Descriptio Codicis 172 Bibliothecae Communalis Assisiensis," *AFH* 25 (1932) (pp. 257–74, 378–89), p. 274, also notes the reference to James of Ascoli.

¹⁶³ Pelzer, *Codices Vaticani Latini*, vol. II, pars prior, p. 498, and Yokoyama, "Zwei Quaestionen des Jacobus de Aesculo," p. 34, note this. Throughout the whole codex, the bottom left side of the bifolios were numbered 1–6, and some of these survived the trimming, such as the offending bifolio 62–63, which has (62v) "5m" in the bottom-left corner.

signum”) to resolve the order. Another hand effectively labels as *quodlibeta* the *Quaestiones ordinariae* of James of Ascoli and the questions that follow.¹⁶⁴

When the two sections were bound together, someone saw the text as containing three *quodlibeta*: one by William of Alnwick, and two by James of Ascoli.¹⁶⁵ This someone foliated the entire manuscript, with three divisions being marked: 1. ff. 1–45v (William of Alnwick), 2. ff. 46r–110v and 3. ff. 110v–128. The third section starts, not uncoincidentally, with a question that begins “*Modo incipit 3m quodlibet*,”¹⁶⁶ and whoever did the index must have taken this incipit to signal a break between James of Ascoli’s first and second *quodlibeta*. Two leaves (ff. I–II, now mutilated) were prepended to the codex, providing a list of questions, numbered according to the three “*quodlibeta*,” and noting the folio of which of the three sections the questions fell on. On those leaves, someone then copied down a few fragmentary questions.

Articulation of the codex:

- 0. Flyleaf
 - A. Three anonymous theological questions
 - B. *tabula quaestionum*
 - C. Three anonymous philosophical questions
- I. William of Alnwick
 - A. *Quaestiones de esse intelligibili* (1ra–12rb)
 - B. *Quodlibet* (12rb–39ra)
 - C. Two questions on knowledge (39rb–45rb)
 - D. *tytuli questionum* (45va)
- II. Miscellany
 - A. James of Ascoli, *Quodlibet* (46ra–60ra)
 - B. James of Ascoli, *Quaestiones ordinariae* (60ra–66va)
 - C. 57 questions (66va–110ra)
 - D. 27 additional questions, classified as the “Third Quodlibet” (110ra–128vb)

The division of the eighty-four questions in Section II into parts C and D does not reflect the original scribe’s intention. Nevertheless, since Pelzer’s catalog divides the questions according to it, it is maintained here.

James of Ascoli’s *Quodlibet* most likely took place in Lent 1311 at the latest. If, as Vat. lat. 1012 itself attests, William of Alnwick held his *Quodlibet* in Oxford, that would place it in 1316 at the latest. Among others named in the text or margin are Robert Cowton, whose *Sentences* commentary has been dated to 1309–11, i.e., contemporary to James of Ascoli’s regency (although Courtenay points out in his chapter on Vat. lat. 1086 that this is insecure); “Alexander heremita” (Alexander of Sant’Elpidio, master ca. 1307); Durand of St Pourçain; and a “Carmelita in Anglia.”¹⁶⁷ According to Wlodek,

¹⁶⁴ Vat. lat. 1012, f. 60v (top of page): “Explicit quolibet magistri Iacobi de Esculo. Incipit aliud, scilicet Magistri Iacobi eiusdem etc. (Pelzer reads *est* for *etc.*); f. 66v (left margin): “*Incipit aliud scilicet magistri.*”

¹⁶⁵ Vat. lat. 1012, f. 1r: “Quolibet magistri Wilhelmi Almywik Anglici. Item quolibet fratris Jacobi de Esculo et quolibet 2<o>.”

¹⁶⁶ Vat. lat. 1012, f. 110ra. The rubricator rendered every question beginning with *modo* with a capital S instead of M; this *incipit* is often given as “Sodo incipit tertium quodlibet.”

¹⁶⁷ Pelzer, *Codices Vaticani Latini*, vol. II, pars prior, p. 499, has a full list. The “Carmelita in Anglia” is associated with this text (f. 114vb): “Preterea quidam, tenens de relatione quod relatio potest de novo advenire et aliquid informare tamquam alia res, et tamen ad eam non sit mutacio, probat sic: quia quod accipitur per mutacionem

the Krakow codex contains marginal references to Peter Auriol, who lectured on the *Sentences* at Paris in 1316–18.¹⁶⁸

There are stylistic similarities among the questions, and the transitions suggest a *quodlibet*-like articulation, such as with C:16 (“Nunc sequitur questio de specie intelligibili”). Others, such as the introduction to section D:16 (“Modo sequitur questio quam libenter scribo”), suggest an “edited” quodlibetal question, a *scriptum*. Yet, scholars have attributed questions in the collection to numerous thinkers.

In his commentary on book I of the *Sentences*, Peter of Atarrabia makes references to other works, which the editor, Pío Sagués Azcona, has identified with questions in C and D. Some part of these texts may indeed be Peter of Atarrabia’s *Quodlibet*, probably from Barcelona, and prior to the surviving commentary on book I of the *Sentences*. Pío Sagués Azcona sees C:29 as possibly such a text. Moreover, D:2 has strong word-for-word parallels with Peter’s discussion in book I, d. 26. D:10 refers internally to D:2. On this basis, the editor concludes that at least part of D is by Peter of Atarrabia, it is later than the *Sentences* commentary, and it *might* be a *quodlibet*.¹⁶⁹

For William of Alnwick, Doucet identifies C:15; Ledoux argues that C:24 is another version of William of Alnwick’s *Quodlibet*, qq. 1 and 2, while linking D:22 with Alnwick on the basis of an internal reference; Doucet further shows that D:22 is Alnwick’s question 13 of book III of his commentary on the *Sentences*.¹⁷⁰ Alliney demonstrates that C:33 and C:34 constitute a “students’ notes” version of the third redaction, questions 1 and 2, of Alnwick’s *Quaestiones de tempore*.

Alliney has also noted that C:32, similar to a question by Thomas Wylton, reflects Landulph Caracciolo’s position.¹⁷¹ In any case, the text presents several opinions, then what it calls the *opinio Scoti*. It raises *dubia* against Scotus, and defeats the *dubia*.

Doucet further found that D:14 and D:20 are word-for-word copies of Henry the German’s *quodlibet*, questions 14 and 6. Moreover, D:27 is Richard of Conington’s *Quodlibet* I, q. 5.¹⁷²

The attributions of authorship and the discussion of marginal notations provide an approximate date for the collection. The authors named in the margins of Vat. lat. 1012 were all active in the first two decades of the fourteenth century. Knuuttila and Lehtinen propose that C:30 criticizes Landulph Caracciolo’s position, in effect establish-

oportet quod agens ipsum attingat; sed agens non potest attingere actione sua relationem; ergo etc.”

¹⁶⁸ Wlodek, “Une question Scotiste,” p. 119. Wlodek does not specify which question Auriol’s name is associated with.

¹⁶⁹ Pío Sagués, *Doctoris fundati Petri de Atarrabia sive De Navarra, OFM in Primum Sententiarum Scriptum* (Madrid 1974); see below under Peter of Atarrabia for a question list for C and D.

¹⁷⁰ V. Doucet, “Descriptio Codicis 172 Bibliothecae Communalis Assisiensis,” *AFH* 25 (1932), pp. 257–74, 378–89, esp. p. 274; idem, “L’oeuvre scolastique de Richard de Conington OFM,” pp. 413–4; A. Ledoux, preface to William of Alnwick, *Quaestiones disputatae*, pp. xx–xxii; Alliney, *Time and Soul*, pp. xv–xvii.

¹⁷¹ G. Alliney, “Instant of Change and *Signa Naturae*: New Perspectives,” in *Intellect and Imagination in Medieval Philosophy*, M.C. Pacheco and J.F. Meirinhos, eds. (Turnhout 2006), vol. III (pp. 1835–49), pp. 1843–5. Thomas Wylton’s question is “Utrum instans maneat unum et idem in toto tempore”; cf., C. Trifogli, “Thomas Wylton’s Question ‘An contingit dare ultimum rei permanentis in esse’,” *Medieval Philosophy and Theology* 4 (1994) (pp. 91–141), p. 117, n. 15.

¹⁷² Doucet, “L’oeuvre scolastique,” p. 414. For Henry the German, see the chapter by Courtenay and Schabel in this volume.

ing for our manuscript a *terminus ante quem non* of 1319.¹⁷³ If the attributions to Peter of Atarrabia are correct, this text could not have been copied before the early 1320s.¹⁷⁴

Many questions are similar in formulation to works by known authors, but in fact do not correspond to them. For example, the titles to C:48 and C:16 evoke Scotus' *De anima* commentary, q. 22, and there are similarities in the argumentation, but the texts are not the same. D:17 suggests a question by John of Jandun, and even resembles Buridan's question in structure. As noted above, C:18 shares an *incipit* with James of Ascoli's *Quodlibet*, q. 14, but not only differs from it, it even instructs the reader to consult that question in place of the second article.

This last case gives cause for concern. C:18's evidence, combined with Wlodek's observation that material from James' question 14 appears in the Krakow manuscript, suggests that, unless C:18 is indeed by James of Ascoli, the text either reflects or constitutes borrowing from other authors (reading *secundum alium*). Therefore, what may seem to be different redactions of the same text, in this text may actually be attributed to different authors. If this were the case, it might explain why we seem to have so many redactions of the same work, and it would provide some further insight on the shift from a "systematic" to a "problem-oriented" approach in fourteenth-century scholastic theology.

Such larger concerns aside, the questions in their thematic and resolution reflect for the most part a Scotist point of view. As noted, C:32 defends Scotus, as does C:51.¹⁷⁵ C:41 features the marginal notation: "Opinio propria et Scoti" (101vb). The text has long been known as a source of Franciscan thought, but its value and interest only becomes apparent when viewed in its entirety.

Question list for Vat. lat. 1012, with notes on editions. J = Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska 732, ff. 16r–72v:

0. Flyleaf

A. Three anonymous theological questions (from Pelzer)¹⁷⁶

1. *Utrum potentie anime <Christi> differunt inter se et ab essentia divina. Ir.*
2. *Utrum productio rerum ad extra presupponat productionem personarum in divinis ad intra. Ir.*
3. *Utrum anima Christi intelligat omnia in verbo que intelligit. Ir.*

B. *Tabula quaestionum*

¹⁷³ S. Knuuttila and A. Lehtinen, "Change and Contadiction: A Fourteenth-Century Controversy," *Synthese* 40 (1979) (pp. 189–207), p. 207, n. 37.

¹⁷⁴ While neither text nor marginalia refer to Thomas Aquinas as being a saint (cf. "Thomas" in the margin by 92va), this absence does not say anything meaningful about the date, especially considering the strongly Franciscan flavor of the manuscript's contents.

¹⁷⁵ C:51 (*Utrum elementa maneat in mixto secundum formas suas absolutas completas vel incompletas*), ff. 106vb–107ra: "Hic sic procedam: primo recitabo opinionem ipsius Avicenne cum eius improbatione; secundo opinio Scoti cum suis motivis, et motivorum solutio et opinionis improbatione; tertio replicabo contra solutiones argumentorum Scoti et reducam opinionem ipsius, solvendo argumenta que sunt contra ipsum."

¹⁷⁶ Pelzer, *Codices Vaticani Latini*, vol. II, pars prior, p. 499. Pelzer's list of these questions is augmented by their being copied (in a different hand) at the end of the list of questions, on IIr; the microfilm I use is out of focus for the relevant part.

C. Three anonymous philosophical questions¹⁷⁷

1. *Utrum anima intellectiva sit forma substantialis hominis.* IIr.
2. *Utrum accidens virtute propria possit generare substantiam.* IIr.
3. *Utrum naturaliter possit demonstrari esse animam formam corporis.* IIr.

I. William of Alnwick

A. *Quaestiones de esse intelligibili.*¹⁷⁸

1. Circa esse intelligibile conveniens creature ab eterno queritur primo *utrum esse cognitum obiecti representati sit idem realiter cum forma representante* et est idem *utrum esse cognitum obiecti sit idem realiter cum actu cognoscendi.* 1ra.
2. Secundo queritur *utrum esse intelligibile conveniens creature ab eterno sit idem realiter cum Deo.* 2vb.
3. Tertio queritur *utrum esse intelligibile conveniat ab eterno creature intrinsece et formaliter.* 5rb.
4. *Utrum esse intelligibile conveniens creature ab eterno sit creatum ab essentia divina.* 7ra.
5. Quinto querebatur *utrum esse intelligibile eternum creature sit productum ab intellectu divino* et hoc est querere an Deus intelligendo creaturas ab eterno produxit eas vel instituit in esse intelligibile per actum intelligendi. 8va.
6. Questio 6 est *utrum esse intelligibile conveniens creature ab eterno sit productum.* 10rb, Explicit: Unde Avicenna ibi non distinguit nisi inter fluxum (rei materialis *exp.*) a Deo et inter fluxum rei materialis ab eodem ut patet diligenter intuen- te. Explicit questiones fratris et magistri Wilhelmi de Alnewich quas disputavit Oxonie ordinarie et ibidem determinavit. 12rb.

B. *Quodlibet*¹⁷⁹

For the titles of the questions, see the section on William of Alnwick above. The foliation is: 1. 12rb–13va; 2. 13va–17ra; 3. 17ra–19va; 4. 19va–22rb; 5. 22rb–24ra; 6. 24ra–26va; 7. 26va–29ra; 8. 29ra–31vb; 9. 31vb–35vb; 10. 35vb–39ra.

C. Two questions on knowledge

1. *Utrum scientia possit creari in intellectu nostro a Deo immediate sine obiecto preestonso.* 39ra.
2. *Utrum scientia potest advenire intellectui scientis absque omni mutatione ex parte sui intellectus noviter intelligentis.* 41vb.

Explicit: Item, si relatio hac posita in esse suum ad aliud esse, presupponat naturaliter suum in esse; sed nichil formaliter idem presupponit se ipsum; ergo suum in esse et suum ad aliud esse non sunt idem formaliter. 45rb.

II. Miscellany

A. James of Ascoli, *Quodlibet*

For the foliation of the *Quodlibet*, see the question list in the section on James of Ascoli.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Published in William of Alnwick, *Quaestiones Disputatae de Esse Intelligibili et de Quodlibet*, ed. Ledoux.

¹⁷⁹ Published in William of Alnwick, *Quaestiones Disputatae de Esse Intelligibili et de Quodlibet*, ed. Ledoux.

B. James of Ascoli, *Quaestiones ordinariae*¹⁸⁰

5. *Utrum simplicitas divine nature compaciatur secum aliquam distinctionem ex natura rei previa distinctioni personarum.* 60ra.
 1. *Queritur utrum noticia actualis omnium divinorum ad intra presupponat in Deo Patre productionem verbi passive.* 62vb.
 2. *Utrum in productione verbi divini actus memorie presupponatur sue intelligentie.* 64vb.
 3. *Utrum productione passive verbi divini presupponatur in tempore noticia actualis per modum principii vel actus productivi.* 63rb.
 4. *Utrum noticia actualis creature presupponatur in Deo noticie habituali eiusdem.* 65vb.
- Explicit: Nec illud quod est absolucius similiter non oportet quod sit prius origine licet sit prius perfectione, quia finis non est absolucior hiis que sunt ad finem, sed magis e converso. 66va.
- Expliciunt questiones disputate a fratre Iacobo de Esculo ordinis fratrum minorum cum suo quolibet magistri sacre theologie. 66va.

C. Fifty-seven questions

1. *Utrum in materia sit aliqua pars forme generande.* 66va.
2. *Utrum forma de materia educenda presupponat ante se dimensiones realiter.* 68vb (J: 68r)¹⁸¹
3. *Utrum in composito ex materia (ex materia iter.) et forma resultet 3a natura absoluta realiter differens ab utroque.* 70rb (J: 56v).
4. *Utrum potentia materie sive obiectiva sive que habet rationem principii differat realiter ab ipsa.* 72rb (J: 59r).
5. *Utrum materia dicat aliquem actum positivum realem alium ab actu forme.* 73vb.
6. *Utrum anima rationalis sit ex traduce.* 74rb.
7. *Utrum sensus hominis sit a generante.* 74va.
8. *Utrum potentia visiva hominis et asini differant specie.* 75rb.
9. *Utrum sit dare sextum sensum.* 75va.
10. *Utrum quelibet pars animalis anulosa sit animal.* 76rb.
11. *Utrum in homine sint plures forme.* 76vb.
12. *Utrum anima rationalis sit immortalis sive incorruptibilis.* 77rb.
13. *Queritur utrum ens sit adequatum obiectum intellectus coniuncti.* 77vb.
14. *Postea queritur utrum idem sub eadem ratione formali sit obiectum intellectus et voluntatis.* 78rb.
15. *Deinde querebatur utrum intellectus sit liber per essentiam sicut voluntas.* (= William of Alnwick) 79ra.
16. *Nunc sequitur questio de specie intelligibili, utrum videlicet in intellectu nostro sint species intelligibiles priores naturaliter actu intelligendi.* 79vb.
17. *Utrum intellectus noster coniunctus possit simul et semel elicere plures actus intelligendi respectu plurium obiectorum ut plura.* 80va.
18. *Utrum agens particulare habeat per se aliquem effectum.* 81rb (J: 66v).
19. *Utrum esse sit primum creatum.* 82rb.
20. *An actio de genere actionis sit in passo ut in subiecto.* 82vb (J: 64r).
21. *Utrum intentiones secunde sint in predicamento vel genere.* 84vb (J: 41v).

¹⁸⁰ As noted, the inner two bifolios of this sextern are reversed, and the proper order is: 60–61–64–62–63–65. The numeration is from Yokoyama, “Zwei Quaestiones des Jacobus de Aesculo,” p. 34.

¹⁸¹ Wlodek, “Une question Scotiste,” p. 118, n. 1, also identifies this question with J: f. 61r: “Quo modo in materia rerum naturalium differt realis et oboedientialis et ex qua et in qua.”

22. *Utrum intencio 2a sit subiective in anima.* 86rb.
23. *Modo secuntur questiones de modo cognoscendi et est una talis: utrum minus universale sit prius notum vel magis universale.* 86vb.
24. *Queritur modo utrum simplicitas divina compaciatur secum aliquam distinctionem ex natura rei previam distinctioni personarum.* (= William of Alnwick, *Quodlibet*, qq. 1–2) 87rb.
25. *Modo restat inquirere utrum ydee sive rationes ydeales precedant vel sequantur perfectiones creaturarum in Deo ut iste perfectiones sunt ab essentia divina distincte et inter se.* 88va.
26. *Utrum esse intelligibile quod habuerunt creature ab eterno in mente divina sit esse causatum.* 90rb.
27. *Utrum res in mente divina ut distincte ab essentia divina prius habuerint esse intelligibile quam intellectum.* 90vb (J: 29v).
28. *Queritur an Deus cognoscat omnia alia a se.* 91va.¹⁸²
29. *Postea querebatur utrum cognitio intuitiva et abstractiva distinguantur ab invicem per hoc quod est continere vel non continere existentiam rei sub ratione obiecti cogniti.* (= Peter of Atarrabia) 92rb.¹⁸³
30. *Modo sequitur questio, scilicet utrum in uno instanti reali possint assignari diversa signa.* 93ra.¹⁸⁴
31. *Utrum nunc sit mensura substantie mobilis.* 94va.
32. *Utrum unum et idem instans maneat secundum substantiam in toto tempore.* (= Landulph Caracciolo?) 95rb.
33. *Nunc sequitur questio utrum tempus sit quid reale extra animam.* (= William of Alnwick, *Questiones de tempore*, redaction 3, q. 1) 95va (J: 45r).¹⁸⁵
34. *Sequitur questio utrum tempus secundum esse reale quod habet extra animam realiter differat a motu.* (= William of Alnwick, *Questiones de tempore*, redaction 3, q. 2) 96va (J: 46v).
35. *Utrum sit dare aliquod tempus discretum ex instantibus compositum.* 98ra (J: 16vb–18ra, 87va–88va).¹⁸⁶
36. *Utrum in Deo sit ponenda potentia executiva que est tertia alia ab intellectu et voluntate.* 99ra.
37. *Sequitur utrum voluntas divina in eodem instanti possit in opposita.* 99va.
38. *Tertio queritur utrum in ordine contingencium sit status ad unum primum quod sit principium totius contingentie.* 100rb.
39. *Querebatur deinde utrum, nullo homine existente, ista sit vera: homo est animal.* 100vb.
40. *Utrum omnes homines scire desiderent.* 101ra.
41. *Nunc queritur utrum arismetica precedat geometriam.* 101rb.
42. *Postea querebatur utrum unum causativum numeri sit extra quantum.* 102ra.
43. *Ad continuandum materiam de scientia queritur utrum aliquod accidens possit esse subiectum in scientia.* 102rb.
44. *Dubitatur deinde utrum scientia in anima respectu diversarum conclusionum secundum speciem sit una secundum speciem vel non.* 103ra.
45. *Utrum subiectum alicuius scientie primum contineat virtualiter omnes passiones et conclusiones de ipso demonstrabiles in illo scientia.* 103rb.

¹⁸² Edited in Schwamm, Robert Cowton *O.F.M. über das göttliche Vorherwissen*, pp. 44–63.

¹⁸³ Edited in Sagüés, *Doctoris fundati Petri de Atarrabia*, pp. 38*–48*.

¹⁸⁴ Discussed in Alliney, “Instant of Change,” pp. 1843–7; Knuuttila and Lehtinen, “Change and Contradiction,” p. 207, n. 37.

¹⁸⁵ A partial transcription can be found in Alliney, *Time and Soul*, pp. xx–xxiv.

¹⁸⁶ Edited in Wlodek, “Une question scotiste,” pp. 122–34.

46. Sequitur *utrum propria passio differat a subiecto realiter*. 103vb.
 47. Queritur modo *utrum singulare habeat propriam passionem*. 104va.
 48. Restat modo videre *utrum singulare sit per se intelligibile ab intellectu nostro pro statu isto*. 104vb (J: 24v).
 49. Nunc agendum est de formis et *utrum in formis accidentalibus sit dare gradum*. 105va.
 50. Viso de formis accidentalibus nunc inquiremus de formis eductis de potentia materie *utrum videlicet recipiant magis et minus*. 105vb (J: 84v).
 51. Modo sequitur *utrum elementa maneant in mixto secundum formas suas absolutas completas vel incompletas*. 106vb (J: 43v).
 52. *Utrum in compositione corporis humani sit aliqua pars corporis celestis*. 107vb.
 53. Postquam habitum est de corpore hominis queritur ergo *an alimentum convertatur in substantiam aliti*. 108rb.
 54. *Utrum species in eucharistia nutriat*. 108va.
 55. Nunc sequitur questio videlicet *utrum circumscripto omni agente extrinseco mixtum sit corruptibile ab intrinseco*. 109ra.
 56. Continuando materiam circa mixtum iterum queritur *utrum aliquod mixtum corruptum possit idem numero redire per agens naturale*. 109rb.
 57. Postea querebatur *utrum generatio et corruptio sint contradictoria*. 109vb.
- D. Twenty-seven additional questions, classified as the "Third Quodlibet"
1. Modo incipit 3m quodlibet et querebatur primo *utrum ab eodem intellectu idem obiectum simul possit esse creditum per fidei adherentiam et scitum per rei evidenciam*. 110ra.
 2. Postea querebatur *utrum circumscriptis relationibus maneant persone distincte*. (= Peter of Atarrabia) 112ra.¹⁸⁷
 3. Nunc queritur *utrum relationes originis in divinis sint formaliter infinite*. 112va.
 4. Modo sequitur questio videlicet *utrum primi principii ad creaturam sit aliqua relatio realis*. 113va (J: 19r).¹⁸⁸
 5. *Utrum ydemptitas sit relatio realis*. 114rb.
 6. Ultimo inter questiones de relatione queritur *utrum ad relationem de genere relationis sit per se motus vel mutacio*. 114va.
 7. Queritur *utrum relationes divini fundamenti disti<n>quantur ab ipso ex natura rei*. 115ra.
 8. *Utrum ens, sapientia, bonitas, et cetera huiusmodi attributa dicant aliquam intencionem seu conceptum realem (univocum exp.) communem Deo et creature*. 116ra.
 9. Ex quo mencio fuit de ente queratur nunc *utrum ens predicetur in quid de ultimis differentiis et suis per se passionibus*. 117ra.
 10. Queritur modo *utrum cuilibet conceptui quiditative correspondeat individuum proprium in rei* (= Peter of Atarrabia). 117vb.
 11. Tunc secuntur questiones de habitibus et primo querebatur *utrum habitus theologie ut habetur a viatore sit habitus scientificus*. 118vb.
 12. Postea querebatur *utrum habitus generentur ex actibus productivis*. 119vb.
 13. Set statim sequitur alia de habitu, scilicet et potentia, videlicet *utrum habitus cum potentia requiratur in ratione principii elicitivi actus*. 120vb.
 14. Ultimo queritur *utrum habitus generati in anima sint corruptibiles*. (= Henry the German, *Quodlibet*, q. 14) 121rb.
 15. Tunc queritur *utrum nolle prout distinguitur contra non velle sit actus positivus*. 122rb.

¹⁸⁷ Edited in Sagüés, *Doctoris fundati Petri de Atarrabia*, pp. 48*–69*.

¹⁸⁸ According to Wlodek, "Une question scotiste," p. 117, n. 1, there is another copy of this question in J between folios 84–93.

16. Modo sequitur questio quam libenter scribo, videlicet *utrum duo accidentia realia et absoluta solo numero differentia possint simul stare in eodem subiecto*. 122va (J: 20r).¹⁸⁹
 17. Deinde querebatur *utrum ultima sphaera sit in loco*. 123va.
 18. Postea querebatur <utrum> *sphaera mota in plano continue semper tangat in puncto*. 123vb.
 19. De motu gravium et levium queritur modo *utrum gravia et levia moveantur a se ipsis*. 124ra.
 20. Postremo in ista materia queritur *utrum in primis operibus Dei sit ponere motus ecentricos et epycyclos*. (= Henry the German, *Quodlibet*, q. 6) 124va.
 21. *Utrum (prudencia sed del.) tot sit prudencie quot virtutes*. 125rb.
 22. Queritur nunc *utrum virtus sit forma absoluta vel respectiva*. (= William of Alnwick, *In III Sent.*, q. 13) 125va.
 23. *Utrum aliquis sit nobilior nobilitate <parentum> vel nobilitate morum seu virtutum*. 126ra.
 24. Dehinc queritur *utrum predestinacio ponat aliquam certitudinem in predestinato*. 126va.
 25. Queritur modo *utrum Aristotiles sit salvatus*. 127ra.¹⁹⁰
 26. *Utrum corpora supercelestia per suum motum causent aliquam armoniam*. 127va.
 27. De virgine gloriosa queritur primo *utrum sustinuit aliquam passionem ratione fetus a nativitate Christi in utero usque ad nativitatem eius ex utero*. (= Richard of Conington, *Quodlibet*, q. 5) 128rb.
- Explicit: animadvertus inspiciamus perscrutemur quoniam maiorem.

¹⁸⁹ According to Wlodek, "Une question scotiste," p. 117, n. 1, there is another copy of this question in J between folios 84–93.

¹⁹⁰ Discussed in A.-H. Chroust, "A Contribution to the Medieval Discussion: Utrum Aristoteles Sit Salvatus," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 6 (1945), pp. 231–8; edited in R. Imbach, "Aristoteles in der Hölle. Eine anonyme Questio 'Utrum Aristotiles sit salvatus' im Cod. Vat. Lat. 1012 (127ra–127va) zum Jenseitsschicksal des Stagiriten," in *Peregrina Curiositas: Eine Reise durch den orbis antiquus*, A. Kessler, T. Ricklin, and G. Wurst, eds. (Fribourg 1994), pp. 297–318.

OXFORD *QUODLIBETA* FROM OCKHAM TO HOLCOT

Rondo Keele*

As is often the case with important intellectual trends, the quodlibetal genre in early fourteenth-century England strongly flourished at the same time that it was beginning a steep decline in importance. The reasons for this shift of intellectual energy away from publishing and circulating *quodlibeta* seem to have been primarily internal to the universities themselves. Here we shall survey the flourishing and to a lesser extent the decline, by looking at the quodlibetal collections of three of the most influential Oxford theologians in the 1320s and 1330s, William of Ockham, Walter Chatton, and Robert Holcot. After a brief account of the lives and careers of these men, and a more careful accounting of the latest data regarding the dating, organization, and manuscript traditions for their respective quodlibetal collections, we will consider some philosophical issues raised by the content of their work. I shall treat my three subjects differently depending on how widely disseminated are the previous studies of their collections. For Ockham, the textual history of whose *Quodlibeta* is already well studied in print, I shall focus primarily and in great detail on content; for Chatton, about whose *Quodlibet* almost nothing is in print, and who is himself not well known, I shall discuss biography, manuscript, dating, and general content equally; and for Holcot, who has received more attention than Chatton but less than Ockham, I adopt an intermediate strategy concerning manuscripts versus content, and detail versus general overview. In addition, I will briefly discuss the *Quodlibet* of an important theologian, John of Rodington, who runs in this same Oxford tradition but whose *Quodlibet de conscientia* is still largely unedited. I conclude by considering what the contents of these works reveal about the status of the quodlibetal form in this period, and its connection to some larger trends in English philosophical theology.

* For various forms of assistance I owe special thanks to Jerry Etzkorn, Chris Schabel, Lisa Keele, the American University in Cairo, and the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

General Observations

The time period under consideration here is roughly 1322 to 1334. It was in this period that the *quodlibeta* of Ockham, Chatton, and Holcot were recorded and made available for circulation. Several factors make *quodlibeta* of this era both fascinating and challenging. I want to preface my detailed discussion of individual thinkers and their manuscript traditions by bringing some of these characteristics to the foreground. I will not argue for these claims here, but will instead invite the reader to see how my points are exemplified in the subsequent discussion of my three primary subjects.

Topical Range

Reading a long quodlibetal question list for a prolific author, such as Ockham or Holcot, can give a slightly misleading impression about topic range. These lists suggest a kind of openness in subject matter that might not seem possible, for example, in a commentary on a set piece such as the *Sentences*. The initial expectation we might have looking at a question list for Ockham's *Quodlibeta*, say, is that we are about to be treated to an exquisite intellectual buffet, with delicacies both rare and strange; we may develop the expectation as readers that we are facing a grand survey of Ockhamist thought applied to surprising and recondite issues. Although the impression is not entirely false, this sense of relative openness can be exaggerated. In fact, by this point *Sentences* commentaries themselves had become increasingly loosely based on the original text, often containing long digressions into philosophical topics that had little bearing on Lombard's original theological masterpiece.¹ Similarly, even though the question sets in a *quodlibet* were suggested by others (*a quolibet*) and were about anything (*de quolibet*), in practice masters often used the questions they received, whatever the ostensible subject matter, as an occasion to expound on favorite concerns and issues, often twisting exotic-sounding queries toward the advancement of time-worn debates. Hence, while quodlibetal questions often sound recondite in the extreme, the *quodlibeta* of the 1320s and 1330s at Oxford

¹ Chris Schabel documents this change for *Sentences* commentaries in this period in "Oxford Franciscans after Ockham: Walter Chatton and Adam Wodeham," *Mediaeval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, vol. I, G.R. Evans, ed. (Leiden 2002), pp. 359–77. More general remarks of a similar nature are found in W.J. Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars in Fourteenth-Century England* (Princeton 1987), pp. 252–5.

are not exceptional for the period, but are very much continuous in method, tone, and difficulty with comparable, contemporary theological literature.

Chronology

All else aside, it is often difficult to give an exact absolute date to *quodlibeta* of this period. Because fourteenth-century *quodlibeta* do not always correspond to a uniquely identifying stage or stages in a scholar's career the way a *Sentences* lecture would,² they are not as useful as other literary forms for establishing chronologies. There are exceptions, of course, but in general when external evidence is lacking it can be difficult to say what the canonical ordering of questions should be within a quodlibetal collection, or what the absolute date of a *quodlibet* is, or indeed where exactly a set of quodlibetal questions fits in the author's overall career. Most of the arguments for establishing such facts will rely on internal evidence that is weak to some substantial degree. Moreover, since *quodlibeta* were sometimes revised by their authors, e.g., rewritten, extended, or given a more logical ordering, there is often little certainty regarding the date of any particular version of a *quodlibet*.

Intense Intellectual Exchange and Interdependence

Oxford *quodlibeta* of this era are characterized by extremely pointed, detailed, directed, charge and counter-charge between contemporary intellectual opponents. Of course, as records of disputational encounters, all *quodlibeta* might be expected to exemplify this characteristic to some extent. However, the *quodlibeta* we will here consider (especially those of Chatton and Ockham) reflect extremely lively and occasionally personal attacks and rebuttals, and it seems that this feature of *quodlibeta* may even have increased from the late thirteenth to the fourteenth century.³ Since the *Sentences* commentaries at this time had themselves become platforms for presenting individual philosophical theories and for opposing contemporaries by name,⁴ and since a person normally undertook quodlibetal disputation at a later career stage than he undertook a *Sentences* commentary, the *quodlibeta* of this time tend to represent the second or even third stages of highly contended controversies. This

² Glorieux II, pp. 33–6, and W.J. Courtenay, *Adam Wodeham: An Introduction to His Life and Writings* (Leiden 1978), p. 99, n. 220.

³ Glorieux I, pp. 55–6.

⁴ Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars*, p. 254.

makes them very difficult to understand in isolation; they are not very self-contained writings.

William of Ockham

Ockham had a full and controversial life, and a long and fruitful writing career in philosophy and theology, even if his academic and Church careers were dramatically truncated. His peak output of non-political work came between 1317 and 1324. Several readable and reasonably complete short accounts of his life have been written, and there seems little new data to add.⁵ Born around 1288 in the village of Ockham, not far from London, William entered the Franciscan Order at a young age. Having received his basic education in language and philosophy at London, he began to study theology at Oxford in the first few years after the death of Scotus. He read the *Sentences* at Oxford during the 1317–19 biennium, and by 1321 was lecturing in theology, perhaps at the Franciscan *studium* in London, where Walter Chatton and Adam Wodeham were as well.⁶ While waiting for his turn at an Oxford regency in 1324, he was summoned to Avignon to answer questions that had arisen about the orthodoxy of his ideas on God's power. While resident there he famously became entangled in a controversy between Pope John XXII and the Franciscan Order over their divergent approaches to apostolic poverty and the ownership of property. The encounter ended disastrously for Ockham, who, after declaring the pope a heretic, escaped through Italy to German lands in the spring of 1328, where he finally settled under the protection of the Emperor Louis of Bavaria. He remained there until his death in 1347, producing a large body of work on political theory during these two decades.

⁵ The clearest, most complete short account of Ockham's life, writings, and intellectual background are P.V. Spade's "Introduction" and W.J. Courtenay's "The Academic and Intellectual Worlds of Ockham," which form the first two chapters of *The Cambridge Companion to Ockham*, P.V. Spade, ed. (Cambridge 1999), pp. 1–29. This has been my main source for the biographical details I give here.

⁶ This is controversial. See below for further discussion.

Ockham's *Quodlibeta*

Manuscript Tradition, Attribution, Dating, and Arrangement of Questions

The textual situation for Ockham's *Quodlibeta* is excellent all around. Several manuscript witnesses exist, a careful critical edition has been prepared from them, and there is even a translation of the entire work into English by Alfred Freddoso and Francis Kelley.⁷ The work contains 170 questions in all, filling one 782-page volume of the critical edition. Four full and nine partial manuscripts attest to his *Quodlibeta*, as well as three printed editions.⁸ There is no occasion to doubt that these are quodlibetal disputations, since every manuscript witness agrees in denominating the work as such, and since the many internal cross-references use this same designation in referring the reader to other questions.⁹ Similar remarks apply to authorial attribution.¹⁰

Unlike the *Quodlibeta* of Robert Holcot, to be examined below, there are no serious difficulties concerning the ordering and grouping of the questions in the collection: the majority of the manuscript witnesses and printed editions contain the order of questions that is followed in the modern critical edition. A second tradition of ordering does exist, but it does not square with the internal and external evidence from Ockham's own cross-references, and at any rate the witnesses containing this second ordering show signs of some later editorial rearrangement.¹¹

If these issues are moot for Ockham's quodlibetal collection, the issue of *fontes* and of the occasion for its composition and redaction are quite fertile and important for Ockham scholarship. For Ockham was never a master, at Oxford or elsewhere, but quodlibetal disputations were customarily recorded and circulated only for the magisterial participants who finally determined the questions *de quolibet*. Why then this rather large collection, widely circulated and copied as though of quodlibetal *determinationes*? Where and why were these questions disputed, recorded, and edited?

⁷ *William of Ockham: Quodlibetal Questions*, 2 vols. bound as one, trans. A. Freddoso and F.E. Kelley (New Haven 1998).

⁸ The primary manuscript witnesses are, using Wey's sigla: (1) A = Paris, BnF lat. 16398; (2) B = BAV, Vat. lat. 3075; (3) C = BAV, Vat. lat. 956; (4) D = Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek 733. See the introduction to Guillelmus de Ockham, *Quodlibeta Septem*, ed. J.C. Wey, *Opera Theologica IX* (St Bonaventure, NY 1980), pp. 1*-22*.

⁹ Wey, introduction to Ockham, *Quodlibeta Septem*, p. 26*.

¹⁰ Wey, introduction to Ockham, *Quodlibeta Septem*, pp. 32*-4*.

¹¹ Wey, introduction to Ockham, *Quodlibeta Septem*, p. 23*.

The standard answer to these questions has its roots in Gedeon Gál's discussion of Ockham's *Summa Logicae*.¹² Gál suggested that Ockham composed his *Summa* in London, not Oxford, because Walter Chatton and Adam Wodeham were in the same physical location as Ockham during its composition, and Chatton was supposedly in London. Add to this "London hypothesis" the fact that Ockham's *Quodlibeta* were disputed in this same time period (see below), and that Chatton's influence is similarly evident in the *Quodlibeta*, and we reach the conclusion that Ockham disputed his *Quodlibeta* and wrote at least some of them down in London. But the persuasive power of the London hypothesis itself has recently been criticized by Courtenay as exceeding the strength of the evidence.¹³ Since it bears on our understanding of the *Quodlibeta*, some discussion of this controversy is in order here.

Before turning to the controversy, we should say what seems fairly firm and clear about the place and time of Ockham's *Quodlibeta*. Although he is named only once, in *Quodlibet* I, q. 2, Walter Chatton and his arguments are without doubt the overwhelming target of Ockham's attacks in an enormous number of questions. Wey finds Ockham quoting or paraphrasing passages from Chatton's *Reportatio* in no less than sixty-eight of the 170 questions therein, and admits that there are probably others that he missed.¹⁴ Nor are Chatton's ideas always selected for criticism; sometimes they are agreed with or even used to solve problems.¹⁵ Wey presents several reasons to believe that Chatton may have presented *viva voce* some of the arguments to which Ockham responds.¹⁶ Moreover, careful attention to the details of mutual quotation between Ockham and Chatton, as well as external evidence, suggests that all these *Quodlibeta*, or at least the later ones, may have been written down in Avignon, and that almost certainly Ockham completed some of the redactions there.¹⁷

So much seems clear. But Wey combined these observations on the *Quodlibeta* with Gál's London hypothesis on the *Summa logicae* to yield

¹² From the introduction to Guillelmus de Ockham, *Summa Logicae*, ed. G. Gál, *Opera Philosophica* I (St Bonaventure, NY 1967), pp. 53*–6*.

¹³ W.J. Courtenay, "Ockham, Chatton, and the London *Studium*: Observations on Recent Changes in Ockham's Biography," *Die Gegenwart Ockhams*, W. Vossenkühl and R. Schönberger, eds. (Weinheim 1990), pp. 327–37.

¹⁴ Wey, introduction to Ockham, *Quodlibeta Septem*, p. 27*.

¹⁵ Wey, introduction to Ockham, *Quodlibeta Septem*, p. 27*.

¹⁶ Wey, introduction to Ockham, *Quodlibeta Septem*, p. 39*.

¹⁷ Wey, introduction to Ockham, *Quodlibeta Septem*, p. 41*.

the conclusion that, though they may have been composed in Avignon, Ockham's *Quodlibeta* are all the fruit of disputations held in London between 1322 and 1324.¹⁸ On this version of events, Chatton, Ockham, and their confrere Adam Wodeham were all living in a Franciscan house in London during the opening years of the 1320s, engaging in a rapid-fire exchange of views, with Ockham involved in quodlibetal disputations later written down.

Wey explains how there came to be seven *Quodlibeta* in just two years by postulating a system of three academic terms in the *studia*, including London, with disputations occurring each term, rather than on the university schedule of twice per year at Lent and Advent. This allows for three disputations to take place in a given academic cycle. Then, observing the tight connections between Ockham's *Quodlibet* I and Chatton's *Reportatio* book II, dated late in 1322, Wey distributes the remainder of Ockham's disputations very sensibly as follows:

- 1322 Autumn: *Quodlibet* I
- 1323 Winter: *Quodlibet* II
- 1323 Spring: *Quodlibet* III
- 1323 Autumn: *Quodlibet* IV
- 1324 Winter and Spring: *Quodlibeta* V–VII

But even if the "Chatton connection" on which this is based is quite clear, why believe the London hypothesis? The evidence rests fundamentally on two lines of argument. (1) Gál's introduction to *Summa logicae* famously argues that Ockham, Wodeham, and Chatton were together in whatever time and place Chatton's *Reportatio* was composed.¹⁹ This claim has received nothing but support from subsequent examinations of texts.²⁰ (2) Gál argued in that same place that Chatton's *Reportatio*

¹⁸ Wey argues that the leisurely style of the writing reflects only the mode of composition, when he had so little to do his first year in Avignon, but this style belies the deeper intensity of the actual exchanges that form the basis of the work. Wey, introduction to Ockham, *Quodlibeta Septem*, pp. 38* and 41*.

¹⁹ Gál's introduction to Ockham, *Summa logicae*, p. 54*. His memorable phrasing is *ubi Chatton, ibi Wodeham; ubi Wodeham, ibi Ockham*.

²⁰ For example, we know that before Ockham left for Avignon, Wodeham showed him a *reportatio* of Chatton's *Sentences* lectures, taken in Wodeham's own hand, and that Ockham scribbled at least one response to Chatton's arguments in the margins of Wodeham's own book ("manu sua in margine reportationis meae"); Courtenay, *Adam Wodeham*, p. 71n., and p. 162. This manuscript is lost, sadly. The intensity seems to have carried over to Chatton's later works as well. Stephen F. Brown argued from

was composed in London in 1321–23. The temporal portion of this second claim rings true; there is good evidence that Chatton's *Reportatio* lectures occurred across the biennium 1321–23 or at the very least the lectures on book III occurred in 1323.²¹ But the argument that the *Reportatio* was composed in London is much weaker. The argument is just this: Chatton refers to the *villa* of Oxford in his *Reportatio* in a way that suggests he was outside its walls as he wrote it; but if not Oxford, then London Greyfriars is the next most likely *studium* to host such a lecture. Now London is a good guess, of course, and no better guesses have suggested themselves, but it must be admitted that the case is weak. Courtenay has even constructed an alternative hypothesis in which Chatton's reference to the *villa* of Oxford as if he were outside might simply reflect the fact that the Franciscan *studium* at Oxford is literally outside (although not far outside) the *villa* itself, as defined by the town walls.²²

The consequences of this weakness for our understanding of Ockham's *Quodlibeta* are just these. If we set the London hypothesis aside as conjecture, the only other evidence for London as the site of disputation for Ockham's *Quodlibeta* is also weak: the ABC family of codices twice mention London in philosophical examples. Moreover, a recent paper by Girard Etzkorn has given two arguments for the idea that *Quodlibeta* VI and VII must have been disputed in Avignon itself, rendering any

textual evidence in Chatton's *Prologus* and *Lectura* and in Ockham's *Quodlibeta septem* and *Quaestiones in Libros Physicorum Aristotelis* that these two men were exchanging written copies of their arguments and rebuttals with such rapidity that we see mutual verbatim quoting between parallel passages of text. S.F. Brown, "Walter Chatton's *Lectura* and William of Ockham's *Quaestiones in libros Physicorum Aristotelis*," in *Essays Honoring Allan B. Wolter*, W.A. Frank and G.J. Etzkorn, eds. (St Bonaventure, NY 1985), pp. 82–115.

²¹ The evidence can be summarized as follows. Chatton's *Reportatio* III mentions the constitution *Ad conditionem canonum*, dated December 1322, as a recent document; thus we have a *terminus post quem*. Chatton did not mention the constitution *Cum inter nonnullos*, dated November 1323, and, to bolster this argument from silence, we know that Wodeham audited these lectures and passed his copies along to Ockham, who had left England for good by summer 1324; thus we have a firm *terminus ante quem* of 1324. This all suggests that Chatton began lecturing on book III early in 1323, and so possibly on books I and II in the calendar year 1322, and his prologue in 1321. See Ockham, *Quodlibeta Septem*, p. 38*, and Courtenay, *Adam Wodeham*, pp. 69–71. For an alternative view see R. Wood, "Introduction," in Adam de Wodeham, *Lectura secunda in librum primum Sententiarum*, eds. R. Wood and G. Gál (St Bonaventure, NY 1990), pp. 12–13.

²² Courtenay, "Ockham, Chatton, and the London *Studium*," pp. 333–4.

“London versus Oxford” discussion moot.²³ (1) Although *Quodlibeta* I–V were plausibly debated in England, *Quodlibeta* VI and VII contain verbatim quotations from some of the Avignon commission’s objections to Ockham’s ideas on absolute power, suggesting these debates both *postdate* his May 1324 departure for Avignon; Wey’s chronology has these debates finished and in England by spring of 1324. (2) Ockham was called to defend his views on relations at a Franciscan provincial chapter held in Cambridge, possibly in the spring of 1323, and so the material on relations in *Quodlibeta* VI and VII could be construed as a response to this commission, rather than as records of actual quodlibetal disputations in London. This too suggests dating later than May 1324, and so a debate-location entirely outside England, and it certainly conflicts with the London hypothesis.²⁴ Moreover, Etzkorn’s alternative suggestion relieves the pressure of Wey’s somewhat cramped arrangement of seven *Quodlibeta* being debated in just two years.

It seems we must admit that we cannot be very certain about where these debates took place, especially the later ones. However, even if the evidence for the standard picture is thereby seriously flawed, we know that the majority of the disputations were held in England, that they show intense influence by Chatton, and that they were not likely overlong in composition as a written work, despite their sheer range and size. As such they provide us only a snapshot of Ockham’s thought, although a useful one; these are his mature views on important issues, as refined through intense debate with Franciscan colleagues.²⁵

Content

Ockham’s seven *Quodlibeta*, collected today under the title *Quodlibeta septem*, cover a great deal of intellectual ground. One does get the impression from the frequency of certain topics that Ockham was pressed in his disputations on just those issues where he was especially innovative and provocative, for example, on the unreality of respective entities in creatures and his reduction of the other accidental categories besides quality (I.18; IV.11, 18–28; V.21–23; VI.8–30; VII.1–8, 19), his idiosyncratic development and applications of terminist logic

²³ G. Etzkorn, “Ockham at Avignon: His Response to Critics,” *Franciscan Studies* 59 (2001), pp. 9–19.

²⁴ Wey did not know about this Cambridge provincial chapter. See Etzkorn, “Ockham at Avignon,” p. 16, n. 30.

²⁵ Wey, introduction to Ockham, *Quodlibeta Septem*, pp. 27*–8* and 32*.

(II.19; III.12–13; IV.12, 35; V.8–9, 14–20, 24–25; VII.10), his ideas on the soul and cognition, especially intuitive cognition (I.6–7, 10–16; II.10–13, 15, 17–18; III.8, 17, 20–22; IV.9, 13–16; V.5; VI.6), and to a lesser degree, on the interior act alone being sin and right reason as a partial object of moral acts (I.20; III.14–16).

Ockham's *Quodlibeta* provide several exceptional examples of the intricacy of argumentation and the intensity of exchange in fourteenth-century English quodlibetal literature, in this case between Ockham and Walter Chatton. To illustrate this point I wish to discuss *Quodlibet* I, q. 5, in some detail. There Ockham develops a counter-example to Chatton's favorite semantic principle, which is sometimes dubbed the "anti-razor," but which I shall refer to as "the Chatton Principle."²⁶ In I.5 Ockham contends that the Chatton Principle (explained below) is inapplicable to propositions that contain negation virtually, or that have a negative exponent when exposit. If true, this would mean that Chatton's favorite argument in favor of a realist account of motion, and his favorite proof of *respective entities* (roughly, *relations*), could not work. After a brief description of the Chatton Principle, we can see concretely the near impossibility of understanding Ockham's *Quodlibeta* aright without having Chatton's texts in hand.

Here is one general formulation of the Chatton Principle from his *Reportatio* I, d. 30, q. 1, a. 4:

Consider an affirmative proposition, which, when it is verified, is verified only for things; if three things do not suffice for verifying it, one has to posit a fourth, and so on in turn [for four things, or five, etc.].²⁷

Chatton gives other versions in several places. However, the basic idea is the same in each case: we must admit that there are as many things as are required to make a certain proposition true. Some have for this reason called the principle an "anti-razor." Chatton eventually²⁸ makes it clear that *contradiction* is the standard by which we judge

²⁶ For some general scholarly discussion of the anti-razor, see A. Maurer, "Method in Ockham's Nominalism," *The Monist* 61.3 (1978), pp. 426–43; A. Maurer, "Ockham's Razor and Chatton's Anti-Razor," *Mediaeval Studies* 46 (1984), pp. 463–75; and R. Keele, *Formal Ontology in the Fourteenth Century: The Chatton Principle and Ockham's Razor* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Indiana University, 2002).

²⁷ Walter Chatton, *Reportatio* I, d. 30, q. 1, a. 4, in *Reportatio super Sententias: Liber I, distinctiones 10–48*, eds. J.C. Wey and G.J. Etzkorn (Toronto 2002), p. 237, par. 57: "Propositio affirmativa, quae quando verificatur, solum verificatur pro rebus; si tres non sufficiunt ad verificandum eam, oportet ponere quartam, et sic deinceps."

²⁸ Viz., in *Lectura* I, d. 3, q. 1, a. 1.

what is required to make a proposition true: n things are enough to make a (true) proposition true when it is a contradiction that these n things exist as indicated by the proposition, and yet the proposition is false. In a sense, we must “add” to our ontology enough entities of the appropriate types so that it is impossible that propositions that are in fact true would be false, if those entities existed. The underlying assumption here is that if an existent makes a difference to truth then it must be a *thing* (= *res*). The basis of this assumption can be found in Aristotle²⁹ and Scotus,³⁰ who claim that a transition from contradictory to contradictory is a change. But since according to Aristotle all change takes place in a real subject, the previous claim about change seems to have been interpreted by Chatton to mean that there can be no passage from contradictory state to contradictory state without the generation or corruption of some thing (*res*). In this form the assumption might usefully be called the “Principle of Contradictories.” Ockham, of course, would vigorously oppose this very semantic assumption and offer various alternatives to replace or supplement it, for example, his connotation theory.

Chatton applied his Principle, clearly related in some way to the razor, to prove that certain respective accidents exist, in particular those associated with causality, for example, production, and also that certain successive accidents exist, such as motion. Chatton’s account of motion says that, in the instant a thing begins to move, it acquires a real thing (*res*), which we could call *motion*, which thing is a successive accident inhering in the permanent moving object. When the object ceases to move it loses this accident.³¹ The need to posit such an entity follows from the Chatton Principle: without positing such an entity no true sentence of the form ‘X is in motion’ could be true, and, when *motion* is posited in a permanent substance X, it is indeed a contradiction that ‘X is in motion’ is false.

Ockham, of course, did not accept such an account of motion, because he did not accept the existence of a special class of successive entities.³² Hence, for him, motion is simply a term, and a connotative

²⁹ For example, in *Physics* V.1 (225a 1–20).

³⁰ For example, in *Ordinatio* I, d. 30, qq. 1–2, ed. C. Balić, *Opera Omnia* VI (Vatican City 1963), p. 186, ll. 20–1.

³¹ For example in Chatton, *Reportatio* I, d. 30, q. 1, a. 4, ed. Wey-Etzkorn, p. 235, parr. 45–6.

³² He argues this point in many places, for example, *Quaestiones in Libros Physicorum Aristotelis*, ed. S.F. Brown, *Opera Philosophica* VI (St Bonaventure, NY 1984) qq. 13 and 17.

one, primarily signifying a moving object and secondarily signifying that this object exists in the following manner: (1) successively in different places, (2) without intervening rest, and (3) continuously.³³ Hence 'X is in motion' simply means that 'X successively coexists in different places without intervening rest, continuously'.

The primary issue in Ockham's *Quodlibet* I, q. 5, is whether an angel can move locally. To answer the question, Ockham gives the account of motion mentioned above, but then considers an objection based on a Chattonian realist account of motion supported by the Chatton Principle, which he quotes explicitly. Ockham raises this Chattonian objection and engages in imaginary debate with it along these lines: the Chatton Principle claims that we need to posit, in the case of angelic motion, the acquisition of a successive accident that the angel previously lacked, while Ockham says that such an accident is not needed, but that we need only posit an angel as a movable thing that will be in a different place than he is in now (successively, continuously, without intervening rest). To settle the issue Ockham goes after the Chatton Principle directly with a counter-example. Ockham explains it this way:

To the first of these arguments I reply that the principle on which this argument is founded [viz., the Chatton Principle] is false unless it is more adequately interpreted, since with respect to the truth of a given proposition, in some cases two things are sufficient at one time, and in some cases two things are not sufficient, say, at another time. An example: suppose that God creates an angel in the absence of all motion and time, and that the proposition 'This angel is being created' is written down in a book. In that case, in the beginning, when the angel is being created, three things are sufficient to make the proposition 'This angel is being created by God' true—viz., God, the angel, and the book inscribed with such a proposition. But afterwards, if exactly the same things exist, neither those things nor any other things are sufficient to make that proposition true.³⁴

It is not at all obvious exactly what Ockham has in mind unless one understands Chatton's views, and indeed the shift to talk of creating angels in a question about the motion of angels would otherwise be baffling. But if we recall that the substantive issue overall is whether or

³³ This kind of account occurs, for example, in *Quodlibet* I, q. 5, but in other places as well. Ockham adds the third clause to account for a case where God would destroy X, then create it again in another place; this would fit (1) and (2), but no one would call it local motion.

³⁴ Ockham, *Quodlibetal Questions*, trans. Freddoso-Kelley, p. 30. I have added the material in brackets.

not the Principle of Contradictories needs to be expanded to include a variety of ways for sentences to change truth value, it becomes easier to see his basic strategy. This counter-example tries to show that there is a proposition p , such that p changes from contradictory to contradictory (in this case it goes from being true to being false), and that this change occurs even though exactly the same number n of things a , b , c , ... exist when it is true and when it is false. If this were the case, Chatton would have to admit that there was a change in truth value without a change in the number of *res* in the world, and hence that the Principle of Contradictories would need to be expanded to include other ways for propositions to become true or false.

To prove his case Ockham simply claims to exhibit a p that fits the description above. To see how the example works, let p = 'This angel is being created by God', let a = God, b = an angel, c = the book inscribed with the proposition. (The book itself plays no integral role here; it is just that according to Ockham, only proposition tokens exist, and in order to be actually true or false a proposition must be actual; hence, we need the thing written down somewhere.) The problem then seems to be as follows. Let nothing exist save for God, then imagine that God creates an angel at time t_1 . In this case, according to the Chatton Principle, 'This angel is being created by God' would be made true at t_1 by the existence of three distinct *res*, viz., God, the angel, and the proposition in the book. But notice that at any time subsequent to t_1 , say, t_2 , the proposition 'This angel is being created by God' will be false, even if the same three *res*, God, the angel, and the proposition in the book, still exist. Why will 'This angel is being created by God' be false at t_2 ? The idea seems to be that any created being has a first instant of existence, and it is *only* in that first instant of existence that a thing can be said to be 'being created'. Therefore, since the instant in which the angel is being created was posited to be t_1 , and since t_2 is distinct from t_1 , it must be the case that the angel is not being created at t_2 ; rather, at t_2 the angel already *is*. But then 'This angel is being created by God' is clearly false at t_2 , even though the very same three items (viz., God, the angel, and the proposition in the book) exist at t_2 as did at t_1 when 'This angel is being created by God' was true.

To put the matter succinctly, if Chatton were correct, something would have to have gone out of existence at t_2 in order for 'This angel is being created by God' to be false then when it was true before, but apparently the same three things exist at t_2 as existed before. In general, according to this kind of example, something else besides a *res*

must account for p 's passage from truth to falsity, i.e., p 's passage from contradictory to contradictory, and so the Principle of Contradictories must be expanded.

Another way to see the problem Ockham is raising in I.5 is to consider how he would exposit a proposition like 'This angel is being created by God'. For him, analogously with the case of motion discussed above, the proposition means something like 'The angel now exists and before this he did not exist, and God brought this situation about'. In essence this is simply to deny necessary being to the created thing, which is after all what 'being created' means. But by this analysis obviously 'This angel is being created by God' is false at t_2 , since at t_2 it is not the case that before t_2 the angel did not exist; *ex hypothesi* the angel existed at t_1 , the first moment of its existence, and t_1 is before t_2 .

Ockham considers two Chatton-style objections to his counterexample in turn and then attempts to modify the same basic strategy to handle each of the objections. Notice that, given Ockham's example and Chatton's Principle, any useful Chattonian objection must either (1) deny that p goes from being true to being false, or else (2) it must hold that not three things a , b , and c but rather, say, four things a , b , c , and d are required to make p true in the first place, and that in fact it is the non-existence of d at t_2 that makes p false at that time. Both the Chatton-style objections that Ockham attempts to rebut take the second approach. The first such objection I will pass over, and I will instead look only at the second objection, and then explain Ockham's rebuttal to it.

Ockham describes the Chattonian objection thus: "You might object further that a passive creation is required for the truth of this proposition."³⁵ By itself, this is quite cryptic, and would be almost impossible to understand if one did not know that the "you" addressed but not named is Walter Chatton, and what the Chatton Principle is about. Because we know this we can make sense of the passage: Chatton could say that God, the angel, and the book are not sufficient to make 'This angel is being created by God' true in the first place, and that a fourth

³⁵ Ockham, *Quodlibetal Questions*, trans. Freddoso-Kelley, p. 31. Unfortunately, I know of no passage where Chatton makes this actual objection, so I cannot say whether it is real or imagined. That the objection is Chattonian in style is indubitable. If Ockham and Chatton were living and working at the Franciscan *studium* in London (see above), it is possible that the objection was raised by Chatton himself in person at this disputation.

thing is also needed, namely, a passive respective entity of *creation*, which thing is a respective accident inhering in the angel as a foundation.³⁶ This passive accident would inhere in the angel while God created him, i.e., at the first moment of his existence ($= t_1$), but not afterward, e.g., not at t_2 . Hence, the Chattonian response would go, the reason why ‘This angel is being created by God’ is true at t_1 but false at t_2 is that at t_1 these four things exist—viz., God, the angel, the book, and the passive respective of creation in the angel—but at t_2 only three things exist—viz., God, the angel, and the book. But then it is in fact the generation or corruption of some thing, namely, the passive respective accident, which causes the proposition ‘This angel is being created by God’ to be at first true and then later false.

Ockham’s reply to this Chatton-style objection is essentially to say that we do not evade the difficulty even if the passive respective of creation be granted, since God by his absolute power could miraculously conserve that passive respective accident of creation in the angel at t_2 , in which case, again, the same four things exist now that the proposition is false as existed when it was true, viz., at t_1 . Ockham explains his reply as follows:

This [Chattonian objection] does not help, since God can conserve that passive creation, and the argument stands as before: The proposition will first be true, since it was true to say that the angel now exists and before this did not exist; and afterwards it will be false, since... the proposition ‘The angel now exists and before this he did not exist’ will be false, despite the fact that the passive creation remains in existence. Therefore I claim that if [the Chatton Principle] has truth, then it has truth only when the relevant proposition is such that, like ‘A human being is an animal’, ‘A human being is white’, etc., it is not negative and does not include any negative proposition as an exponent.³⁷

And indeed, Ockham can generalize this strategy to account for any other entities Chatton would posit to try to evade the problem; for any proposition p , and number of entities n , Ockham’s strategy would seem to show that even if Chatton posits an $n + 1$ th entity whose non-existence at t_2 would explain why p is false at t_2 , it remains that God can

³⁶ There is no corresponding accident in God, of course, who has no accidental properties at all. But this has no bearing on the issue at hand.

³⁷ Ockham, *Quodlibetal Questions*, trans. Freddoso-Kelley, p. 31. I have modified the translation slightly and added the material in brackets.

conserve that $n + 1$ th entity through his absolute power into instant t_2 , so that this entity's absence cannot explain the falsehood of p at t_2 .

I pass over a discussion of whether or not Ockham's response is adequate.³⁸ The point is that this material is nearly unintelligible in much of its argumentative detail without an adequate knowledge of the work of Walter Chatton.

Walter Chatton

Walter Chatton's name is well known to many specialists on fourteenth-century theology and philosophy and especially to specialists on Ockham. However, even to most of them, the details of his views are only now emerging, as his *Sentences* commentaries begin to be published in full in critical editions. Although Chatton's career was described two decades ago in respectable detail by William Courtenay, there is some new information and evidence to add. I begin with a sketch of Chatton's career based on those few hard facts and dates we do possess.

It seems best to break up Chatton's life and career into four stages.³⁹

³⁸ I think it is demonstrably inadequate in fact. Chatton did also, raising an interesting line of argument against it in his *Lectura* 1, d. 3, q. 1, a. 1, and I think a still more conclusive refutation is possible. See R. Keele, *Formal Ontology in the Fourteenth Century*, Chapter 8.

³⁹ To yield a more readable account of Chatton's life, I shall save for the footnotes my discussions of the controversial elements of this biography. Little corroborated evidence exists for many of these claims, and in general, the more detailed any particular claim is the more agnosticism is warranted. My primary source for this initial sketch, and still the best overall discussion of Chatton's life, is Courtenay, *Adam Wodeham*, pp. 66–74. Other sources consulted, in descending order of their useful biographical content, include: Keele, *Formal Ontology in the Fourteenth Century*, pp. 9–15; A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500 I* (Oxford 1957), pp. 395–6; H.G. Gelber, *Logic and the Trinity: A Clash of Values in Scholastic Thought 1300–1335* (Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1974), pp. 185–205; Brown, "Walter Chatton's *Lectura*," pp. 82–115; L. Baudry, "Gauthier de Chatton et son commentaire des *Sentences*," *AHDLMA* 14 (1943–45), pp. 337–69; C.K. Brampton, "Gauthier de Chatton et la provenance des mss. lat. Paris Bibl. Nat. 15886 et 15887," *Études Franciscaines* 14 (1964), pp. 200–5; P.E. Longpré, "Gualtiero di Catton: Un Maestro Franciscano D'Oxford," *Studi Francescani* 9 (1923), pp. 101–14; and D.L. Douie, "Three treatises on Evangelical Poverty," *AFH* 24 (1931), pp. 341–69, continued in 25 (1932), pp. 36–58, 210–40.

Childhood, Ordination, and Philosophical Training (Birth to 1315)

Passing over the question of the exact year, we can say with some confidence that Walter Chatton was born between 1285 and 1290 in the small village of Chatton, just west of Durham.⁴⁰ He entered the Franciscan Order as a *puer*, i.e., before the age of fourteen, and was ordained a subdeacon on 20 May 1307. He very likely received his philosophical training in the North and professed there as well, perhaps at the convent in Carlisle.

Early Bachelor of Theology Studies (1315 to 1321)

Ample evidence suggests that during this period Chatton was training in theology and interacting with Ockham and Wodeham. We know that he was outspoken even from this stage against Ockham on many issues, and against the views of Campsall, especially on the logic of the Trinity.⁴¹

Advanced Bachelor Studies and Regency (1321 to 1332)

We have the least amount of hard biographical data for this period, although it is clearly the most interesting and intense intellectual period of his life. Textual evidence allows us to argue with varying degrees of certainty that four of his five extant works—*Reportatio*, *Lectura* (which includes the separately edited *Collatio et Prologus*), *Quodlibet*, *De paupertate evangelica*, and *Sermo de visione beatifica*—were written during this period.⁴² We have long possessed reasonable dates (although they are wide, in one case) for the first two of these works: he probably delivered his *Reportatio* during the biennium 1321–23,⁴³ and his *Lectura* must have

⁴⁰ The date we give to Chatton's birth depends upon to which stage of his career his *Reportatio* corresponds.

⁴¹ Courtenay, *Adam Wodeham*, pp. 60 and 69.

⁴² The exception is *Sermo de visione beatifica*, which was likely written in Avignon in 1333, and so belongs to the next stage; see M. Dykmans, "Les Frères Mineurs d'Avignon au début de 1333 et le sermon de Gautier de Chatton sur la vision béatifique," *AHDLM* 78 (1971), pp. 105–48. For the dating of *De paupertate evangelica* see Douie, "Three treatises on Evangelical Poverty," p. 345. The list of Chatton's works was compiled from R. Sharpe, *A Handlist of Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland Before 1540* (2nd edition, Turnhout 2001), pp. 730–1; N.A. Fitzpatrick, "Walter Chatton on the Univocity of Being: A Reaction to Peter Aureoli and William Ockham," *Franciscan Studies* 31 (1971), pp. 88–177; and Walter Chatton, *Reportatio et Lectura super Sententias: Collatio ad Librum Primum et Prologus*, ed. J.C. Wey (Toronto 1989), pp. 1–2. The *Reportatio in Sententias*, eds. J.C. Wey and G.J. Etzkorn, 4 vols. (Toronto 2002–2005), has appeared, and the *Lectura* will be published shortly.

⁴³ See p. 644 above for some qualifications.

been written between 1324 and 1330.⁴⁴ The first three works listed above are of primary philosophical importance in his corpus. During this period Chatton also incepted as a regent master, probably in the academic year 1329–30.⁴⁵

Later Career in Avignon and Death (1332 to 1343/44)

Chatton is known to have been in Avignon on 17 January 1333. He was summoned there in order to participate in hearings against Thomas Waleys, and eventually served as an advisor to Pope Benedict XII, a post he held for several years. After this we know little of him save for two events, one uncommon, the other most common: first, in a career-halting accident in 1343, he was appointed bishop of the Welsh see of Asaph, although the position was not really vacant, and second, he died the next winter at Avignon, in late 1343 or perhaps early 1344.⁴⁶

Chatton's Quodlibet

The positive identification of Chatton's *Quodlibet* was announced in 1987 by Girard Etzkorn, but it turns out that the lone manuscript containing it was recognized as Chattonian by two previous scholars, Antonius Samaritani, who edited question 3, on the immaculate conception, and earlier still by Carlo Balić.⁴⁷ However, Etzkorn went further than the

⁴⁴ The *Lectura* dates are based on the mention of Ockham's *Summa logicae*, which gives a *terminus post quem* of 1324; Wodeham's citation in 1330 of *Lectura* material gives a *terminus ante quem* of 1330. Below I give reasons to suppose that the relative date of Chatton's *Lectura* is earlier than his *Quodlibet*. All my arguments about the date of the *Quodlibet* itself are consistent with the wide dating of the *Lectura* just mentioned.

⁴⁵ Courtenay, *Adam Wodeham*, p. 67. Courtenay cites the Oxford Historical Society's *Munimenta Civitatis Oxonie* as his source. Emden cites this same source as evidence that Chatton was in Oxford in the spring of 1330, involved on the side of the Franciscan Order in a court case.

⁴⁶ Three areas in which scholars have attempted to determine his life and career in more detail have been more controversial, viz., (1) his exact birth year, (2) to which career stage his *Reportatio* belongs—bachelor lectures or preparation for bachelor lectures, and (3) the location of the *Reportatio*'s composition. Clearly answers to (2) and (3) bear on each other, but also will bear on the answer to (1), since answers to (2) and (3) suggest to us how old Chatton might have been around 1321–23, the firm dates of the *Reportatio*.

⁴⁷ G.J. Etzkorn, "The Codex Paris Nat. Lat. 15.805," *AFH* 80 (1987), pp. 321–33; A. Samaritani, "De beatae Mariae Virginis immaculata conceptione quodlibet XIII–XIV saec. primum edita," *Marian Library Studies* 5 (1973) (pp. 729–835), pp. 792–8; and C. Balić, *Ioannis de Polliaco et Ioannis de Neapoli Quaestiones disputatae de Immaculata Conceptione Beatae Mariae Virginis*, (Sibenik 1931), p. xlvii, n. 62.

others in giving arguments (to be discussed below) which support the identification of the work in question as a *quodlibet*, and which strongly corroborate the claim that the author of the *quodlibet* was Walter Chatton. Etzkorn eventually undertook a critical edition of the entire work, but because the full edition is not yet published, there is no account in print of the complete case for attribution of this work to Chatton, its dating, importance, philosophical content or connection to other Chattonian works. Therefore all these tasks must be undertaken in some detail here.

The Manuscript, Authenticity and Nature of the Work

Chatton's *Quodlibet* is known through a single manuscript, bound with a miscellany of texts, including other *quodlibeta*, in Codex Paris, BnF lat. 15805.⁴⁸ Chatton's text is in the fourth of six sections of the codex, and runs across ff. 54ra–60rb. The manuscript yields a fairly coherent text, requiring relatively little emendation to achieve consistency and intelligibility. In the absence of another witness, little more can currently be said about the accuracy of the manuscript. Twenty-nine questions are presented, although the 29th question, the last of four on future contingents, ends abruptly and incompletely after a few hundred words; however, it is unlikely that this represents a large loss of material. The list of questions, a rough translation, and their manuscript locations, are as follows:

1. Utrum causalitas causae finalis sit realis (f. 54ra) [Whether the causality of final causes is real].
2. Utrum circumstantia aggravans peccatum aggravet illud contra aliquod praeceptorum (54rb) [Whether a circumstance increasing the gravity of a sin does so in opposition to any of the precepts].
3. Utrum beata Virgo potuit fuisse concepta in originali peccato (54rb) [Whether the Blessed Virgin could have been conceived in original sin].
4. Utrum ignorantia invincibilis excuset peccatum (54va) [Whether invincible ignorance excuses sin].
5. Utrum fortitudo politica sit moderativa timoris et audaciae in sensitiva (55ra) [Whether civic courage is a quality capable of moderating fear and recklessness in the sensitive appetite].
6. Utrum in moralibus ex circumstantia excusetur culpa (55ra) [Whether in moral matters fault is excused on account of circumstances].

⁴⁸ The manuscript details and the question list below are taken from Etzkorn, "The Codex Paris Nat. Lat. 15.805."

7. Utrum ignorantia invincibilis totaliter excuset (55rb) [Whether invincible ignorance totally excuses sin].
8. Utrum gratia creata in anima Christi sit infinita intensive sic quod impropotionaliter excedat quamcumque gratiam purae creaturae (55vb) [Whether the created grace in the soul of Christ is intensively infinite in such a way that it exceeds by all proportion any grace existing in a mere creature].
9. Quattuor sunt tacta a quodam doctore contra quem volo arguere (55vb) [Four points are touched on by a certain doctor, against whom I want to argue here. *The issues are not all related, and occur in four different articles*].
10. Utrum de naturis diversis in Christo debeat concedi communicatio in abstractis (55vb) [Whether it ought to be conceded that, in Christ, there was some communication between the diverse natures, considered abstractly].
11. Utrum lex praecipiens hominem occidi sit licita in quocumque casu (56ra) [Whether a law commanding that a man be killed is licit in any circumstances whatsoever].
12. Utrum finis sit obiectum actus moralis (56ra) [Whether an end is an object of a moral action].
13. Utrum aliquis habitus pertinens ad prudentiam possit generari ex actibus, voluntate contrarium eligente (56rb) [Whether some habit pertaining to prudence can be generated by acts of the will when the will itself wills contrary to prudence].
14. Utrum omnis aggravatio culpa sit nata contrariare rectae conscientiae (56vb) [Whether every aggravation of fault is brought about contrary to good conscience].
15. Utrum omnis circumstantia aggravans peccatum aggravet illud mortaliter vel venialiter (57ra) [Whether every circumstance increasing the gravity of a sin does so either mortally or venially].
16. Utrum solus malus actus interior sit peccatum (57rb) [Whether only an interior wicked action counts as sin].
17. Utrum sit magis meritorium diligere amicum quam inimicum (57va) [Whether it is more meritorious to love a friend than an enemy].
18. Utrum purus homo magis teneatur diligere humanitatem Christi quam se ipsum (57va) [Whether a mere human being is bound to love the humanity of Christ more than Christ himself].
19. Utrum Abraham credidit illud praeceptum esse iustum quo praecipiebatur immolare filium suum (57va) [Whether Abraham believed that percept to be just by which he was commanded to sacrifice his own son].
20. Utrum praecipiens alicui percutere clericum et non intendens praecipere nisi de levi percussione et alius excedat et graviter percutiat, utrum talis praecipiens possit absolvi a suo episcopo diocesano (57vb) [Suppose that someone orders a clerk to be beaten, and intends that he be struck only lightly, but that the man doing the beating exceeds this intent and hits him much harder. Can the man giving the order be absolved of fault by the bishop of his own diocese?].

21. Utrum ad salvandum fidem de Trinitate sit necessarium recurrere ad terminos reduplicativos (58ra) [Whether it is necessary to have recourse to reduplicative terms for the sake of saving our faith in the Trinity].
22. Utrum quantitas de genere quantitatis sit res distincta realiter a substantia et qualitatibus (58ra) [Whether a quantity in the category of quantity is a thing really distinct from substance and quality].
23. Utrum Deus possit facere aliquam creaturam cui repugnet existere sine omni creatura a se totaliter distincta (58va) [Whether God can make a creature whose nature opposes its existence in the absence of all other creatures totally distinct from it].
24. Utrum angelus sit visibilis in propria forma (59ra) [Whether an angel is visible in its proper form].
25. Utrum angelus potuit peccare in primo instanti sui esse (59rb) [Whether an angel could have sinned in the first instant of its existence].
26. Utrum angeli superiores possunt revelare inferioribus futura contingentia (59rb) [Whether higher angels can reveal future contingents to lower angels].
27. Utrum aliqua creatura possit certificari de futuro contingenti (59va) [Whether a creature can be made certain concerning a future contingent].
28. Utrum certitudo revelationis de futuris contingentibus stet cum contingentia eorum (60ra) [Whether the certainty of the revelation of future contingents is consistent with their contingency].
29. Utrum omnes formae argumentorum quae solent fieri in ista materia possint solvi (60rb) *incomplete* [Whether every form of argument which is usually made concerning these matters (i.e., the issue of future contingents) can be solved].

Old Evidence for the Authenticity and the Classification of the Work

What reasons do we have to think that these are properly quodlibetal disputations? In his initial analysis of the manuscript, Etzkorn points out that the length and structure of the questions support this classification.⁴⁹ In my examination of the text I have found nothing to contradict Etzkorn's characterization or judgment on this matter.

Etzkorn offered both internal and external evidence that this *quodlibet* belongs to Walter Chatton. His external evidence is as good as we might hope for. First, there is a marginal attribution to *Chatton*, in the same hand as the scribe of the main text. Second, Adam Wodeham cites Chatton by name and then transcribes very closely a portion of the text contained in question 16. Moreover, the internal evidence that

⁴⁹ Etzkorn, "The Codex Paris Nat. Lat. 15.805," p. 325.

can be adduced from philosophical content is compelling. Etzkorn notes that the author of this *quodlibet* attacks prominent Ockhamist theses, for example “about quantity not being distinct from quality, about circumstances being the partial object of moral acts, about the use of reduplicative terms in explaining the Trinity, etc.”⁵⁰

A closer examination of the content of the text continues to bear this out. To the above evidence we can also add the following incidents of corroboration: (1) in question 16, the author inveighs against the Ockhamist view that only an interior act of bad will is properly called sin, arguing instead that while the interior act is immediately sinful, the consequent exterior act is also properly called sinful as well; (2) in question 5, the author rebuts the Ockhamist view that there are two souls in man, one sensitive, one rational; (3) in question 24 the author supports the species *in medio*, a favorite Chattonian theme, and again criticizes both the Ockhamist rejection of the species *in medio* and Ockham’s own account of action at a distance; (4) stylistic considerations are broadly consistent with the attribution to Chatton.

The final piece of internal evidence for attribution to Chatton is extremely strong. This concerns Chatton’s anti-razor, which Etzkorn dubbed the *propositio Chattonis*, and which I discussed above under the name “the Chatton Principle.” Question 23 contains an extended defense of the Chatton Principle, and Etzkorn believed that this was the most “telling evidence” for Chatton’s authorship, so important a role does this principle play in Chatton’s argument in his *Reportatio* and *Lectura* for the need to posit *res respectivae*.⁵¹

New Evidence for Authenticity and Dating

Unfortunately, to determine the date of this work we cannot simply argue that the *Quodlibet* must correspond with a *quodlibet* Chatton determined during his regency (which began in 1329), on the ground that all and only regent masters determined *quodlibeta* and recorded these *determinationes*; we now believe that by the fourteenth century, formed bachelors sometimes did this as well.⁵² Fortunately, however, we can fix the date using more texts from Adam Wodeham, specifically books III and IV of his Oxford commentary on the *Sentences*. Therein Wodeham

⁵⁰ Etzkorn, “The Codex Paris Nat. Lat. 15.805,” p. 325.

⁵¹ Etzkorn, “The Codex Paris Nat. Lat. 15.805,” pp. 325–6.

⁵² Although this is controversial; see the discussion about dating Holcot’s *Quodlibeta*, below.

not only confirms that Chatton determined questions during the time of his regency,⁵³ just as we would expect, but he also gives us a glimpse into the content of this *determinatio*, allowing us clearly to show that the text identified by Etzkorn in Paris 15805 is in fact Walter Chatton's magisterial Oxford *determinatio*.

In book III, d. 14, q. 11, Wodeham takes issue with Chatton's indivisibilism as expressed in a *determinatio*, in particular with the opinion "that the continuum is not composed from divisible [but rather *indivisible*] parts."⁵⁴ This opinion occurred, Wodeham tells us, in a question attacking Ockham on the issue of quantity.⁵⁵ Although none of the question titles in Chatton's *Quodlibet* mentions the continuum directly, indivisibles are mentioned in the text of question 22, which question deals with the issue of quantity, taking Ockham as the principal opponent. Moreover, Chatton apparently responded to Wodeham's arguments in III.14.11, coming back with arguments that Wodeham felt bound to respond to again in book IV, q. 5, of his Oxford commentary, mentioning that Chatton's *determinatio* occurred during the time of his regency.⁵⁶ Specifically, Wodeham says this:

You should note what [Chatton] himself posited afterwards, in the period of his magistracy, in a *determinatio* (which *determinatio* I myself heard—and he said these same things previously as well, when he read the *Sentences*). We have from him that one indivisible is naturally able to be together in the same place as another indivisible, for otherwise, according to him, it would not be possible to save condensation and rarefaction...⁵⁷

⁵³ Courtenay, *Adam Wodeham*, p. 70, n. 112.

⁵⁴ Wodeham, *Lectura Oxoniensis* III, d. 14, q. 11 (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, lat. 915, f. 193va), from the transcription in Courtenay, *Adam Wodeham*, p. 72, n. 127. "Chatton in quadam determinatione Oxon. quod continuum non componitur ex partibus divisibilibus... audiui postquam illam materiam Londoniae pertractavi."

⁵⁵ Courtenay, *Adam Wodeham*, p. 72.

⁵⁶ Robert Holcot, *Seeing the Future Clearly: Questions on Future Contingents by Robert Holcot*, eds. P.A. Streveler and K.H. Tachau, with H.G. Gelber and W.J. Courtenay (Toronto 1995), p. 24, n. 63. Hereafter the introduction to this critical edition will be cited thus: Tachau, *Seeing the Future*. See also Courtenay, *Adam Wodeham*, p. 73, but only in conjunction with the note immediately succeeding this one.

⁵⁷ Wodeham, *Lectura Oxoniensis* IV, q. 5, a. 2 (Paris, Mazarine 915, f. 216ra, ll. 39–45). The text is slightly corrupt. Here is an exact transcription, which I have emended in obvious ways for my translation: "Nota quod ipse post, tempore magisterii sui, posuit in determinatione et—quam et ego ipse tunc et sicut priora alias audiui, dum legit Sententias, ab eo—indivisible naturaliter esse compossibile alteri indivisibili secundum situm, quia aliter secundum eum non posset salvari condensatio et rarefactio..." Note that Courtenay transcribes this same text as "Nota quod ipse post tempus magisterii..." The difference in the underlined phrase would importantly change the meaning to

Indeed, in question 22 of the Chattonian text in Paris 15805, we find Chatton making this very claim in the context of an exchange with an Ockhamist interlocutor, very possibly Wodeham himself:

We should say that this proposition is not true for really existing things without such an accident [i.e., a quantity]: ‘This substance is naturally unable to exist at the same time in the same place with a second substance’.

But it could be argued [against me] as follows: “The parts of quantity can exist naturally [in the same place] at the same time, because [according to you, Chatton], indivisibles compose the parts of substance, and indivisibles *can* exist naturally [in the same place] at the same time through natural causes. Otherwise, according to you something that is dispersed could not be condensed.”

It should be said in response: it is true that the [indivisible] parts of quantity can be [in the same place] at the same time. Nevertheless the extended parts of quantity cannot...

I say that while one part of a quantum [which is composed of indivisibles] remains extended, it cannot naturally be [in the same place] at the same time with another part of that substance, while that other part also remains extended. Nevertheless, the indivisible, condensable parts themselves can be in the same place [at the same time].⁵⁸

So the text in Paris 15805 has Chatton arguing that indivisibles can be in the same place at the same time, precisely to save the phenomenon of condensation and rarefaction, just as Wodeham reports events occurred in Chatton’s magisterial *determinatio*. This, together with Etzkorn’s earlier arguments, settles the issue of the authorship of these questions in Paris 15805 beyond doubt, and it also helps us fix their date quite firmly. The text must date to either 1329–30, since this is known to be the first year of his regency, or possibly to the year after, 1330–31, since he would likely have also been master, although *non regens*, for a second consecutive year.

say that Chatton’s determination came *after* the period of his regency, not during it. Nevertheless, Tachau reads the text as I do, with *post* as an adverb, not a preposition, and with *tempore* instead of *tempus*, thereby agreeing with me that the determination was during his regency. Careful examination of Mazarine 915, f. 216ra, l. 42, reveals the crucial abbreviation is *t*^e = *tempore*; so Tachau and I are correct. It should be noted that the raised “e” of the abbreviation here is of such a form that it could easily be mistaken for *t*⁹ = *tempus*. This typographical fact, and the relative infrequency of “post” as an adverb, are the likely sources of Courtenay’s misreading.

⁵⁸ Chatton, *Quodlibet*, q. 22, nn. 46–9, from the transcription by Etzkorn.

Unfortunately, this new evidence for attribution raises some question about whether the Chattonian *determinatio* in Paris 15805 is in fact a *quodlibet*, as Etzkorn had argued, since a *determinatio* could be given by a master to a question that was not asked as part of a quodlibetal exercise. Wodeham's use of the term *determinatio*, when he might have used the more precise *quodlibet* (and actually does in other cases), leaves us in some doubt about whether this text belongs in the genre at all. Up to this point we have had only Wodeham's use of the ambiguous term *determinatio*, and his non-use of *quodlibet*, on the one side of the issue, and Etzkorn's observations of form and length on the other. However, some new evidence can add a little weight to the case for this text being a *quodlibet*. Etzkorn originally found a title for these questions, partly obscured by the gutter margin, the visible letters of which were "-libet." Recent re-examination of the manuscript shows that this title does indeed say "Quodlibet," and confirms Etzkorn's judgment that the label is in the same hand as the main text and the bulk of the organizational marginalia.⁵⁹ This evidence is certainly not decisive, but it increases the reasonableness of our presumption that Chatton's magisterial *determinatio* cited by Wodeham is correctly called his *Quodlibet*.

Content

Although one can obtain some sense of the content of Chatton's *Quodlibet* through the question list and the discussion above, some more comprehensive information about the opponents, issues, and doctrines in the text will serve to round out and complete the picture.

The twenty-nine questions of the *Quodlibet* can be usefully divided into six subject categories. The chart below shows which questions address these topics:

⁵⁹ The marginalia for these folia in Paris 15805 are in two distinct hands. Nearly all are in the same hand as the main scribe, and consist primarily of such organizational labels as "contra," "prima ratio," "secundum dubium," and the like. In addition, all 29 questions, save only two, have a brief (usually one- or two-word) description of the question's subject matter. These latter remarks occur in a different hand, and would seem to be later additions.

Categories	Questions	Opponents, if known
(1) Contingency and necessity		
(1a) Future contingents	9 a. 2 —the causes of contingency 26 —revelation of future contingents 27, 28 —future contingents and certitude 29 —solving puzzles on future contingents	All articles in 9 seem directed against Aquinas or a follower; Scotus and Aquinas are targets in 28 .
(1b) Freedom, necessity and merit	25 —the necessary conditions for the will to sin	Possibly Aquinas.
(1c) Contingency of creation	9 a. 3 —necessity of a <i>consequentia</i> about God's actions	Aquinas or a follower.
(2) <i>Res respectivae</i> and other accidental beings	1 —causality of final causes 22 —the category of quantity 23 — <i>res respectivae</i> ; Chatton Principle	All are against Ockham.
(3) Damnation, biblical law, canon law, and sin	2 —sin and aggravating circumstances 4 —ignorance as an excuse for sin 6 —sin and mitigating circumstances 7 —invincible ignorance and sin 11 —moral acceptability of homicide 15 —mortal vs. venial sin 20 —ordering a clerk to be beaten	By and large the opponents here are unknown or else there is no real opponent. Authorities include Augustine, Anselm, and canon law.
(4) Moral science, right reason and sin	5 —civic courage as a virtue 12 —ends as objects of moral acts 13 —prudence and the will 14 —fault and human conscience 16 —sin as an interior act only 17 —merit of loving enemies vs. friends 19 —Abraham and Isaac	5, 12, 16 are aimed against Ockham; 13 against Auriol; 14 against Alexander of Hales; 19 against Aquinas, Bonaventure, et al.

Table (*cont.*)

Categories	Questions	Opponents, if known
(5) Christology and the Trinity	8, 9 a. 4 —grace in Christ's soul 10 —how Christ's natures connect 18 —loving Christ's humanity 21 —the Trinity and reduplicative terms	21 is Ockham.
(6) Miscellany	3 —the Immaculate Conception 9 a. 1 —creatures being present to eternity 24 —the species <i>in medio</i>	3 surveys an enormous number of opinions: Lombard, Augustine, Anselm, Richard of St Victor, Grosseteste, etc.; 24 is against Ockham, and possibly Auriol.

The distinction between categories (3) and (4) may seem a little artificial, but the basic idea is that controversies raised in questions of type (3) are treated by Chatton as matters to be settled by canon law or biblical interpretation (he frequently cites the Bible and the *Decretales Gregorii IX* in these questions), while issues of type (4) are treated as philosophical topics, with Ockham as the most common opponent. If we consider the number of questions under headings (3) and (4), as well as the drift of most of the topics in (1), we can easily convince ourselves that the bulk of Chatton's *Quodlibet*, both theologically and philosophically, is focused on issues of moral responsibility, sin, and merit.

What explains this focus? There may not be much to explain here, since Chatton had always discussed moral questions in his philosophy and theology. Many old, favorite Chattonian themes do at least make an appearance in this work dominated by moral issues: we see the debate over *res respectivae* (qq. 1, 23), *res* in other accidental categories besides quantity (q. 22), and future contingents (qq. 9, a. 2, and 26–29). And yet there really does seem to be a pattern here, which reflects something about either Chatton or the climate at Oxford or perhaps both. Two explanations suggest themselves.

It might be that this work simply reflects a natural shift in interests for Chatton, or more generally for theologians at Oxford. This shift may

have been positive (increased interest in ethics),⁶⁰ or negative (decreased interest in epistemology). Or, it is possible that Ockham's departure for Avignon, and his radical shift toward political theory after 1324, had left Chatton without his worthy opponent as a target.

I favor a combination of these explanations. Ockham was Chatton's strongest center of gravity, and by the earliest possible date for the *Quodlibet* Ockham had completely ceased to involve himself in subjects at the heart of all their old disputes. It then seems reasonable to conclude that Chatton was thereafter inclined to shift toward a different pole of his thought, always present but previously overawed by considerations of epistemology and metaphysics, which was now able to shine forth as the well of his previous critical philosophy ran dry. To state the matter most succinctly, it seems that Ockham's *Quodlibeta* strongly reflect Chatton's presence, while Chatton's *Quodlibet* strongly reflects Ockham's absence.

Robert Holcot

The Oxford-trained Dominican Robert Holcot was born around 1300 near Northampton, read the *Sentences* at Oxford in the opening years of the 1330s, was regent in the middle 1330s, and rose to some prominence in ecclesiastical and literary affairs before his death in 1349. The customary sketch of his intellectual life associates his philosophy both with Ockhamism and Thomism. Recent research allows us to flesh out the picture of his life and character beyond these few basic facts, and to consider possible dates for his *Sentences* commentary, which in turn yield possible dates for his *Quodlibeta*.

In one aspect, his intellectual personality is quite similar to Chatton's and Ockham's: as we would expect, we see great reliance on the tools of the new English theology, such as logic and conceptual analysis stemming from supposition theory, or the theory of exponables.⁶¹ Thus, in one way Holcot is quite representative of the tradition thriving at Oxford during this period.

⁶⁰ A point often made in H.G. Gelber, *It Could Have Been Otherwise. Contingency and Necessity in Dominican Theology at Oxford, 1300–1350* (Leiden-Boston 2004), passim.

⁶¹ Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars*, p. 269.

A somewhat unusual feature of Holcot's biography is his connection with the London court of Richard de Bury, bishop of Durham. While there is nothing unexpected about a mendicant theologian having a patron of this sort, Richard's court itself was unusually receptive to and productive of literature that showed an awareness of the classical tradition. Holcot flourished in this environment, filled with people whom Tachau refers to as "'proto'-humanist *literati*."⁶² From this support, with the aid of his logically rigorous Oxford training, Holcot crafted several extremely well-loved texts. His popular commentaries enjoyed vast circulation in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; indeed, it is plausible to suggest that Holcot had a wider intellectual influence in the century after his death than even Ockham.⁶³ In particular, it is for his biblical commentaries, composed after 1334, that he was most well known; his commentary on the Book of Wisdom survives in at least 175 fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscript copies, and was cited into the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁶⁴ This text seems to have been one of Chaucer's sources for the Nun's Priest's Tale.⁶⁵ Moreover, this fame seems to have attached to his more academic writing as well; his *Sentences* commentary, surviving in whole or part in forty-eight known witnesses, was among the most notable of the later Middle Ages. Also popular were his *Sex articuli* and *Quodlibeta*, composed not long after his *Sentences* commentary.

But when was his *Sentences* commentary written? Here we find some disagreement and some new evidence to consider. Since the relative dating of his *Quodlibeta* to his *Sentences* commentary brings up larger issues about who could determine *quodlibeta* in this period, and since a brief discussion of the absolute dating of his *Sentences* commentary will help us fix his *Quodlibeta*, it is a highly relevant place to begin the discussion.

⁶² Tachau, *Seeing the Future*, p. 2.

⁶³ An enormous bibliography for Holcot can be found in Gelber, *It Could Have Been Otherwise*, p. 92, n. 105. For a list of studies on Holcot before 1970, see p. 480, n. 1, of R.E. Gillespie, "Robert Holcot's *Quodlibeta*," *Traditio* 27 (1971), pp. 480–90. For studies up until 1983, see the footnotes of H.G. Gelber, *Exploring the Boundaries of Reason: Three Questions on the Nature of God, by Robert Holcot, OP* (Toronto 1983), passim.

⁶⁴ Tachau, *Seeing the Future*, pp. 2–3.

⁶⁵ Tachau, *Seeing the Future*, p. 2.

*Holcot's Quodlibeta**Dating, Manuscript Tradition, Attribution, and Arrangement of Questions*

There seem to be two views on when Holcot lectured on the *Sentences*: either in the biennium 1330–32, a view favored by Schepers and Courtenay,⁶⁶ or else in 1331–33, a view favored by Tachau.⁶⁷ Both Courtenay and Tachau seem to agree that, at any rate, his *Quodlibeta* must have come after this period, likely in 1333–34. Moreover, both Tachau and Courtenay rely on certain references by Holcot in his *Sex articuli* to a William Crathorn in order to establish their chronologies; the difference comes from the fact that Courtenay also accepts, while Tachau rejects, an additional (apparent) assertion by Holcot that Crathorn lectured on the *Sentences* for only one year. Since Crathorn's *Sentences* commentary was clearly delivered in 1330, Courtenay must hold that Holcot too began his lectures in 1330, while Tachau, who thinks that Holcot refers in this crucial text to a Crafton/Grafton rather than Crathorn, is free to adopt the other view, which better fits some other pieces of evidence.

The consequences of this disagreement for Holcot's *Quodlibeta* are as follows. While on either chronology the disputations were likely held around 1333–34, on Tachau's view Holcot would still be giving Bible lectures at that same time (or would just have finished doing so), certainly not yet having attained the regency, and so we would not only have to accept the idea of a bachelor determining *quodlibeta*, we would also have to face an extremely compressed view of Holcot's overall career trajectory, with a tremendous bottleneck occurring in 1333–34. Courtenay's view avoids this bottleneck. To complicate matters, Gelber has recently come out in favor of Tachau's crucial assertion that Holcot refers to Crafton/Grafton rather than Crathorn, while at the same time disagreeing with her conclusions about the date of the *Quodlibeta*, and in particular with the compression implied by Tachau's view, as well as the pre-magisterial timing it assumes.⁶⁸ On Gelber's latest view, these *Quodlibeta* should be dated to the time of his regency, perhaps even exclusively, an event which she places in 1336–37.

⁶⁶ Although Courtenay entertains hypotheses of even earlier readings, and of his reading for a single year only, this is the view he explicitly endorses, following Schepers. See Courtenay, *Adam Wodeham*, pp. 96–100, especially p. 97.

⁶⁷ A table on Tachau, *Seeing the Future*, p. 27, nicely summarizes her views.

⁶⁸ Gelber, *It Could Have Been Otherwise*, pp. 90–1 and 94–5.

Since it is difficult at this stage to see who has the better total case, the prudent conclusion is perhaps that Holcot's *Quodlibeta* can be safely dated to around 1333–37, although the question of precisely where the work fits in his overall career path is not simple and remains hotly contested in the details.

Whenever it may have been compiled, Holcot's quodlibetal collection, containing roughly one hundred questions overall, is far closer in size to Ockham's than to Chatton's collection. The questions are divided into three *Quodlibeta*, two of roughly equal size, the other about twice as large. Unfortunately, the manuscript tradition for Holcot's *Quodlibeta* is quite difficult.⁶⁹ This is not to say that there are no reasonable editions of individual questions, but rather that the amount of confusion and conflicting evidence facing an editor of Holcot's *Quodlibeta* is sufficient to block many conclusions that we would hope to draw firmly about the ordering, relative dating, and hence preferred readings of Holcot's intended text. Nevertheless, some scholars⁷⁰ have made heroic efforts at managing the many detailed difficulties. I will not attempt to recount here all the details of these labors, but will instead acquaint the reader with what seems uncontroversial, with one or two fundamental points of difficulty, and with the status of current research.

Editors of his *Quodlibet* rely on three manuscripts:⁷¹

(R) Royal = London, British Library, Royal 10.C.vi

(P) Pembroke = Cambridge, Pembroke College Library 236

(B) Balliol = Oxford, Balliol College Library 246

In addition there is some related disputational material in a 1497 Lyons edition, which Gelber calls the *Determinationes*, as well as a fourth manuscript, Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, F.5, which has not been used thus far and which apparently includes *Determinationes* on ff. 239v–325r.⁷²

⁶⁹ Gelber, *Exploring the Boundaries of Reason*, p. 3.

⁷⁰ Notably Gelber, *Exploring the Boundaries of Reason*, pp. 1–28, and Tachau, *Seeing the Future*, pp. 1–56. See also the less extensive but foundational work in Gillespie, “Holcot's *Quodlibeta*.”

⁷¹ Gelber, *Exploring the Boundaries of Reason*, p. 3; Tachau, *Seeing the Future*, p. 28. For a summary of the main physical characteristics of the manuscripts, and also references to longer detailed descriptions, see Tachau, *Seeing the Future*, pp. 28–9.

⁷² See Sharpe, *Handlist*, p. 557 (revised 2001 edition) and the on-line catalogue of the Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek. Manuscript F.5 is paper, 330 + i

The three manuscripts that editors have employed differ enormously in the questions that they contain and in the order, arrangement, and hence implied interrelation of those questions; clearly they represent three distinct lines of transmission.⁷³ P contains some ninety-nine questions, B has ninety-one, while R contains only thirty-eight. (Despite appearances, the total number of questions exceeds 100, since B and R contain some questions not in P.) On the basis of this disparity, one early scholarly examination⁷⁴ ascribes Holcot's personal touch to Royal. The view is that, compared to P and B, the more logical arrangement of R, together with its shorter length, is evidence of authorial pruning, and hence an indication that R's readings ought to be preferred.⁷⁵ Gillespie, and to a much greater degree Gelber, dispute the orderliness of R, and hence reject this reading of R's importance, emphasizing that consideration of Holcot's quodlibetal collection must be based more on the other two witnesses, and must not rely on this assumed status of R.⁷⁶ A second tradition, developed by Schepers,⁷⁷ instead elevates P on the ground that it represents a later stage of treatment of the disputed questions and so has preference over B. On this view, R represents, not an authorial redaction, but a mutilated version of even later developments made previously in P. As the sole non-mutilated (i.e., relatively complete) early version of a relatively late stage (and so authoritative) redaction, P deserves more attention than R and B.⁷⁸ Gelber tends to discount this view also, and adduces other reasons (in terms of the details of the *pecia* system) to explain the variations existing among the manuscripts; it is due to the piecemeal availability of portions of long texts that we see disorder and incompleteness in, for example, the Royal

folios, and contains Holcot's complete *Sentences* commentary (ff. 4r–194v) as well. Gelber and Tachau completed their work earlier and thus were not able to examine this witness, although Tachau lists it for the *Sentences* commentary (*Seeing the Future*, p. 36). Nevertheless, Gelber and Tachau remain the most recent in-depth studies.

⁷³ Gelber, *Exploring the Boundaries of Reason*, p. 3; Tachau, *Seeing the Future*, p. 28. For a table comparing the three manuscripts, question-title for question-title, see Gelber, *Exploring the Boundaries of Reason*, pp. 113–17.

⁷⁴ K. Michalski, "La physique nouvelle et les différents courants philosophiques au XIV^e siècle," *Bulletin international de l'Académie Polonaise de Sciences et Des Lettres* (Krakow 1928), pp. 125–33.

⁷⁵ Gelber, *Exploring the Boundaries of Reason*, p. 4.

⁷⁶ Gillespie, "Holcot's Quodlibeta," pp. 485–6; Gelber, *Exploring the Boundaries of Reason*, pp. 3–8.

⁷⁷ H. Schepers, "Holcot contra dicta Crathorn," *Philosophisches Jahrbuch* 77 (1970), pp. 320–54, and 79 (1972), pp. 106–36.

⁷⁸ Gelber, *Exploring the Boundaries of Reason*, p. 8.

manuscript.⁷⁹ Rather than arguing for any one of these manuscripts being authoritative, Gelber ends up using external and internal evidence to argue through question by question, constructing a plausible partial arrangement for the questions in the three *quodlibeta*.⁸⁰ Tachau proceeds in largely the same fashion, taking Gelber's discussion as her starting point.⁸¹

While all these authors make reasonable points and adduce plausible and relevant evidence for their views, it is clear that in the end each one approaches the text in part by feel, taking readings and manuscript relations on a case-by-case basis. Moreover, it is clear that this less grand approach is the right one, given the situation. The level of detail, the dependencies and many assumptions involved in their competing appraisals and explanations at the larger level eventually become so ponderous that it is difficult to see who has more traction in the debate. If we add to this that some of Holcot's questions might not have been originally part of any public *determinatio*, and hence not even quodlibetal, since Holcot seems to have composed some of them for inclusion in his *Sentences* commentary, we are faced with a bleak outlook indeed.⁸² From these very skilled editors we have received as good a version of Holcot's text as we are likely to get in each case, but very little weight can be rationally given to any general arguments about the development of Holcot's thought or career if they rely solely on the overarching theories of manuscript relations discussed in the sources noted above.

The attribution of these one hundred or so quodlibetal questions to Robert Holcot is not seriously disputed. The tradition of attribution is quite old; a handful of questions in the 1497 Lyons *Determinationes* attributed (mostly correctly) to Holcot is taken in part from a manuscript version of these very questions.⁸³ I shall not take up space listing the question titles; for details the reader can consult Gillespie's helpful enumeration of all the question titles for this material,⁸⁴ and Gelber's

⁷⁹ Gelber, *Exploring the Boundaries of Reason*, pp. 9–11.

⁸⁰ Gelber, *Exploring the Boundaries of Reason*, pp. 11–23. Tables 2 and 3 on pp. 116–17 collect these results for *Quodlibeta* I and III.

⁸¹ Tachau, *Seeing the Future*, pp. 31–5.

⁸² Tachau, *Seeing the Future*, p. 21.

⁸³ Gillespie, "Holcot's Quodlibeta," p. 482.

⁸⁴ Gillespie, "Holcot's Quodlibeta," pp. 487–90.

tables comparing question titles across manuscripts and offering partial reconstructions of *Quodlibeta* I and III.⁸⁵

Content

The one hundred or so questions Holcot determines reflect much the same proportion of topics as Chatton's *Quodlibet*. Most questions involve moral issues that were important at the time: sin, merit, grace, etc., for example: "Whether Socrates should sin mortally if eternal life were to follow from that sin," "Whether souls leaving purgatory are grateful for the penalty they paid there," "Whether any venial sin diminishes the habit of charity," and "Whether the law of uncreated wisdom obliges the wayfarer to impossibilities."⁸⁶ There are also the questions on future contingents, one of which I discuss in detail below. Of course, Holcot discussed other paradoxes of God's knowledge that are linked to the problem of foreknowledge and future contingents, for example "Whether God can know more than He knows."⁸⁷

We also see in these question titles Holcot's greater interest in biblical exegesis compared to either Ockham or Chatton. For example, he asks "Whether the blessed Matthew correctly narrated the genealogy of Christ" and "Whether the history of the conception of Christ is in all respects true."⁸⁸ Similarly, the number of questions in one way or another concerning the beatific vision reflects an increased interest in that topic compared to when Chatton and Ockham were at Oxford. Questions on Christology and the Trinity are absolutely more numerous than, but in proportion with, those in Chatton.

Not enough of Holcot's *Quodlibeta* are edited for them to be useful in pinning down his thought in any comprehensive way. However, an interesting set of questions concerning future contingents has been published, and I will discuss one or two issues in connection with those questions, to highlight certain features of his treatment and to give a glimpse of some of the philosophical substance therein.

Holcot's treatment of future contingents shows close kinship with that of FitzRalph, for example, in arguing that the contingent future

⁸⁵ Gelber, *Exploring the Boundaries of Reason*, pp. 113–17.

⁸⁶ These are questions 32, 45, 66, and 75, respectively, from Gillespie's enumeration, "Holcot's *Quodlibeta*," pp. 487–90.

⁸⁷ This is question 96 in Gillespie.

⁸⁸ These are questions 3 and 4, respectively, in Gillespie.

remains contingent even after revelation.⁸⁹ In general, Holcot tries to solve the dilemmas of future contingents by working the contingency side of the equation; he is not, in general terms, a compatibilist, and rather seems to accept that claims of necessity for revealed truths would in fact destroy freedom, human or divine. His approach to these questions exhibits the logical and semantic devices of the new English theology, which was in full bloom during his time at Oxford.⁹⁰

An example of this application comes in *Quodlibet* III, q. 3, which asks “Whether this consequence is necessary: ‘God knows that *a* will be, therefore *a* will be’, where ‘*a*’ signifies a future contingent.”⁹¹ Holcot thinks that the consequence is indeed necessary, but he attempts to forestall the argument that might follow from it as a premise: for, letting *a* stand for a future contingent, it seems that:

- (i) if ‘God knows that *a* will be, therefore *a* will be’, is in fact necessary, then
- (ii) since the antecedent, ‘God knows that *a* will be’, is also necessary, it follows that
- (iii) the consequent, ‘*a* will be’, must be necessary as well.

But if every statement of the form ‘*a* will be’ is necessary, then the contingency of the future seems lost.⁹²

Wisely, Holcot does not dispute the first premise. Rather, he focuses his attention on (ii). The trick is to do this in way that does not compromise divine knowledge, for example, by making it look as though God is somehow hazy about the future. Holcot’s overall strategy is common; he tries to say that although God Himself is necessary, He knows *a* in a contingent way: “We should say that this is contingent: ‘God knows that *a* will be’, because He knows that *a* will be in such a way that He might never have known that *a* will be.”⁹³ Nevertheless

⁸⁹ A weaker position than, for example, Bradwardine. Tachau, *Seeing the Future*, p. 49.

⁹⁰ Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars*, p. 269.

⁹¹ Tachau, *Seeing the Future*, p. 73.

⁹² In terms of modern modal logic, this is simply an application of the K axiom and modus ponens, i.e., by the K axiom we can go from the necessity of the consequence, $\Box(p \rightarrow q)$, to the necessity of both parts, $(\Box p \rightarrow \Box q)$. If the antecedent is also necessary, $\Box p$, we immediately have $\Box q$. All normal modal logics, and hence most plausible accounts of alethic modality, include the K axiom.

⁹³ “Dicendum quod haec est contingens: ‘Deus scit *a* fore’, quia sic scit *a* fore quod potuit numquam scivisse *a* fore.” Tachau, *Seeing the Future*, p. 73.

the execution of this common strategy is interesting: essentially, he argues that the antecedent, 'God knows that *a* will be', when properly expositied, is seen to have two exponents: one necessary and one contingent. This contingency, which is built into the antecedent, but hidden within it, corrupts its overall necessity, and the argument above is blocked at step (ii).

Does this gambit work? Holcot asserts that the proper exposition of 'God knows that *a* will be' is:

- (a) God assents to this proposition: '*a* will be', and
- (b) it will turn out that *a* will be.⁹⁴

Clearly (b), considered by itself, is contingent. This strategy appears to work because it splits the necessity and the contingency that seem bundled together in the claim that *God knows (necessarily) what will (contingently) happen*, since, the division having been made, we see that the contingency of the one pole spoils the apparent necessity of the entire bundle.⁹⁵

But it seems to me that we can easily raise the problem of future contingents all over again using (a) and (b). Precisely what we need to explain now, given (a) and (b) as an exposition of 'God knows that *a* will be', is how it could be that God would assent to a proposition and yet it would only be contingent that what that proposition says will come true. For, let *A* be the proposition '*a* will be'. If God assents to *A*, then, since He cannot be mistaken, it seems *A* must be true. The problem is that God's assent, on whatever ground it is given, *once given* makes *A*'s falsehood entail a contradiction ('God is mistaken' is a contradiction); which means that *A* cannot be false without contradiction; which means *A*'s falsehood is impossible; which means *A* is necessary.

The original strategy is somewhat more successful if we consider instead the general modal claim he makes, viz., that when a proposition has multiple exponents, if one of them is contingent the original proposition is as well. With certain important qualifications this claim seems correct, and can be defended. Suppose that Holcot is saying:

⁹⁴ "'Deus scit *a* fore' aequivalet isti copulativo: 'Deus assentit huic complexo: «*a* erit», et ita erit quod *a* erit...'" Tachau, *Seeing the Future*, p. 74.

⁹⁵ This approach may have been pioneered by Chatton. See C. Schabel, *Theology at Paris, 1316–1345. Peter Auriol and the Problem of Divine Foreknowledge and Future Contingents* (Aldershot 2000), pp. 231–40, and 249.

- (i) $p \leftrightarrow (q \wedge r)$
- (ii) $\sim \Box q \vee \sim \Box r$
- (iii) therefore, $\sim \Box p$

Here p stands for the proposition to be explicated, and q and r for two exponents. Then, the argument is that if q and r together form the exposition of p , and if either q or r is non-necessary, then p is non-necessary as well. The argument will be valid, but only provided that premise (i), the exposition, is itself necessary, i.e., provided we replace (i) with the stronger claim $\Box [p \leftrightarrow (q \wedge r)]$. To see this, let us take it that one of the exponents, say q , is non-necessary. So we have that $\sim \Box q$. But this means that there is a possible world in which q is false. Call this world α . Now, since q is false in α , we *could* reason by virtue of (i), $p \leftrightarrow (q \wedge r)$, that p is false in α as well, in which case we would have the desired conclusion, $\sim \Box p$. But this will only work if $p \leftrightarrow (q \wedge r)$ is also true in α . But since α is otherwise arbitrary, the truth of $p \leftrightarrow (q \wedge r)$ cannot be established in α except generally, and not generally unless $p \leftrightarrow (q \wedge r)$ is true in every possible world and so is necessary; i.e., $\sim \Box p$ cannot be established unless we have that $\Box [p \leftrightarrow (q \wedge r)]$. Similar reasoning will work if we take the other alternative in (ii), $\sim \Box r$.⁹⁶ Thus Holcot's strategy is committed to the view that expositions hold necessarily, or at least that *this* exposition holds necessarily. This might be plausible, given certain views of language and truth. But notice that the *specific* claim he needs here is very strong; it must be true not only that he has given a plausible or proper exposition of 'God knows that a will be', rather, it must also be true that this particular exposition *necessarily* explicates 'God knows that a will be'. For so strong a claim as this we get no evidence from Holcot.

John of Rodington

Who else determined *quodlibeta* around this period? What we know of fourteenth-century English theology suggests that every Oxford master

⁹⁶ This argument for the invalidity of Holcot's original argument is very informal, and is so expressed for ease of reading; however, a formal counter-model can easily be given to show the argument as written is invalid. Similarly, the formal validity of my amended argument is easily shown in any normal modal logic, and indeed for some weaker modal logics as well, so long as they contain the schema $\Box (A \wedge B) \rightarrow (\Box A \wedge \Box B)$.

would have determined some quodlibetal questions, but the survival of written Oxford *quodlibeta* from 1322–34 is less than we might expect. In addition to the three theologians discussed above there is only one other major figure who requires some discussion, John of Rodington. However, for the sake of completeness, before discussing Rodington, a few figures whose *quodlibeta* came a little before Ockham deserve brief mention. Only two very small quodlibetal collections are currently known for John of Reading OFM (master in 1320, died after 1323 in Avignon); *Quodlibet* I, q. 4, has been edited.⁹⁷ William of Alnwick OFM (d. 1333) has an edited *Quodlibet*, probably delivered at Oxford in 1315–16.⁹⁸ In roughly this same period, the Augustinian friar Richard Wetwang gave a *quodlibet* that was recorded but does not now survive, although it is not certain this was delivered at Oxford.⁹⁹ Moreover, Carmelite Godfrey of Cornwall (died after 1347) had a *quodlibet* of unknown date, which we no longer possess, but which was cited by fellow Carmelite John Baconthorpe.¹⁰⁰

One final, difficult case should be noted. Adam Wodeham refers to a Grafton, who was once thought to be Edmund Grafton OFM (died after 1336).¹⁰¹ But Wodeham's reference is possibly rather to a John Grafton (or Crafton) OP. John Grafton/Crafton is known only for his currently unedited *Quodlibet* in Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 5460, ff. 32rff. Two clear attributions testify that the question "Utrum ex puris naturalibus homo possit habere certam cognitionem de aliqua veritate" (f. 32ra) is quodlibetal and authored by "Iohannis Crafton." There follows another question, "Utrum Deus cognoscat distincte omnia quae potest producere" (f. 32vb), which makes a reference back to the first. Hence these two quodlibetal questions at least

⁹⁷ Sharpe, *Handlist*, p. 300; Glorieux II, p. 184; Emden, *A Biographical Register*, p. 1554; E. Longpré, "Jean de Reading et le B. Jean Duns Scot," *La France Franciscaine* 7 (1924), pp. 99–109. *Quodlibet* I, q. 4, is edited in M. Schmaus, *Der Liber propugnatorius des Thomas Anglicus II* (Münster 1930), pp. 286*–307*. C. Balić has a transcription of a passage from *Quodlibet* I, q. 3, in *Ratio criticae editionis operum omnium I.D. Scoti* (Rome 1941), pp. 106–8. For some biography see especially Longpré, "Jean de Reading," pp. 101–4.

⁹⁸ Sharpe, *Handlist*, pp. 745–7; Emden, *A Biographical Register*, p. 27. Alnwick's *Quodlibet* is in *Quaestiones disputatae De esse intelligibili et De quodlibet*, ed. A. Ledoux (Bibliotheca Franciscana scholastica medii aevi, 10) (Quaracchi 1937), pp. 179–605. See also W.O. Duba's chapter in this volume.

⁹⁹ Sharpe, *Handlist*, p. 519; Emden, *A Biographical Register*, p. 2027.

¹⁰⁰ Sharpe, *Handlist*, p. 150; Emden, *A Biographical Register*, p. 489.

¹⁰¹ Sharpe, *Handlist*, p. 107.

are plausibly attributable to Grafton/Crafton. But following these two questions are eight more, before the text switches to a *Sentences* commentary by William Crathorn.¹⁰² The authorship of these eight is still in doubt, and at least one of them might belong to Crathorn himself; indeed, it seems possible that all ten of these questions really just belong to Crathorn, i.e., it may be that Crafton = Crathorn, and there is no John Grafton/Crafton at all.¹⁰³ The problems here bear an obvious connection to those surrounding the dates for Holcot's *Sentences* commentary, as discussed above, and are yet to be fully solved. The difficulties of this case are further compounded by the fact that John Grafton does not seem to have an independent biography; he does not even appear in Emden.

It is important and remarkable to note that there really are no surviving fourteenth-century Oxford *quodlibeta* after those of Holcot.¹⁰⁴

The textual situation for the *Quodlibet* of John of Rodington OFM (or Rodyngton, ca. 1290–1348) is somewhat better.¹⁰⁵ His *Quodlibet* is not extensive, nor is the modern scholarship on it; it remains mostly unedited, as does much of his *Sentences* commentary.¹⁰⁶ We have from him a few questions which circulated as the *Quodlibet de conscientia*, a work with only one partial critical edition, despite the existence of six manuscript witnesses.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² Tachau, *Seeing the Future*, pp. 15–17.

¹⁰³ Richter, who described the manuscript, seems to believe this, *contra* Tachau. But Tachau gives convincing content-based arguments against the thesis. See V. Richter, "Handschriftliches zu Crathorn," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 94 (1972), pp. 445–9; Tachau, *Seeing the Future*, pp. 15–17; Sharpe, *Handlist*, pp. 107 and 259.

¹⁰⁴ Courtenay mentions Thomas Claxton (c. 1413) and Geoffrey Herdeby (c. 1358) as two later examples of Oxford authors of *quodlibeta*. But Herdeby's *Quodlibet* is only attested, and Claxton's collection of seven disputed questions may or may not be quodlibetal. Even if they are, their singularity underlines, rather than undermines, the overall point being made here. See Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars*, p. 45 n. 54; Sharpe, *Handlist*, pp. 125 and 650; W.J. Courtenay's "Postscript" below.

¹⁰⁵ Sharpe, *Handlist*, pp. 303–4; Emden, *A Biographical Register*, pp. 1583–4.

¹⁰⁶ However, this is changing. For example, C. Schabel and R.L. Friedman, "Trinitarian Theology and Philosophical Issues III. Oxford 1312–1329: Walsingham, Graystones, Fitzralph, and Rodington," *CIMAGL* 74 (2003) (pp. 39–88), pp. 80–8 (edition of *I Sent.*, d. 11).

¹⁰⁷ The discussion in Glorieux II, p. 185, is brief. In this same place he mentions that, in addition to the *Quodlibet de conscientia*, the Paris manuscript follows with a list of five further quodlibetal questions on faith, also attributed to Rodington. But Sharpe makes no mention of this; see *Handlist*, p. 304. A longer discussion of the manuscripts and content, as well as a partial edition, is found in J. Lechner, "Johannes von Rodington OFM und sein *Quodlibet de conscientia*," *Aus der Geisteswelt des Mittelalters. Studien und Texte*;

- (1) Assisi, Biblioteca del Sacro Convento di S. Francesco 106 (129r–146v) [Lechner's A]
- (2) Brugge, Grootseminarie (Bisschoppelijke Bibliotheek) 41/133 (145r–164r) [Lechner's BS]
- (3) Brugge, Openbare Bibliotheek 503 (1r–20v) [Lechner's BSt]
- (4) München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 22023 (1r–17) [Lechner's Clm]
- (5) Paris, BnF lat. 15561 (230r–243r, 244v–245v) [Lechner's P]
- (6) BAV, Ottob. lat. 179 (1r–24v) [Lechner's O]

A note following the *tabula quaestionum* in A (f. 146vb) relates that Rodington himself organized the *Quodlibet* into six main questions, but that there were many subquestions: “Nota quod in istis 6 quaestionibus principalibus de quolibet quaeruntur multae aliae quaestiones secundariae, quas aliqui intitulant ut principales, sed hic ponuntur ut magister Iohannes de Rodinghton Anglicus ordinavit. Sed non est cura, quia totum quod est ibi et hic et e converso. Valet.” The questions concern human free will, sin, grace, God’s relationship to human evil, predestination, reprobation, and conscience. The question titles are as follows:¹⁰⁸

1. Utrum aliquis necessario vel involuntarie possit offendere Christum.
2. Utrum omnis peccans offendat Christum.
3. Utrum Christum semper offendat, qui conscientie sue erronee se conformat.
4. Utrum existens in gratia possit esse perplexus inter duo peccata.
5. Utrum omne peccatum sit malum.
6. Utrum gubernator humani generis juste gubernat genus humanum.¹⁰⁹

Rodington is recorded as the 56th Lector of the Oxford Franciscan convent, 1333–34, the same year he incepted,¹¹⁰ and the explicit in A has “Explicit Quodlibet fratris Iohannis de Rodinghton, doctoris

Martin Grabmann zur Vollendung des 60. Lebensjahres von Freunden und Schülern gewidmet, A. Lang, ed. (Münster 1935), pp. 1125–68.

¹⁰⁸ Lechner, “Johannes von Rodington OFM und sein *Quodlibet de conscientia*,” pp. 1139–40.

¹⁰⁹ The wording of this question title is slightly different in some manuscripts, but the meaning is the same in each case, and the manuscripts substantially agree on the text of the question.

¹¹⁰ Emden, *A Biographical Register*, p. 1583.

in theologia, Ordinis Fratrum Minorum,” so we can assume that the *Quodlibet* was magisterial and held at Oxford.

Relying on A, BS, BSt, and O, Lechner attempted a partial edition of question 6. In the edited portion, one finds Rodington citing Anselm to solve the question of how predestination relates to divine acceptance, and citing Ockham’s (“per Magistrum”) discussion of *voluntas beneplaciti*, particularly *antecedens* versus *consequens*,¹¹¹ to explain how an omnipotent will may in some sense be frustrated. Ockham himself says his view is just the common opinion, so it is not clear why Rodington cites Ockham in particular here, without also calling it the *opinio communis*. Indeed, the edited portion of the work shows in several places a reliance on connotation theory and Ockham-style semantic solutions to theological puzzles. It is difficult to make any firm judgments from the meager amount of edited material, but it seems that one possible explanation for the popularity of this work might lie in its clear, brief treatment of gripping questions, and its tendency to summarize popular authorities.

Transition and Decline

To conclude this study, some discussion of the shift away from recording *quodlibeta* is in order.¹¹² It should be clear from the preceding survey that in Ockham’s, Chatton’s, and Holcot’s *quodlibeta* we see vital and interesting source material, recording important stages of debates on seminal topics. But they are also the last such collections we possess for Oxford theologians; no Oxford *quodlibeta* after Holcot survive. Why this abrupt decline?

Glorieux points out that this form of disputation had fallen into some disfavor with Pope John XXII, who criticized the empty subtleties of vain philosophy therein, which drew the masters’ minds away from useful and edifying considerations of the canons and sacred doctrine.¹¹³ Thus it could have been in part external pressure that led

¹¹¹ See his commentary on the *Sentences* I, d. 46, q. 1. Ockham, *Scriptum*, eds. G. Etzkorn and F. Kelley, *Opera Theologica* IV (St Bonaventure, NY 1979), pp. 670–6.

¹¹² See also W.J. Courtenay’s “Postscript” in this volume.

¹¹³ Thus he quotes a letter from Avignon dated 8 May 1317: “...alii quoque <magistri> solemnius disputationum et determinationum frequentiam consuetam ab olim in Parisiensi studio praetermittunt; quidam actu regentes, qui tenerentur insistere exercitio lectionum, litigiorum anfractibus et advocationum strepitibus, et forensibus

to the abandonment of the genre. But it seems more likely that John XXII was reflecting on dissatisfaction that existed in the *studia* themselves. The strong reasons for the decline are more likely internal to the university itself.

Regarding internal factors, Glorieux conjectures that in Paris at least this form of disputation became so competitive for the masters that it simply burned itself out from intensity.¹¹⁴ Certainly this explanation may also apply to Oxford. The evolution of the genre at Oxford parallels in relevant particulars the evolution and demise on the continent.

Courtenay mentions a trend for including the results of disputations and determinations into *Sentences* commentaries themselves, which would make it unnecessary to publish and circulate them separately.¹¹⁵ Hence it is possible that the rise of *Sentences* commentaries is a partial cause eclipsing the motivation for circulating *quodlibeta*. But why the shift to *Sentences* commentaries in the first place? One hypothesis, based on this study and so well illustrated in Ockham's *Quodlibeta*, is that the interdependence of particular personalities in quodlibetal disputes made them difficult to understand in isolation from larger debates, which debates were initiated early in a scholar's career in his *Sentences* commentary. Since *quodlibeta* of this complexity and interdependence made less and less sense outside the larger context of the *Sentences* commentaries upon which they depended and which appeared first in the career path, perhaps it made less and less sense to publish and to circulate them independently.

Whatever the causes of the decline, it is clear that, with the exception of Rodington's small set from 1333–34, Ockham's collection was the last to be widely circulated; in contrast to Holcot's popular *Sentences* commentary, the Dominican's quodlibetal questions seem not to have circulated or even to have been cited in his time; and Chatton's collection, while important for our modern understanding of him and of Ockham, may not to have been all that important when it was written.¹¹⁶ The written quodlibetal genre never reconstituted itself in England in the form it had in the golden days.

occupationibus se involvunt; quidam etiam theologi, postpositis vel neglectis canonicis necessariis, utilibus et aedificativis doctrinis, curiosis, inutilibus et supervacuis philosophiae quaestionibus et subtilitatibus se immiscent, ex quibus ipsius studii disciplina dissolvitur, luminis eius splendor offenditur, et postsequens studentium utilitas multipliciter impeditur..."; Glorieux I, p. 57.

¹¹⁴ Glorieux I, pp. 56–7.

¹¹⁵ Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars*, p. 252.

¹¹⁶ Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars*, pp. 251–2.

POSTSCRIPT: THE DEMISE OF QUODLIBETAL LITERATURE

William J. Courtenay

In the first volume of his masterwork on quodlibetal literature, Palémon Glorieux limited his survey to Parisian masters of theology and set the range of dates for his subject as 1260 to 1320, specifically from Gerard of Abbeville through Peter Auriol.¹ Glorieux acknowledged that the list of thirty-one authors surveyed in that work, along with nine anonymous collections, was undoubtedly incomplete and that this form of disputation could be found outside the faculty of theology as well as outside Paris. His second volume, which included an additional eighty-six authors along with further quodlibetal questions from authors listed in the first volume, also expanded the survey to include England.² The expanded number pushed the earliest evidence for the genre back to Alexander of Hales in the 1230s but extended it by only a decade, to roughly 1330. Glorieux believed that the genre was abandoned in the early fourteenth century because it had lost its importance to masters, who came to prefer other forms of disputation.³ He attributed the decline partly to papal pressure, citing John XXII's demand that Parisian masters of theology avoid involving themselves in useless and unnecessary philosophical questions and subtleties, but mostly to the statutory evidence that quodlibetal disputations by the middle of the fourteenth century had become an exercise among bachelors of theology in which masters no longer played an important or active role. Glorieux provided examples for the continuation of the

¹ Glorieux I.

² Glorieux II.

³ Glorieux I, pp. 56–7: “ce genre de dispute tant devenu trop classique, trop connu, ne pouvait plus suffire aux maîtres qui souhaitaient, pour se faire valoir à leur juste mesure, une manifestation plus brillante encore. Et comme l'introduction dans les premières années du XIV^e siècle de nouvelles formes de dispute, la sorbonnique entre autres, semblait répondre plus adéquatement à ces désirs, le quodlibet perdit de son importance et de sa vogue; les maîtres commencèrent à s'en détacher; la belle époque du quodlibet toucha ainsi à sa fin, et la décadence s'annonça. Il est à remarquer en effet qu'après 1320 on ne rencontre plus d'importantes collections de quodlibets...”

genre by masters outside Paris, for example, in the fifteenth century in the faculty of arts at the University of Heidelberg, or by the lector at the Franciscan convent in Besançon.⁴ The last *quodlibeta* he included for Parisian masters of theology were those of John Baconthorpe and Gerard of Siena in 1330, and that of Bernard Lombardi, a Dominican who incepted around 1331. James of Pamiers also composed his quodlibetal questions around the same time, certainly after 1329 and probably in 1332.⁵ Finally, it has now been argued that the last three *quodlibeta* of the Dominican John of Naples, regent master at Paris in 1315–17, should be dated to Christmas 1332 and afterwards, but they were apparently held at Naples, not at Paris.⁶

Glorieux acknowledged that references to disputations *de quolibet* at Paris and elsewhere can be found later in the fourteenth century, including the revisions of the statutes of the faculty of theology at Paris in 1366 and 1389. But the fact that disputations *de quolibet* were mentioned there only in reference to the obligations of bachelors of theology was, for him, evidence that it had become an exercise among formed bachelors rather than a magisterial exercise.

In the remarks that follow, I want to reexamine the evidence for the claim that masters of theology ceased participation in quodlibetal disputations in the second quarter of the fourteenth century. Did quodlibetal disputations become primarily or solely a scholastic exercise among bachelors that, like their commentaries on Scripture during their time as *cursores* or *baccalaurii biblici*, were rarely thought worthy of dissemination in written form? And if, as the written evidence suggests, quodlibetal literature dies out in the early fourteenth century, why and how did that happen?

First, the statutes for the faculty of theology at Paris make clear that quodlibetal disputations remained part of the theological curriculum

⁴ Glorieux II, pp. 20, 309. There were also quodlibetal disputations in the faculty of arts at Paris that appear to have continued later in the fourteenth century; see O. Weijers, *La 'disputatio' à la Faculté des arts de Paris (1200–1350 environ)* (Turnhout 1995), pp. 106–8; Weijers, *La 'disputatio' dans les Facultés des arts au moyen âge* (Turnhout 2002), pp. 52–8, including her discussion of the *quodlibeta* in natural philosophy attributed to Nicole Oresme.

⁵ Glorieux II, pp. 64–5 (Bernard Lombardi), 97–8 (Gerard of Siena), 142–3 (James of Pamiers), and 150–1 (John Baconthorpe). On these see also the chapters by Friedman, Schabel-Courtenay, and Schabel (Carmelites) in this volume. The decline of published *quodlibeta* in the faculty of theology at Paris is also remarked on in Wippel, “Quodlibetal Questions,” pp. 202–3.

⁶ See Friedman’s chapter in this volume.

into the fifteenth century.⁷ And just as bachelors took part in such disputations in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries as *respondentes* whose role became almost invisible in the published *determinatio* of the master, so the statutory requirement that formed bachelors respond in disputations *de quolibet* does not necessarily mean that masters no longer participated in such exercises. Every formed bachelor, even if his academic obligations no longer required the close supervision of a specific regent master, was part of an academic order that was dominated by regent masters on whom his ultimate licensing and inception depended. Quodlibetal disputations remained part of curricular expectations in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and there is no more reason to believe that magisterial participation was totally absent in this later period on the grounds of the absence of published magisterial *quodlibeta* than to argue that formed bachelors had no role in earlier quodlibetal disputations because they are all but invisible in the determinations published by the masters. This type of disputation required the participation of both bachelors and masters, and although all bachelors were obliged to respond at least once *de quolibet*, there was never any requirement that every master had to participate. This is why fourteenth-century statutes speak about quodlibetal disputations in the context of the requirements for licensing and inception in theology; it was never a requirement for each and every master. Obviously, the system would not work without the participation of some masters, but those masters most closely involved in the supervision and promotion of their junior colleagues were probably sufficient to meet the requirements.

One must also keep in mind the difference between what took place as an academic exercise and what was “published” in written form. The absence of an explication of the actual text of Peter Lombard’s *Libri Sententiarum* in fourteenth-century commentaries on the *Sentences* is not evidence that such a preliminary explanation was not provided by the bachelor to his student audience along with the questions he posed and attempted to answer. The fact that the commentaries of Bonaventure or Thomas Aquinas in their disseminated manuscript form retained the explication of Lombard’s text and most fourteenth-century commentaries did not should not be used as evidence for a major shift in what took place in the classroom. Whether or not the text of Lombard was itself expounded by fourteenth-century bachelors, only the questions

⁷ CUP II, pp. 692–3, 700–3.

they treated were thought worthy of publication. Similarly, the absence of published quodlibetal disputations by masters in the decades after 1330 should not be taken as evidence that masters no longer conducted or participated in such exercises. The manuscript evidence reveals what masters thought worthy of publication; it does not reveal all that went on in the faculty of theology during the academic year. What one can conclude from the written evidence is that masters, to the extent that they continued to play a role in such disputations, chose not to take the time to write up a final determination or disseminate it in a form that identified it as the result of a quodlibetal disputation.

From the standpoint of the written evidence, some bachelors by the third decade of the fourteenth century were publishing their own quodlibetal disputations. The quodlibetal questions of William of Ockham are the best-known example, but Robert Holcot's *Quodlibeta*, with their references to fellow *socii*, suggest that many of those also resulted from Holcot's period as a formed bachelor.⁸ An earlier example of quodlibetal disputations by a bachelor of theology are those of Peter John Olivi.⁹

It may well be that quodlibetal questions, whether those of a regent master or of a formed bachelor, were incorporated into the revised edition of the commentary on the *Sentences* that an author prepared before and sometimes after his inception as master. Stephen Brown has suggested that this was already happening in the 1320s.¹⁰ Rather than publish two works, a commentary on the *Sentences* and quodlibetal determinations, it became more efficient to blend them into one work, or to publish as separate treatises questions that originated out of a quodlibetal disputation. This may well be why, in the case of the Dominican Raymond Bequini, one manuscript of his *Treatise on Apostolic Poverty*, Pamplona, Biblioteca de la Iglesia Catedral 28 (ff. 33r–47v: “Utrum

⁸ Guillelmi de Ockham, *Quodlibeta Septem*, ed. J.C. Wey, *Opera theologica* IX (St Bonaventure, NY 1980). On Holcot's *Quodlibeta*, see H. Schepers, “Holcot contra dicta Crathorn,” *Philosophisches Jahrbuch* 77 (1970), pp. 320–54, and 79 (1972), pp. 106–36; W.J. Courtenay, “A Revised Text of Robert Holcot's Quodlibetal Dispute on Whether God is Able to Know More than He Knows,” *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 53 (1971), pp. 1–21; *Seeing the Future Clearly: Questions on Future Contingents by Robert Holcot*, eds. P. Streveler, K. Tachau, H. Gelber, and W. Courtenay (Toronto 1995); and Rondo Keele's chapter in this volume.

⁹ See Sylvain Piron's chapter in volume I.

¹⁰ S.F. Brown, “Walter Chatton's *Lectura* and William of Ockham's *Quaestiones In Libros Physicorum Aristotelis*,” in *Essays Honoring Allan B. Wolter*, W.A. Frank and G.J. Etzkorn, eds. (St Bonaventure, NY 1985) (pp. 81–115), p. 93.

Christus et apostoli habuerunt bona temporalia in communi quantum ad proprietatem et verum dominium”), has an explicit stating that it is part of his “first *Quodlibet*”: “Et tantum de questione quolibetali de quolibeto primo Raymundi Bequini. Amen.” The fact of circulation under different titles is revealing and suggests that what originated as a quodlibetal disputation was published as a treatise.¹¹

Interest in publishing the results of quodlibetal disputations seems to have continued slightly longer in England than it did at Paris, where none can with certainty be dated later than 1332.¹² Examples from Oxford are the quodlibetal questions determined by John of Rodington ca. 1333, Robert Holcot around 1335, and those of William Crathorn and/or Johannes Grafton or Craifton around 1336.¹³ But even there, publishing scholastic work identified as quodlibetal in origin disappears before 1340.¹⁴ Elsewhere the story is similar. The lone example of the

¹¹ On Raymond Bequini see Friedman’s chapter above. Walter Burley presents a different situation: one manuscript refers to a group of questions written after he commented on the *Sentences* at Paris as a treatise “de comparatione specierum,” and another manuscript refers to the same questions as “questiones determinate a magistro Gualtero dicto Burleo de quolibet.” Likewise his “Quaestio de instanti” has an explicit in BAV, Vat. lat. 3066 (f. 54r), citing it as a “questio disputata per Burleum in suo quolibet Teolosse.” But these texts are also part of or connected to Burley’s *Tractatus primus* and *Tractatus secundus* respectively and probably originated before he became master of theology, in the second case while master of arts at Toulouse. See also A. Maier, *Ausegehendes Mittelalter I* (Rome 1964), p. 475–6.

¹² Gerard Odonis determined a question at Paris in December 1333 that he described as quodlibetal (“in nostra disputatione de quolibet”); see Glorieux II, pp. 312–13, and Guiral Ot, *La vision de Dieu aux multiples formes. Quodlibet tenu à Paris en Décembre 1333*, ed. and transl. with introduction by C. Trottmann (Paris 2001). Although the text seems to have been delivered in a university context at a time appropriate for quodlibetal disputations, namely Advent, and Odonis was a Parisian master of theology who had incepted in 1328 or 1329, he was not regent at the time but was the Minister General of the Franciscan Order and a papal legate. Moreover, this was a single disputed question of extraordinary length (53 folios), not one question within a group that would constitute the *quodlibet*. Consequently it is quodlibetal only in the loosest meaning of that term. See also William Duba’s chapter in this volume.

¹³ On the date of Rodington’s regency at Oxford, see W.J. Courtenay, *Adam Wodeham. An Introduction to his Life and Writings* (Leiden 1978), pp. 82–3, and Rondo Keele’s chapter in this volume. On the Dominicans Crathorn and Grafton/Craifton, see Schepers, “Holcot contra dicta Crathorn”; F. Hoffmann, *Crathorn: Quästionen zum ersten Sentenzenbuch. Einführung und Text* (Münster 1988); and H. Gelber, *It Could Have Been Otherwise. Contingency and Necessity in Dominican Theology at Oxford, 1300–1350* (Leiden 2004), pp. 87–91, 98–102.

¹⁴ The Augustinian Hermit Geoffrey Herdeby composed quodlibetal questions at Oxford ca. 1358, but they are not known to have survived; see Glorieux II, p. 318. His questions on the *Sentences*, however, were recently recovered; see A. Tabarroni, “Nuovi testi di logica e di teologia in un codice palermitano,” in *Filosofia e teologia nel*

Dominican Herman or Hartman de Augusta, whose *Quodlibeta* stem from the order's Cologne convent in the early 1350s, is instructive: he held at least six *quodlibeta*, which shows that the oral activity was thriving, but only fifteen questions of *Quodlibet* IV and eleven from *Quodlibet* VI survive, and in a single witness.¹⁵

Could the decline in the preservation of quodlibetal literature have resulted in part from a shortening of the time of regency, especially for those for whom the papacy intervened with the chancellor of Paris on behalf of numerous formed bachelors in the mendicant orders? The answer is negative. The phenomenon of *doctores bullati* was a means by which individual mendicants could bypass the long waiting time for licensing and inception. The mendicant orders, through their various *studia*, produced more bachelors of theology than could be promoted at Paris through normal procedures. Just as some mendicant scholars were allowed to read the *Sentences* during the summer vacation in addition to the bachelors who had been appointed to read in the preceding or following years, so too the promotion to master by papal intervention was usually in addition to the candidate who was licensed and incepted in the normal way. Moreover, the most active period of papally influenced promotions in the first half of the fourteenth century occurred under John XXII and Clement VI, and the former pontificate coincided with a period in which participation in and publication of quodlibetal disputations was still very much alive.

The gradual disappearance of published *quodlibeta* in the second quarter of the fourteenth century coincides with the gradual appearance of principal questions (*quaestiones collativae*) of bachelors reading the *Sentences*. In the period from 1320 to 1330 these questions, more often than not, were imbedded among the questions of the *Sentences*, but they could also be placed at the beginning or end of the questions on the respective book of Lombard's *Sentences*. In the second half of the fourteenth century, whether attached individually to the books or collected together as a group, they are identified as principal questions rather than fused in with the other questions of the commentary. In contrast to *quodlibeta*, however, they are not published as a separate

trecento. Studi in ricordo di Eugenio Randi, L. Bianchi, ed. (Textes et Études du Moyen Age, 1) (Louvain-la-Neuve 1994) (pp. 337–66), pp. 341, 348–64.

¹⁵ In Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska 748. *Quodlibet* IV, qq. 6–7, were edited by Z. Wlodek in *MPP* 6 (1960), pp. 28–50. See *Quodlibase* for a list of questions.

work but appear with the commentary for which they were part of the opening exercises.

There are a number of fifteenth-century *quodlibeta* with theological content, albeit at universities other than Paris. Oxford is presumably the setting for the Dominican Thomas Claxton's *Quodlibeta* (ca. 1413).¹⁶ From Louvain we have *quodlibeta* by Petrus de Rivo (1465 and 1469),¹⁷ Johannes Varenacker,¹⁸ and from the end of the fifteenth century those of Adrian Florensz Dedal of Utrecht (later Pope Hadrian VI)¹⁹ and Johannes Briard of Ath;²⁰ from Prague the *Quodlibet* of Jan Hus (1411);²¹ from Erfurt the *Quodlibeta* of Johannes Dorstein (1465/66);²² and from Bologna (?) the *Quodlibeta* of Alexander Achillini.²³

This last body of evidence suggests not only that quodlibetal disputations continued as a scholastic exercise among theologians throughout the Late Middle Ages, but that in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century they were again thought worthy of preservation and dissemination. The almost total disappearance of *quodlibeta* at Oxford after the mid-1330s coincides with a period of reduced productivity of Oxford masters.²⁴ The theological faculty at Paris, however, remained active throughout the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, which means that the absence of extant quodlibetal questions from Parisian theologians after the early 1330s can only be a result of a conscious decision on their part not to publish as *quodlibeta* the results of disputations that may not have seemed as important as they once were viewed.

¹⁶ M. Grabmann, "Thomas de Claxton, O.P. (ca. 1400), Quaestiones de distinctione inter esse et essentiam reali atque de analogia entis," *Acta Pontificiae Academiae Romanae* 8 (1941–42), pp. 92–153.

¹⁷ The quodlibetal questions of Rivo were edited by Léon Baudry, *La querelle des futurs contingents* (Paris 1950), pp. 70–8 (from 1465), and C. Schabel, "Peter de Rivo and the Quarrel over Future Contingents at Louvain: New Evidence and New Perspectives," *DSTFM* 6 (1995) (pp. 363–473), pp. 416–45 (from 1469).

¹⁸ Editions: Louvain 1512; Paris 1544.

¹⁹ Editions: Louvain 1515 and nine others.

²⁰ Editions: Louvain 1518; Paris 1527; Lyon 1547.

²¹ *Magistri Johannis Hus, Quodlibet. Disputationis de Quolibet Pragae in Facultate Artium Mense Ianuario Anni 1411 Habita Enchiridion*, ed. B. Ryba (Prague 1948).

²² Edited by J.B. Trapp as an appendix in R. Kestenberg-Gladstein, "The 'Third Reich'. A Fifteenth-Century Polemic against Joachimism, and Its Background," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 18 (1955) (pp. 245–95), pp. 267–82.

²³ Editions: Bologna 1494, Bologna 1506, and Venice 1545 (*Opera Omnia*). Appreciation is extended to Chris Schabel for compiling this list.

²⁴ See W.J. Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars in Fourteenth-Century England* (Princeton 1989), pp. 327–80.

APPENDIX

NATURAL PHILOSOPHY: AN ANALYTIC INDEX

Richard Cross

In what follows, I have attempted to provide an analytic index to the huge number of quodlibetal questions on natural philosophy. The index should be seen as supplementing those invaluable indices provided by Glorieux (to all quodlibetal topics, at the end of each volume of his *repertorium*)¹ and Edward Grant (on specifically astronomical topics, covering a range of literature far wider than merely quodlibetal questions, and included at the end of his *Planets, Stars, and Orbs*).² I have made one very important methodological assumption throughout the exercise, one that distinguishes my approach from those of Glorieux and Grant. As Edith Dudley Sylla and others have argued, natural philosophy in the age of scholasticism was inseparable from theological issues and discussion:

In her investigations of later medieval natural philosophy, Anneliese Maier studied theological as well as natural-philosophical works, but when she used such texts she usually set aside the theological context of a discussion in order to concentrate on topics of interest in relation to the later history of science. To understand the dynamics of intellectual change in later medieval natural philosophy it is essential, however, not only to retrieve such discussions but also to look at the theological problems that gave rise to them. It is sometimes debated whether medieval natural philosophy was inherently theological (because it was essentially God-oriented) or, on the other hand, whether it was completely dissociated from theological concerns. It would seem, however, that the situation was more complicated than either of these positions in its pure form would allow. Theology did have a significant influence on medieval natural philosophy, but this did not prevent natural philosophy from being scientific or from being good philosophy... And sometimes the influence ran in the other direction. Masters teaching in theology faculties frequently called upon natural

¹ Glorieux I, pp. 358–74; II, pp. 340–73. In the tables below I use “G” to refer to this work.

² E. Grant, *Planets, Stars, and Orbs: The Medieval Cosmos, 1200–1687* (Cambridge-New York-Melbourne 1994), pp. 681–775.

philosophy to help resolve theological issues. There were thus “theologian-natural philosophers,” who knew as much as anyone else about natural philosophy as well as theology... [I]t [is] difficult to prove which context was the controlling one. Nevertheless, it would appear that the motivation for innovation often came from a particular theological problem, such as that of giving what might be called a physically accurate account of the transubstantiation of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, which was believed to occur, by God’s action, in the Eucharist.³

Sylla goes on to highlight transubstantiation and the “physics” (that is, the location and motion) of angels as areas of particular interest. Both of these have to do with the nature of space and extension. As a cursory glance at the index below will reveal, there are plenty of other cross-over topics too. (Very obvious cases are the questions of angelic merit/demerit and of Mary’s Immaculate Conception in relation to limit-decision problems.) So I have included below not just independent questions on natural philosophy, but also theological questions the main thrust of which involves discussion of an issue in natural philosophy. The same point can be made, *mutatis mutandis*, for metaphysics or psychology as well as for theology—so I have cast the net wide here, including too questions in these areas that seem to have some relevance to natural philosophy. And I have construed natural philosophy itself somewhat broadly: not just obvious topics (place, space, the continuum) but every aspect of change, substantial and accidental. In support of this, I claim the warrant of no less an authority than Aristotle.⁴ So I have included matter and form, following the lead of Aristotle’s *Physics*, and substance and accident too. I have included each question just once, to allow a quick comparison of the relative frequency of each topic.

By way of preface, I have added some very loose statistics on the proportion of questions in each author that deal with scientific matters—statistics that I hope are despite their roughness nevertheless informative.⁵ I have split the list into two somewhat arbitrary parts. The first includes authors with more than twenty questions *in toto*; the second those from five to twenty, included merely for interest. I have

³ E.D. Sylla, “Creation and Nature,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Philosophy*, A.S. McGrade, ed. (Cambridge 2003) (pp. 171–95), pp. 187–8.

⁴ See Aristotle, *Metaphysics* E.1 (1025b3–1026a32); *Physics* 3.1 (200b12–14). On the aims and scope of medieval physics, see M. Clagett, “Some General Aspects of Medieval Physics,” *Isis* 39 (1948), pp. 29–44.

⁵ While nowhere near as detailed as the authorial analysis given by Grant in *Planets, Stars, and Orbs*, pp. 766–74, the tables can be compared quite fruitfully.

ignored authors with fewer than five, and (for the sake of space) those authors who include no questions on natural philosophy. The aim is to provide statistics with some sort of meaning. Fewer than five questions in all seems too random, statistically, to be worth including; more than twenty, however, begins to have some more generalizable significance. Quodlibetal disputations notoriously reflect the interests of the audience. But there are authors below in whom questions on natural philosophy are strikingly present. This perhaps tells us something of the way in which the audience perceived the presiding master, asking a master whom they knew to have interests or abilities in natural philosophy to determine on these sorts of questions. (It is of course possible to imagine a malicious audience asking the master to determine on these sorts of questions precisely because of his lack of ability; but we do not know the extent to which the master retained the discretion to censor the questions, and perhaps include in the disputation only those questions that he found congenial. Either way round, the malicious audience seems somewhat unlikely. Given censoring, an audience, whether sensible or malicious, would only raise those questions that it thought likely to be answered. And without censoring, every mischievous question is a block on a genuinely more interesting topic.)⁶

How, then, did the audiences perceive their masters? I doubt one's antecedent expectations would have predicted the prominent position of Nicholas Trivet. Mine, at any rate, did not. It was perhaps the shortness of Scotus's career that places him as low on the list as he is. Olivi is surprisingly low too, until one remembers the fundamentally pastoral context of his *Quodlibeta*. Doubtless, the presence of Giles of Rome and William of Ockham so high in the listing is connected with an interest in the impact of their very distinctive metaphysical systems on questions in physics. More generally, I leave the readers to draw their own conclusions from an examination of the statistics provided.

Time did not permit updating the ratio tables based on discoveries and corrections made since Glorieux published his second volume, for example Walter Chatton's *Quodlibet*, unknown to Glorieux. Likewise, several anonymous *quodlibeta* have now been attributed to named authors, and many of those of Hervaeus Natalis that Glorieux

⁶ On the minimal or non-existent control exercised by a master on the content of the questions, see the absolutely invaluable account of theological *quodlibeta* provided by Wippel, "Quodlibetal Questions," esp. pp. 165–6. See also L.E. Boyle, "The Quodlibets of St Thomas and Pastoral Care," *The Thomist* 38 (1974) (pp. 232–56), p. 240.

considered doubtful have now been securely assigned to him. I have tried to incorporate some of these corrections in the analytical index, however.⁷ Moreover, it was not possible to compare the numbers of questions in natural philosophy with those in metaphysics and psychology. Even a cursory glance at the lists of questions provided by Glorieux indicates that ethical questions constitute the largest single category. For convenience I include in the index the dates of the various questions.⁸ Again, even a cursory glance reveals astonishing continuity in topics raised over the one hundred or so years covered by the two volumes produced by Glorieux.

⁷ For Chatton Hervaeus, see the chapters by Keele and Friedman respectively.

⁸ Generally, I follow Glorieux, though I have also used the following sources, among others: J.-P. Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas: The Person and his Work*, trans. R. Royal (Washington, DC 1996); J. Gómez Caffarena, "Cronología de la 'Suma' de Enrique de Gante por relación a sus 'Quodlibetos'," *Gregorianum* 38 (1957), pp. 116–33; J.F. Wippel, *The Metaphysical Thought of Godfrey of Fontaines: A Study in Late Thirteenth-Century Philosophy* (Washington, DC 1982), pp. xxvii–xxviii.

APPENDIX I

AUTHORS OF TWENTY OR MORE QUESTIONS

Anon. 15 (G 2:293–4)	15/25 ⁹	60%	Gui Terreni	16/97	16.5%
Anon. 15 (G 2:295–6)	8/21	38.1%	Matthew of	14/88	15.9%
Anon. 22 (G 2:300–1)	11/29	37.9%	Aquasparta		
John of Lana	10/28	35.7%	Hervaeus Natalis,	10/63	15.9%
James of Viterbo	35/102	34.3%	<i>Qd.</i> 1–4 ¹⁰		
Henry of Lübeck	23/71	32.4%	Eustache (G 2:77–81)	10/65	15.4%
Vital du Four	15/47	31.9%	Thomas Aquinas	40/263	15.2%
Giles of Rome	44/142	31%	Thomas of Bailly	14/92	15.2%
Peter of Ang. (G 2:216–18)	16/52	30.8%	Godfrey of Fontaines	43/286	15%
Giles (G 2:100–101)	10/33	30.3%	John Quidort ¹¹	7/48	14.6%
Nicholas Trivet	54/180	30%	Gerard of Bologna	10/69	14.5%
Peter of England	22/75	29.3%	Peter de Trabibus	10/70	14.3%
Roger Marston	38/132	28.8%	Robert Walsingham	4/28	14.3%
Remi of Florence	8/28	28.6%	John Duns Scotus	3/21	14.3%
Thomas Wylton	9/33	27.3%	Peter of Saint-Denys	3/21	14.3%
William of Ockham	46/170	27.1%	Anon. 12 (G 2:290)	3/21	14.3%
Kikeley	10/38	26.3%	Henry of Ghent	54/427	13.6%
John of Naples	76/299	25.4%	Gueric of Saint- Quentin	9/78	12.6%
Anon. 18 (G 2:297–8)	5/21	23.8%	John of Pouilly	10/88	11.4%
Peter of Auvergne	25/106	23.6%	John Pecham	15/139	10.8%
Thomas of Sutton	20/85	23.5%	Raymond Rigauld	33/317	10.4%
Alexander of Hales	7/30	23.3%	Ferrarius Catalaunus	2/21	9.5%
Bernard of Trilia	12/52	23%	Peter John Olivi	8/92	8.7%
Richard of Middleton	17/80	21.3%	Peter of Tarentasia	3/37	8.1%
Richard Knapwell	6/29	20.7%	James of Thérines	3/41	7.3%
Ranulph of Homblières	8/42	19%	Durand of	4/60	6.7%
William Peter of Falegar	11/60	18.3%	St Pourçain		
Adénulf of Anagni	4/22	18.2%	Francis of Meyronnes	1/22	4.5%
Alexander of Alexandria	4/22	18.2%	Nicholas du Pressoir	2/49	4.1%
Anon. 7 (G 1:303–4)	5/29	17.2%	Robert Holcot	3/89	3.4%
John Baconthorpe	7/42	16.7%	Anon. 8 (G 1:305–06)	1/33	3%
			Gerard of Abbeville	8/272	2.9%

⁹ I.e. 15 questions in natural philosophy from a total of 25 quodlibetal questions.

¹⁰ I include the remaining *quodlibeta* in the analytical index below.

¹¹ 38 of these 48 questions are probably those of Hervaeus Natalis.

APPENDIX II

AUTHORS OF FIVE TO NINETEEN QUESTIONS

Anon. 25 (G 2:304)	3/6	50%	Prosper of Reggio	2/14	14.3%
Anon. 31 (G 3:307)	7/14	50%	Emilia		
Anon. 21 (G 2:300)	8/18	44.4%	Gregory of Lucca	1/7	14.3%
Gerard of Sienna	7/18	38.9%	Henry of Harclay	1/7	14.3%
James of Ascoli	6/16	37.5%	John of Murrho	1/7	14.3%
William de la Mare	4/11	36.4%	Anon. 27 (G 3:304)	1/7	14.3%
Anon. 35 (G 2:309)	5/14	35.7%	Anon. 23 (G 2:302)	2/15	13.3%
Anon. 11 (G 2:289)	5/15	33.3%	Peter Auriol	2/16	12.5%
William of Barflo	2/6	33.3%	Peter Thomas	2/16	12.5%
John Lesage	3/10	30%	Berthaud of Saint	2/17	11.8%
William of Hothun	5/17	29.4%	Denys		
John (G 2:148)	4/14	28.6%	Peter Swanington	2/17	11.8%
William of Wodeford	2/7	28.6%	Adanulfe of Anagni	2/18	11.1%
Lawrence the Breton	3/12	25%	Raoul the Breton	2/18	11.1%
Bertrand de la Tour	2/8	25%	William of Alnwick	1/10	10%
Anon. 24 (G 2:303)	2/8	25%	Eudes of Chateauroux	1/13	7.7%
John du Val	2/10	20%	Amadeus of Castello	1/16	6.3%
Anon. 26 (G 2:304)	1/5	20%	Sibert of Beka	1/16	6.3%
Bernard Lombardi	3/16	18.8%	Gerard of Saint-Victor	1/17	5.9%
James of Aleus	2/12	16.7%	Anon. 30 (G 2:306)	1/17	5.9%
Anon. 1 (G 1:296-7)	3/21	14.3%	Henry of Germany	1/20	5%

APPENDIX III

ANALYTICAL INDEX OF *QUODLIBETA*¹²

The general headings are alphabetical; the arrangement within each general heading is governed by content.

Accidents

Relation of accidents to substance

Dependence of accidents

Utrum inhaerentia vel dependentia sit de essentia accidentis. Giles, *I*.25 (? after 1325): G 2:101

Utrum accidens dependeat a subiecto secundum essentiam suam vel per aliquid additum. John of Naples, *IX*.8 (? c. 1318–22): G 2:168

Accidents giving esse

Utrum Deus possit facere accidens in subiecto et non det esse subiecto. Gui Terreni, *II*.7 (1314): G 1:171

Migration of accidents from substance to substance

Utrum in separatione animae a corpore spoliatur corpus omnibus formis praecedentibus. Bernard of Trilia, *I*.19 (1283): G 1:102

Utrum eadem accidentia numero maneat in generato et corrupto. Nicholas Trivet, *II*.34 (1303): G 1:249

Numerically many accidents of same kind in one substance

Utrum sit possibile ponere plures et diversas formas accidentales differentes solo numero simul in eodem subiecto indivisibiliter. Henry of Ghent, *XI*.6 (1291): G 1:199

Utrum plures formae intentionales numero differentes possunt esse in eodem subiecto secundum eandem partem simul. Peter of Auvergne, *V*.6 (1300): G 1:262

Utrum possibile sit per quamcumque potentiam realia accidentia plura numero eiusdem speciei esse in eodem subiecto numero simili. Thomas of Bailly, *III*.6 (1303–04): G 2:275

Utrum in eodem subiecto possint esse plures formae differentes tantum numero. Henry of Harclay, *II*.1 (1314): G 2:134

¹² J.T. Paasch, a research student at Oxford working on Ockham's Trinitarian theology, was responsible for the arduous task of entering all of this data, and for producing a computer programme to facilitate this. I thank him for undertaking this otherwise thankless job for me.

Utrum accidentia ejusdem speciei possint simul inesse eidem subjecto. Thomas of Wylton, *I*.6 (1312–13): G 2:279

Utrum plurima accidentia existentia in eodem subjecto distinguantur numero. James of Aleus, *I*.11 (1285): G 1:210

Utrum Deus possit facere duo accidentia ejusdem speciei in eodem subjecto. Giles of Rome, *IV*.1 (1289): G 1:144

One accident in many substances

Utrum diversa perfectibilia genere possit perficere una et eadem perfectio. Giles of Rome, *VI*.5 (1291): G 1:146

Utrum aliquod accidens possit esse in duobus subjectis. Giles of Rome, *IV*.9 (1289): G 1:144

Utrum aliquod accidens unum numero possit esse in duobus naturis. Godfrey of Fontaines, *VI*.5 (1289): G 1:157

Utrum virtute divina possit fieri quod idem numero sit in diversis subjectis. Henry Amandi, *I*.1 (1311–12): G 2:132

Contrary accidents in one substance

Utrum duae qualitates activae contrariae possint esse actu simul in eodem. Berthaud of St. Denys, *I*.12 (1282): G 1:106

Utrum contraria possunt esse in eodem subjecto. Robert Holcot, *III*.11 (before 1349): G 2:260

Utrum corpus hominis damnati in inferno possit simul esse summe calidum et frigidum. Henry of Ghent, *XII*.11 (1288): G 1:195

Utrum corpora damnatorum simul et in eadem parte possit pati ab igne et frigore. Raymond Rigauld, *IV*.24 (?): G 2:244

Utrum frigus et calor simul et semel sit in eadem parte corporis damnati. Anon 13, *I*.3 (1255–75): G 2:291

Utrum corpora damnatorum in eadem parte possint pati a contrariis qualitatibus. John Pecham, *I*.14 (1270): G 1:221

Utrum Deus possit facere unum corpus album et nigrum secundum eandem partem simul. Peter of Trabibus, *II*.2 (1296): G 2:231

Separated accidents

Separation possible by divine power

Utrum in Christo, quantum ad species sub quibus in sacramento altaris continetur, sint accidentia sine subjecto. Thomas Aquinas, *IX*.5 (1266): G 1:286

Utrum Deus possit facere quod accidentia sint sine subjecto. Adenulfe D'Anagni, *I*.7 (1285): G 1:100

Utrum Deus possit facere quodcumque accidens sine subjecto. James of Viterbo, *II*.1 (1294): G 1:216

Utrum accidentis virtute divina possit retinere terminos propriae essentiae sine subjecto. Hervaeus, *IV*.9 (1308): G 1:204

Utrum Deus possit producere accidens sine subjecto. John of Naples, *XIV*.4 (?): G 2:162

Utrum Deus possit facere accidens sine subjecto. John of Lana, *II*.3 (1330s): G 2:154

Utrum maius miraculum sit facere accidens sine substantia quam substantiam sine accidente. John of Naples, *IX*.9 (?): G 2:168

Utrum accidentia in sacramento altaris habeant proprie rationem suppositi. James of Ascoli, *I*.10 (1311–1312): G 2:141

Utrum Deus possit facere propriam passionem sine subjecto. James of Therines, *II*.10 (1307): G 1:213

Separation possible naturally

Utrum alicui accidenti conveniat per naturam habere esse sine subiecto. Godfrey of Fontaines, *I*.20 (1285): G 1:152

Properties of separated accidents

Utrum accidentia quae sunt in sacramento sine subiecto nutrant. Vital du Four, *II*.9 (1295–96): G 2:282

Utrum hostia consecrata comesta possit nutrire. John of Naples, *X*.16 (?): G 2:169

Utrum duae albedines separatae a subiecto necessario essent una numero. John of Naples, *IV*.8 (?): G 2:163

Utrum si esset calor separatus haberet omnem perfectionem caloris. John of Viterbo, *II*.4 (1294): G 1:216

Utrum tales hostiae consecratae habeant speciem in medio aeris. Peter of Trabibus, *I*.8 (1295): G 2:230

Utrum forma separata, puta color aut albedo, habeat omnem rationem illorum quae sub sua specie habent participari in subiecto. Henry of Ghent, *XIV*.3 (1290): G 1:198

Accidents and causal power

Utrum habitus virtutis sit principium elicativum actus. John of Pouilly, *I*.11 (1307): G 1:224

Utrum substantia sine omni accidente possit esse objectum visus. Raymond Rigauld, *IV*.6 (?): G 2:244

*Action/passion***Relation between action/passion and their subjects***Definition of action and passion*

Utrum esse in hoc et esse ad hoc constituunt formaliter actionem et passionem. Nicholas Trivet, *II*.30 (1303): G 1:249

Relation to agent/patient

Utrum actio sit in agente. Hervaeus, *IV*.4 (1308): G 1:203

Utrum actio sit in agente. John Baconthorpe, *III*.10 (1330): G 2:151

Utrum actio agentis differat realiter ab agente. Peter Auriol, *I*.2 (1320): G 1:255

Utrum actio ut actio sit in aliquo subjective. Kykeley, *I*.8 (Beginning of 14th century): G 2:189

Utrum actio denominet agentem. John Baconthorpe, *III*.11 (1330): G 2:151

Utrum actio dicat eundem respectum quem dicit agens. (Richard Conington (Anon 30), *I*.14 (?): G 2:306

Utrum actio creata, in quantum actio, sit forma inhaerens alicui. Nicholas Trivet, *V*.8 (1306): G 1:253

Utrum relatio causalitatis effectivae sit alia res a rebus absolutis. William Ockham, *VI*.12 (1324–5): G 2:123

Utrum relatio calefactivi ad calefactibile sit res distincta a rebus absolutis. William Ockham, *VI*.13 (1324–25): G 2:123

Variety of effects from one agent

Utrum agens particulare habeat per se aliquem effectum. James of Ascoli, *I*.14 (1311–12): G 2:142

Utrum aliquod agens actione unica simul posset producere diversos effectus. Nicholas Trivet, *II.31* (1303): G 1:249

Utrum aliqua causa agens, omnino eadem, nullam habens diversitatem, possit inducere diversos effectus. John Pouilly, *I.4* (1307): G 1:224

Specification of action/passion

Utrum actio et passio sint idem re. Hervaeus (?), *VII.13* (?): G 1:206, 2: 139

Utrum actio realiter differat a passione. Gui Terreni, *II.3* (1314): G 1:170

Utrum actio et passio sint realiter unus actus. Gerard of Sienna, *I.5* (1330): G 2:97

Utrum actio et passio sint diversa praedicamenta. Nicholas of Lyra (Anon 16), *I.8* (1310): G 2:295

Utrum praedicamentum actionis et passionis componatur ex conceptibus. William Ockham, *VII.4* (1324–25): G 2:124

Action and motion

Utrum actio et passio includant motum in sua ratione essentiali. Thomas of Sutton, *IV.14* (1287): G 1:296

Utrum operatio sit motus. John of Naples, *VIII.10* (?): G 2:166

Action at a distance

Utrum unus angelus cognoscat alium loco distantem a se. William of Hothun (Odone), *I.7* (1280): G 1:175

Utrum agens possit agere in distans et non in propinquo. John of Naples, *X.3* (?): G 2:169

Alchemy

Utrum homo per artem possit facere verum aurum. Giles of Rome, *III.8* (1288): G 1:143

Astronomy

Heavenly bodies in general

Motion of heavenly bodies

Utrum corpora caelestia moveantur vel in pleno vel in vacuo. Nicholas Trivet, *III.7* (1304): G 1:250

Utrum omnes sphaerae caelestes moveantur ad eandem partem. Richard of Middleton, *I.10* (1285): G 1:268

Utrum corpora caelestia per suum motum causent aliquam harmoniam. Nicholas Trivet, *XI.19* (1314): G 1:254

Utrum aliqui orbes superiores moveantur velocius quibusdam. Nicholas Trivet, *V.20* (1306): G 1:253

Utrum stella si poneretur in aere moveretur naturaliter an quiesceret. Vital du Four, *I.10* (1294–95): G 2:281

An opinari possit sine periculo quod post communem resurrectionem luna magis lucebit quam nunc sol, sol autem in septuplum quam modo luceat, corpora vero beatorum septies magis sole. Anon 15, *I*.22 (1269–70): G 2:294

Utrum planeta sit continuus suo orbi. Henry of Lubeck, *I*.29 (1323): G 2:136

Utrum planetae moveantur secundum epicyclos. Nicholas Trivet, *III*.8 (1304): G 1:250

Utrum sint ponendi excentrici et epicycli. Peter of England, *III*.23 (1305): G 2:215

Utrum in primis operibus Dei sit ponere motus excentricos et epicyclos. Henry of Germany, *I*.6 (1306): G 2:131

Utrum orbis deferens corpus solis sit excentricus vel concentricus. Nicholas Trivet, *IV*.23 (1305): G 1:252

Matter of heavenly bodies

Supposito quod in corporibus caelestibus sit materia, utrum sit eiusdem rationis cum materia in istis inferioribus. Nicholas Trivet, *I*.19 (1306): G 1:253

Utrum omnium stellarum sit una materia. Anon 1, *I*.20 (?): G 1:298

Specification of heavenly bodies

Utrum corpora caelestia sunt eiusdem speciei. Nicholas Trivet, *II*.11 (1303): G 1:249

Utrum corpora celestia differant specie. Remi of Florence, *II*.7 (1303–04): G 2:253

Utrum superior orbis sit nobilior. John of Naples, *II*.8 (?): G 2:161

Animation of heavenly bodies

Utrum corpora celestia sint animata. Nicholas of Lyra (Anon 17), q. 2 (1310): G 2:297

Moon

Utrum cornua quae apparent in luna in novilunio sint ibi secundam existentiam vel secundum apparentiam tantum. Peter of England, *III*.24 (1305): G 2:215

Earth

Utrum mundus sit sphaericae figurae. Peter of Ang, *I*.8 (after Richard of Middleton): G 2:216

Utrum sub equinoxiali sit habitatio. James of Viterbo, *IV*.8 (1295–1296): G 2:146

Utrum si minimus ignis secundum formam esset in centro terrae moveretur sursum. James of Viterbo, *IV*.9 (?): G 2:146

Utrum yris fuerit ante diluvium. John of Naples, *XIV*.8 (?): G 2:162

Hell

An infernus sit in centro vel circa centrum terrae. Anon 15, *I*.19 (1269–70): G 2:294

An possit sciri distantia a superficie terrae usque ad infernum, supposito infernum esse in centro vel circa centrum terrae. Anon 15, *I*.20 (1269–70): G 2:294

Utrum impii fruuntur solis luce in inferno. Gueric of Saint-Quentin, *I*.13 (1233–42): G 2:110

Astrology

Utrum astrologus possit iudicare de omnibus effectibus rerum inferiorum. Nicholas of Lyra (Anon 16), *I*.14 (1310): G 2:295

Utrum imagines quae fiunt per astrologos, secundum illorum scientiam habeant efficaciam in naturalibus, puta an annuli oblivionis quos Moyses dicitur fecisse habebant virtutem oblivioni inducendi. Peter of Auvergne, *I.14* (1296): G 1:259

Body, glorified/damned

Accidents of glorified body

Utrum in corpore glorificatorum sit color. Alexander of Hales, *II.7* (1231–38): G 2:58
 Utrum motus sit in corporibus glorificatis. Alexander of Hales, *II.11* (1231–38): G 2:59

Impassibility of glorified body

Utrum impassibilitas conveniat corporibus gloriosis per aliquam formam eis inhaerentem vel per solam virtutem divinam eis assistentem, impediens actionem cujuscumque agentis nocivi. John of Naples, *XIII.22* (?): G 2:172
 Utrum impassibilitas corporis glorificati sit per aliquam qualitatem immanentem vel per solam divinam virtutem assistentem. John of Naples, *VIII.22* (?): G 2:166

Agility of glorified body

Utrum agilitas corporis glorificati sit sola carentia gravitatis. John of Naples, *VIII.23* (?): G 2:166

Incorruptibility/corruptibility of glorified/damned body

Utrum corpora damnatorum erunt incorruptibilia. Thomas Aquinas, *VII.11* (1265): G 1:284
 Utrum corpora damnatorum resurgent sine deformitatibus. Thomas Aquinas, *VII.12* (1265): G 1:284
 Utrum incorruptibilitas corporis damnati requirat aliquam causam positivam. Nicholas Trivet, *XI.18* (1314): G 1:254
 Utrum corpora damnatorum sint corruptibilia. Ranulphe d'Homblieres, *II.20* (1275): G 1:266
 Utrum dicere quod corpus Christi non potuit comburi sit inconveniens secundum fidem. Godfrey of Fontaines, *III.6* (1286): G 1:153
 Utrum Christus, si mortuus fuisset senio, fuisset secundum corpus putrefactus. Henry of Ghent, *XII.12* (1288): G 1:195

Causation

Causal cooperation

God's activity

An Deus non potest nec vult movere aliquod corpus immediate. Anon 15, *I.12* (1269–70): G 2:293

An post opera sex dierum nullum corpus Deus moverit immediate. Anon 15, *I*.11 (1269–70): G 2:293

Utrum in actione cuiuslibet agentis concurrat actio primi agentis. Gui Terreni, *VI*.4 (1318): G 1:173

Can creature create?

Utrum aliquod agens creatum in agendo possit attingere substantiam primae materiae. Henry of Ghent, *XV*.7 (1291): G 1:199

Utrum creare conveniat creaturae. Gerard of Abbeville, *IX*.1 (1266): G 1:119

Utrum aliqua pura creatura possit vel potuerit vel poterit, quecumque sit illa, sive angelica sit sive alia, creare, quantumque fuerit illud minimum creatum, sicut musca vel huiusmodi. Anon 9, *I*.6 (1278): G 1:321

Utrum potentia creandi possit communicari creaturae. Roger Marston, *II*.3 (1285–86): G 2:268

Utrum Deus possit communicare potentiam creandi creaturae. Giles of Rome, *V*.1 (1290): G 1:145

Utrum Deus posset conferre creaturae potentiam creandi. Hervaeus Natalis, *VIII*.2 (after 1304): G 2:182

Utrum Deus posset communicare potentiam creandi. Peter of England, *III*.4 (1305): G 2:214

Utrum potentia creandi possit communicari creaturae. James of Ascoli, *I*.15 (1311–12): G 2:142

Utrum creaturae possit communicari a Deo potentia creandi. Robert Walsingham, *II*.5 (1313–14): G 2:263

Utrum Deus possit communicare creaturae potentiam creandi. John of Naples, *VII*.2 (1316–17): G 2:165

Utrum creatura potest creare. William Ockham, *II*.9 (1324–25): G 2:119

Utrum instrumentum attingat ad affectum principalis agentis. Giles of Rome, *III*.1 (1288): G 1:143

Causal cooperation between species

Utrum possibile sit quod duo agentia distincta specie concurrant eundem effectum et tamen unum non agat in alterum. Thomas of Bailly, *III*.4 (1303–04): G 2:275

Angelic activity in material realm

An angeli sint motores corporum celestium. Anon 15, *I*.1 (1269–70): G 2:293

An angeli sint motores corporum celestium. Anon 15, *I*.1 (1269–70): G 2:293

An angelus suo imperio potest movere totam molem terrae usque ad globum lunae. Anon 15, *I*.4 (1269–70): G 2:293

An faber naturaliter possit movere manum ad malleum vel ad aliud naturaliter operandum sine angelis moventibus corpora celestia. Anon 15, *I*.9 (1269–70): G 2:293

Utrum angelus possit formare de materia sensibili, ut de aerea, corpus humanum in ultima necessitate dispositum ad animam rationalem. Gerard of Abbeville, *XV*.8 (1270): G 1:123

Utrum angeli possint agere in haec corpora inferiora. Thomas Aquinas, *IX*.10 (1266): G 1:286

Efficient vs final

Utrum finis sit causa realis effectus producibilis. Gui Terrani, *III*.2 (1315): G 1:171

Backwards

Utrum possit Deus modo mundum istum facere antiquiorem. William de la Mare, *I.2* (1274–75): G 2:117

Utrum Deus in hoc instanti posset facere mundum antiquiorem. Raymond Rigauld, *VI.1* (1290): G 2:246

*Change, non-natural***Factual (Eucharist etc.)***Possibility of transubstantiation*

Utrum transsubstantiatio panis in corpus Christi sit possibilis. Raymond Rigauld, *V.23* (1290): G 2:246

Possibility of transubstantiation by natural power

Utrum per agens naturale possint species sacramentales in substantiam transmutari. Roger Marston, *II.9* (1283–84): G 2:266

Utrum operatio qua convertebatur cibus in corpus Christi, erat naturalis. Henry of Ghent, *XV.4* (1291): G 1:199

End terms of transubstantiation

Utrum materia panis maneat in sacramento altaris post conversionem. Henry of Ghent, *IX.9* (1286): G 1:191

Utrum substantia panis remaneat in sacramento. Raymond Rigauld, *IX.13* (?): G 2:250

Utrum substantia panis manet post consecrationem. William Ockham, *IV.30* (1324–5): G 2:121

Utrum [corpus] sit ibi per conversionem panis in ipsum. Peter of Trabibus, *I.5* (1295): G 2:229

Utrum quantitas panis convertatur in corpus Christi. Durandus of Saint-Pourcain, *IV.4* (1315): G 2:74

Utrum Deus posset transmutare dimensiones panis in dimensiones corporis sui sicut substantiam in substantiam. Richard of Middleton, *II.3* (1286): G 1:269

Utrum in sacramento altaris vertatur quantitas in quantitate. Richard of Middleton (?), *IV.11* (?): G 1:272

Instantaneousness of transubstantiation

Utrum conversio substantiae panis in corpus Christi fiat subito an successive. Henry of Ghent, *III.7* (1278): G 1:181

Utrum conversio panis in corpus Christi sit subito vel successiva. Kykeley, *I.7* (beginning of 14th century): G 2:189

Transubstantiation and annihilation

Utrum in conversione panis in corpus Christi substantia adnihiletur. Bertrand de la Tour, *I.8* (1311–12): G 2:68

Utrum in transsubstantiatione panis in corpus Christi substantia panis annihiletur. Gui Terreni, *VI.10* (1318): G 1:174

Change of Lot's wife

Utrum conversio uxoris Loth in statuam salis esset naturalis. Peter of Ang, *II.9* (after Richard of Middleton): G 2:217

Counterfactual*Possible conversion of anything into anything*

Utrum, supposito quod transsubstantiatio sit possibilis, quidlibet possit converti in quolibet. Nicholas Trivet, *III.3* (1304): G 1:250

Utrum Deus possit convertere quodlibet in quolibet. Anon 31, *I.2* (1317–27): G 2:307

Utrum Deus possit facere quidlibet de quolibet. Robert Holcot, *III.5* (before 1349): G 2:259

Specific examples of possible conversion

Utrum Deus posset transsubstantiare naturam spiritualem in substantiam corporalem. Godfrey of Fontaines, *V.1* (1288): G 1:155

Utrum Deus possit ex materia corrutibilis producere aliquod corpus incorruptibile. Godfrey of Fontaines, *V.2* (1288): G 1:155

An Deus possit species in Eucharistia convertere in aliquid praeeexistens. John Duns Scotus, *I.10* (1307): G 1:219

Utrum creatura possit in creatorem converti. Gerard of Abbeville, *XX.15* (?): G 2:93

Utrum aliqua creatura possit transsubstantiari in deitatem, puta panis in substantiam deitatis Christi, sicut transsubstantiatur in substantiam corporis Christi. Henry of Ghent, *XI.4* (1287): G 1:193

Utrum Deus possit convertere panem in divinitatem. Thomas of Sutton, *IV.9* (1287): G 1:296

Utrum Deus posset transsubstantiare aliud in se, sive utrum Christus secundum quod homo posset transsubstantiari in verbum divinum. Peter of England, *III.3* (1305): G 2:214

Utrum in sacramento altaris vertatur quantitas in quantitate. Peter of Falco, *I.11* (1280–81): G 2:126

Utrum Deus possit facere quod accidentia panis converterentur in accidentia corporis Christi sicut substantia panis convertitur in substantiam corporis Christi. Thomas of Sutton, *IV.8* (1287): G 1:296

*Change, substantial***In general***Substantial change is natural*

Utrum corruptio sit a natura. Giles, *I.11* (?): G 2:100

Utrum mors aliqua sit naturalis. John of Naples, *IV.7* (?): G 2:162

Utrum productio alicuius creaturae sit possibilis alicui agenti creato vel increato. Vital du Four, *III.5* (1296–97): G 2:282

Of heavenly bodies

Utrum materia existente unius rationis in superioribus et inferioribus corporibus, sit contradictio ex istis generari illa vel e contrario. Peter of Auvergne, *III.17* (1298): G 1:261

Utrum corpus celeste possit converti seu transmutari virtute divina in corpus elementare. John of Naples, *XIII.25* (?): G 2:172

Role of angels/heavenly bodies in substantial change

An angeli sunt causa omnium quae naturaliter generantur et corrumpuntur in hoc mundo. Anon 15, *I.7* (1269–1270): G 2:293

Utrum generatio sit in istis inferioribus a primo mobili vel a motu planetarum in zodiaco. Roger Marston, *I.14* (1282–1283): G 2:265

An aliquid dicatur venire ad compositionem alterius duobus modis: uno modo per essentiam suam, per modum principii materialis et formalis; et sic nullo modo aliquid de natura corporis celestis venit in compositionem corporis humani vel aliorum corporum mixtorum. Secundo modo, venit ad compositionem alterius aliquid per effectum suae virtutis; et hoc modo natura corporis celestis venit ad compositionem corporis humani et omnium corporum mixtorum. Anon 15, *I.23* (1269–70): G 2:294

Utrum caelum possit transmutare corpus humanum. John of Lana, *II.12* (1330s): G 2:154

Prime matter and substantial change

Utrum in omni generatione physica fiat resolutio usque ad primam materiam. Hervaeus, *IV.10* (1309–18): G 1:204

Utrum transmutatio aliqua posset fieri sine subiecta materia. Henry of Ghent, *VII.10* (1282): G 1:187

Utrum [sit] de natura materiae primae esse subjectum generationis. Roger Marston, *I.15* (1282–83): G 2:265

The mechanism of change

Utrum agens naturale agat transmutando id in quod agit vel per aliquid immissum ab eo in passum. James Viterbo, *III.14* (1295–96): G 2:145

Utrum aliquid possit adnihilari. Raymond Rigauld, *III.12* (?): G 2:243

Corruption from internal agents

Utrum circumscripto omni agente extrinseco possit homo corrumpi. James Viterbo, *IV.22* (?): G 2:147

De rei naturalis corruptione naturali, circumscripta actione contraria continentis. Peter of England, *II.5* (1304–05): G 2:213

Examples of substantial change

Utrum causata a dissimilibus causis, ut calor qui causatur ab igne et motu, vel aliqua quae generantur ex putrefactione et alia quae generantur per coitum, sint ejusdem speciei. John of Naples, *II.10* (?): G 2:161

Utrum motus ferri ad adamantem sit naturalis. Francis Caracciolo (Anon 21), *I.14* (1300–10): G 2:300

Utrum variatio colorum in ovibus Jacob ad contemplationem virgarum in coitu, esset naturalis. Peter of England, *II.10* (after Richard of Middleton): G 2:217.

Utrum accidentia in sacramento convertant. Raymond Rigauld, *IV.38* (?): G 2:245

Utrum amputata parte animalis annulosi, remaneat idem animal numero. Bernand of Trilia, *II.15* (1284): G 1:103

Utrum in qualibet parte animalis annulosi corporis decisi sit dare animam sensitivam et motivam. Peter of England, *II.3* (1304–05): G 2:213

Utrum via naturae possit generari vel fieri nova species quae nunquam fuerit facta. Giles of Rome, *VI.8* (1291): G 1:146

Utrum si corpus Christi deponeretur a Verbo, corrumpereetur. Vital du Four, *II.4* (1295–96): G 2:281

Procreation*Length of pregnancy*

- Utrum parturitio possit fieri convenienter in 8 mense sicut fit in 9 vel in 7. James of Viterbo, *IV.21* (?): G 2:147
- Utrum mensis octavus sit bonae parturitionis. Henry of Lubeck, *I.31* (1323): G 2:136
- Utrum masculus citius formetur in utero quam mulier. John of Naples, *X.13* (?): G 2:169
- Utrum foetus possit vivere in utero matris existente matre mortua. James of Viterbo, *IV.20* (?): G 2:147

Causal power of semen

- Utrum in semine quo organizatur foetus sit potentia animae. Gui Terreni, *V.12* (1317): G 1:173
- Utrum in semine sit aliqua activa virtus ad generationem. Nicholas Trivet, *IV.13* (1305): G 1:252
- Utrum adveniente anima rationali corrumpatur virtus activa quae est in semine. Anon 31, *I.7* (1317–27): G 2:307
- An corpus spermatis cum quo exit spiritus qui est virtus principii animae est separatum a corpore, et est res divina, et talis dicitur intellectus sic potest vel debet exponi, id est: ille spiritus sive virtus formativa dicitur intellectus per similitudinem quia sicut intellectus operatur sine organo, ita et illa virtus. Anon 15, q. 21 (1269–70): G 2:294

Causal power of mother

- Utrum Beata Virgo aliquid active operata fuerit in formatione corporis Christi. Nicholas Trivet, *III.25* (1304): G 1:251
- Utrum sanguis quem assumpsit a sanguine Virginis fuit de essentia Virginis. Nicholas Trivet, *V.5* (1306): G 1:252
- Utrum virgo possit parere per naturam. Gueric of Saint-Quentin, *V.8* (1233–42): G 2:109

*Compound (mixtum)***Do elements remain in compound?**

- Utrum forma specifica consequens mixtionem sit substantia vel accidens. James of Viterbo, *IV.13* (?): G 2:146
- Utrum mixtibilia sint actu secundum suas formas in mixto. Francis Caracciolo (Anon 22), q. 125 (1300–10): G 2:301
- Utrum elementa manent in mixto. William Ockham, *III.5* (1324–25): G 2:120
- Utrum miscibilia sint in mixto quantum ad suas formas substantiales. Hervaeus (?), *VII.21* (?): G 1:206; G 2:139
- Utrum miscibilia sint in mixto quantum ad suas formas substantiales. Henry of Lubeck, *I.28* (1323): G 2:135
- Utrum elementa agant et patiantur in mixto. John of Naples, *IV.6* (?): G 2:162
- Utrum elementa agant et patiantur in mixto. John of Naples, *XI.8* (?): G 2:170

Action and passion of compound

Utrum in mixto habente uniformitatem in partibus, possit esse actio et passio. Giles of Rome, *V.18* (1290): G 1:145

Utrum mixtum possit corrumpi ab aliquo intrinseco. Nicholas of Lyra (Anon 16), q. 7 (1310): G 2:295

Elements and the human body

Utrum complexio Christi sic fuerit temperata quod elementa fuerint in eo mensurata secundum pondus. James of Viterbo, *IV.17* (?): G 2:147

Utrum in corpore hominis magis habundet terra et aqua quam aer et ignis. John of Naples, *XII.9* (?): G 2:171

Utrum corpus humanum constituitur immediate ex elementis. Peter of England, *I.21* (1303–1304): G 2:213

Utrum ipsius [mixti] productio in loco habitationis humanae sit naturalis. Roger Marston, *I.18* (1282–83): G 2:265

Condemnations

Utrum magister in theologia debet dicere contra articulum episcopi si credat oppositum esse verum. Godfrey of Fontaines, *VII.18* (1290/91 or 1291/92): G 1:158

Utrum licite possit doceri Parisius doctrina fratris Thomae quantum ad omnes conclusiones ejus. John of Naples, *VI.2* (1315–16): G 2:164

Continuity

Continuum composed of points

Utrum Deus possit facere continuum compositum ex indivisibilibus. Thomas of Bailly, *III.3* (1303–04): G 2:275

Utrum linea componatur ex punctis. William Ockham, *I.9* (1324–25): G 2:119

Continuum composed of minimal parts

Utrum in divisione quantitatis ex parte rei divisae sit naturaliter accipere minimum. Nicholas Trivet, *II.22* (1303): G 1:249

Utrum sit dare magnitudinem indivisibilem. Giles, *I.10* (? (after 1325)): G 2:100

Utrum in corpore humano sit aliqua pars minima secundum speciem. James of Viterbo, *I.15* (1293): G 1:215

Unity of continuum

Utrum continuum, in quantum continuum, dicat aliquid praeter partes. Nicholas of Lyra (Anon 18), q. 9 (1310): G 2:298

Utrum partes hostiae fractae differant realiter a seipsis prout sunt in hostia continua. Thomas of Bailly, *V.14* (1305–06): G 2:277

Utrum ferens intentionem suam supra dimidiam hostiam tantum, consecret. Raymond Rigauld, *IV.40* (?): G 2:245

Utrum fieri possit ab ipso sacerdote quod [consecratio] fiat in una parte hostiae non divisae sine hoc quod fiat in alia. Peter of Trabibus, *I.7* (1295): G 2:230

Si sacerdos intendat mediam hostiam consecrare tantum, utrum consecret totam vel medietatem tantum. Vital du Four, *II.7* (1295–96): G 2:282

Utrum hostia manente integra possit sacerdos unam partem hostiae consecrare non consecrando aliam partem. Durandus of Saint-Pourcain, *II.1* (1312–13): G 2:71

Creation

Continuity of creative act/passion

Utrum eadem sit actio qua Deus producit res in esse et qua conservat easdem in esse per eiusdem esse continuationem. Godfrey of Fontaines, *I.1* (1285): G 1:151

Utrum creatio sit actio perpetua. Alexander of Hales, *I.5* (1231–38): G 2:57

Utrum Deus possit in uno instanti creare omne creabile. Bernard of Trilia, *II.1* (1284): G 1:103

Utrum Deus in aliquo instanti possit creare omne creabile. Raymond Rigauld, *III.6* (?): G 2:243

Utrum omnia creata fuerint simul vel successive. Anon 7, q. 21 (?): G 1:304

Utrum Deus sciat primum instans in quo potuit mundum creare. Thomas Aquinas, *V.1* (1271): G 1:281

Utrum Deus sciat primum instans in quo potuit mundum creare. William de la Mare, *I.4* (1274–75): G 2:117

Utrum Deus potuit scire primum instans in quo potuit mundum creare. Matthew of Aquasparta, *IV.2* (1282): G 2:196

Creation as relation in creature

Utrum actio Dei productiva sit in producto. Gui Terreni, *IV.4* (1316): G 1:172

Discontinuous Existence

Possibility of discontinuous existence

Utrum adnihilatum possit idem numero reparari. John of Naples, *VI.7* (1315–16): G 2:164

Si natura creata sit tantae virtutis quod possit reparare idem corpus numero. Nicholas du Pressoir, *I.5* (1273): G 2:202

Utrum natura possit idem numero reparare. James of Therines, *I.10* (1306): G 1:212

Utrum Deus possit rem omnino in nihilum redactam eandem numero reparare. Peter of Tarentasia, *I.32* (1264): G 2:227

Utrum Deus reparare possit idem numero quod in nihilum est redactum. Thomas Aquinas, *IV.5* (1271): G 1:280

Utrum archa resoluta et iterum reparata sit eadem numero. Raymond Rigauld, *VIII.25* (?): G 2:249

Utrum Deus possit eundem motum numero qui fuit reparare. Godfrey of Fontaines, *VI.2* (1289): G 1:157

Utrum Deus posset equum mortuum eundem numero suscitare. Bernard of Trilia, *III.1* (1285): G 1:104

- Utrum corpus resurgat idem numero. Thomas Aquinas, *XI.6* (1267): G 1:287
- Utrum idem homo in numero possit resurgere, hoc est utrum eiusdem hominis in numero fit resurrectio. Ranulphe d'Homblières, *II.19* (1275): G 1:266
- Utrum universo adnihilato Deus possit idem universum reparare de nihilo. Raymond Rigauld, *VIII.1* (?): G 2:249
- Supposita secundum fidem resurrectione, utrum de necessitate resurget idem homo numero. Nicholas Trivet, *III.37* (1304): G 1:251
- Utrum sit de necessitate resurrectionis quod resurgens adsumat materiam eandem quam prius habuerit. Peter of Auvergne, *I.19* (1296): G 1:259
- Si corpus aliquod esset resolutum in cineres vel pulveres, utrum adveniente tempore resurrectionis posset Deus illud corpus idem numero reparare et restituere ex aliis pulveribus. Eustache, *III.2* (1266): G 2:79
- Utrum si anima in resurrectione resumeret alios cineres, esset idem homo numero qui prius erat. James of Viterbo, *I.21* (1293): G 1:216
- Utrum corpora resurgentium resurgent ibidem ubi sepulta fuerunt. James of Viterbo, *I.22* (1293): G 1:216

Discontinuous existence and the problem of cannibalism

- Utrum et in quo, si aliquis sit nutritus ex carnibus humanis, resurgant huiusmodi carnes: an in comestis, an comedentibus. Giles of Rome, *V.27* (1290): G 1:145
- Utrum carnes comestae in aliquo resurgant in carne comedente vel in comesto. Henry of Lubeck, *I.9* (1323): G 2:135

Discontinuous existence of forms

- Utrum eadem forma numero quae corrupta est possit iterato generari. Roger Marston, *I.16* (1282–83): G 2:265
- Utrum forma possit redire eadem numero. Nicholas Trivet, *III.14* (1304): G 1:250

Discontinuous existence and eucharistic species

- Utrum si post conversionem substantiae panis in corpus Christi, dimensionibus remanentibus, alia panis substantia crearetur sub illis, esset idem panis numero cum priore. Godfrey of Fontaines, *XI.2* (1295/96): G 1:162
- Utrum substantia in corpus Christi conversa possit eadem numero reparari. Anon 26, q. 2 (?): G 2:304

Christ's blood in the resurrection

- Utrum totus sanguis Christi qui in passione eius est effusus, ad corpus eius in resurrectione redierit. Thomas Aquinas, *V.5* (1271): G 1:281
- Utrum totus sanguis Christi in Christo surrexerit. Raymond Rigauld, *V.21* (?): G 2:246
- Utrum totus sanguis qui fuit effusus in passione Christi redierit ad corpus eius in sua resurrectione. John of Pouilly, *IV.3* (1310): G 1:227
- Utrum totus sanguis Christi effusus in passione fuerit in eo post resurrectionem. John of Naples, *XIII.5* (?): G 2:171
- Utrum aliquid de sanguine eius [Christi] remanserit in terra postquam ascendit in celum. Roger Marston, *IV.14* (1285–86): G 2:268

Dynamics

- Utrum grave citius moveatur quando appropinquat ad centrum. Vital du Four, *III.8* (1296–97): G 2:282
- Utrum pondus rei in motu naturali intendatur ex approximatione ad terminum motus. Nicholas Trivet, *V.25* (1306): G 1:253
- Utrum sagitta perveniens ad aliquod corpus impertransibile possit resilire posterius. Nicholas of Lyra (Anon 18), q. 14 (1310): G 2:298

*Elements***Fire**

- Utrum motus circularis supremæ partis ignis sit naturalis. Francis Caracciolo (Anon 21), q. 13 (1300–10): G 2:300
- Utrum ignis gehennalis sit corporeus vel incorporeus. Alexander of Hales, *I.15* (1231–38): G 2:58
- Utrum ex terra possit immediate generari ignis. Nicholas of Lyra (Anon 16), q. 20 (1310): G 2:296
- Utrum ignis possit infrigidari. John of Naples, *XI.9* (?): G 2:170
- Utrum ignis in sua sphaera luceat et calefaciat. Giles of Rome, *V.17* (1290): G 1:145

Air

- Utrum aer possit inspissari. John of Naples, *II.11* (?): G 2:161
- Utrum aer manens in sua potestate possit transmutare corpora nostra. James of Viterbo, *IV.11* (?): G 2:146

Water

- Utrum aqua naturaliter possit ascendere. Raymond Rigauld, *IV.46* (?): G 2:245
- Utrum tota aqua debeat esse naturaliter congelata. Nicholas of Lyra (Anon 16), q. 19 (1310): G 2:295

Role of elements in universe

- Utrum influunt qualitates elementares in ista inferiora. Remi of Florence, *II.8* (1304–05): G 2:253
- De innovatione mundi, quomodo elementa calore solvantur. Gueric of Saint-Quentin, *VI.4* (1233–42): G 2:110
- Utrum ordine naturæ aliqua forma præcedat in materia formas elementorum. Peter of Auvergne, *V.7* (1300): G 1:262

*Eternity of the world***Is the world eternal?**

Utrum sit ponere mundum aeternum. Gerard of Abbeville, *XIV.10* (1269): G 1:123
 Utrum sit aliqua natura quae non incipiat sed desinat. Matthew of Aquasparta, *VI.2* (1284–85): G 2:198

Possibility of eternal world

Utrum stante opinione Aristotelis de aeternitate mundi, Deus facere possit aliquid eiusdem rationis. Gerard of Bologna, *I.9* (1294): G 1:129
 Utrum mundum non esse aeternum possit demonstrari. Thomas Aquinas, *III.31* (1270): G 1:280
 Utrum repugnet creaturae fuisse ab aeterno. Henry of Ghent, *I.8* (1276): G 1:178
 Utrum mundus sive aliqua creatura potuit esse vel existere ab aeterno. Godfrey of Fontaines, *II.3* (1286): G 1:152
 Utrum Deus potuit facere mundum esse ab aeterno. Peter of Auvergne, *I.7* (1296): G 1:258
 Utrum emanatio creaturarum immediate a Deo potuerit esse ab aeterno. James of Therines, *II.9* (1307): G 1:213
 Utrum Deus potuit creare sive producere mundum ab aeterno in dispositione in qua nunc est. Gerard of Bologna, *III.3* (1296): G 1:130
 Utrum omnia esse facta a Deo de novo, possit demonstrari. John of Pouilly, *II.4* (1308): G 1:225
 Utrum esse creatum a Deo et non incepisse esse sive esse non novum, repugnet ad invicem vel non. John of Pouilly, *IV.4* (1312): G 1:228
 Utrum Deus potuit fecisse mundum ab aeterno. William Ockham, *II.5* (1324–25): G 2:119
 Utrum Deus possit facere omne ab aeterno prius sine suo posteriori. John of Naples, *IX.3* (?): G 2:167
 Utrum in tempore ratio infiniti contradicat rationi praeteriti. Gerard of Sienna, *I.12* (1330): G 2:98

*Form, substantial***Possibility of form without matter**

Utrum Deus potuit facere materiam sine forma et e converso. Gerard of Abbeville, *XX.19* (?): G 2:94

One form for all substances

Utrum sicut est realiter una materia omnium, sic sit realiter una forma omnium. Vital du Four, *II.13* (1295–96): G 2:282

Is there a highest created material form?

Utrum esset illa ultima forma in naturalibus de qua loquitur Commentator I Physicorum. Vital du Four, *II.14* (1295–96): G 2:282

Degrees of a substantial form

- Utrum forma substantialis recipiat magis et minus. Henry of Ghent, *IV.15* (1279): G 1:182
- Utrum forma substantialis recipiat magis et minus. Thomas of Sutton, *IV.12* (1287): G 1:296
- Utrum forma substantialis possit intendi et remitti vel suscipere magis et minus. Peter of Auvergne, *III.7* (1298): G 1:260
- Utrum forma substantialis suscipiat magis et minus. Francis Caracciolo (Anon 22), q. 7 (1300–10): G 2:301

*Forms, plurality of***In general**

- Utrum in composito substantiali sint actu ponendae plures formae substantiales. Anon 35, q. 4 (?): G 2:309
- Utrum in quidditate rerum sensibilibus materialium cadant plures formae substantiales re differentes. Henry of Ghent, *IV.13* (1279): G 1:182
- Utrum formae praecedentes corrumpantur per adventum animae. Thomas Aquinas, *I.6* (1269): G 1:277
- Utrum vegetativa et sensitiva cedant adveniente rationali. Matthew of Aquasparta, *III.5* (1280–1281): G 2:196
- Utrum forma specifica substantiae sit accidens vel substantia. Francis Caracciolo (Anon 21), q. 10 (1300–10): G 2:300
- Utrum supposito quod in homine cum anima intellectiva sit tantum una forma alia, utrum illa forma sit anima. Thomas of Bailly, *II.7* (1302–03): G 2:274
- Utrum sint eiusdem substantiae anima sensitiva et intellectiva. Thomas Aquinas, *XI.5* (1267): G 1:287
- Utrum anima vegetabilis et sensibilis educantur in esse per creationem. Thomas Aquinas, *IX.11* (1266): G 1:286

In human beings

- Utrum homo habeat esse ab una forma substantiali vel a pluribus. Godfrey of Fontaines, *II.7* (1286): G 1:153
- Utrum sola anima intellectiva possit esse forma substantialis in homine. Henry of Ghent, *XII.10* (1288): G 1:195
- Utrum, secundum ponentes in homine plures substantiales formas, oportet ponere in ipso plures animas. Godfrey of Fontaines, *X.10* (1294/95): G 1:161
- Utrum sensitiva, vegetativa et intellectiva sint una forma. Francis Caracciolo (Anon 22), q. 17 (1300–10): G 2:301
- Utrum supposito quod anima rationalis ut est forma corporis non extendatur nec per se nec per accidens, oporteat in homine ponere plures formas substantiales. Gerard of Bologna, *III.7* (1296): G 1:131
- Utrum vegetativum, sensitivum et intellectivum in homine sint una essentia vel plures. Vital du Four, *I.11* (1294–95): G 2:281
- Utrum anima sensitiva et intellectiva distinguuntur realiter in homine. William Ockham, *II.10* (1324–25): G 2:119
- Utrum anima sensitiva et forma corporeitatis distinguuntur realiter tam in brutis quam in hominibus. William Ockham, *II.11* (1324–25): G 2:119

Utrum potentia nutritiva et augmentativa in Christo differant. Anon 25, q. 3 (?): G 2:304

Utrum potentiae nutritiva, vegetativa et augmentativa differant realiter vel sint eadem. John of Naples, *IX.18* (?): G 2:168

Bodily form

Utrum forma corporeitatis sit materiae primae coaeterna. Anon 35,3 (?): G 2:309

Forms of organs

Utrum formae partium organicarum animalis distinguantur specie. William Ockham, *III.6* (1324–25): G 2:120

And death of body

Utrum corpus mortuum sit in aliqua specie. Raymond Rigauld, *IV.23* (?): G 2:244

Utrum sit idem corpus numero vivum et mortuum. Peter of Ang, *II.11* (After Richard of Middleton): G 1:217

Utrum idem corpus numero maneat mortuum et vivum. Roger Marston, *III.13* (1284–85): G 2:267

Utrum corpus hominis vivum et mortuum sit idem numero. Anon 32, q. 1 (after 1323): G 2:308

In Christ

Utrum de necessitate fidei sit ponere in Christo aliam formam substantialem ab anima intellectiva. James of Therines, *I.4* (1306): G 1:211

Utrum in corpore Christi in morte fuerit aliqua forma substantialis. Hervaeus (?), *VI.9* (?): G 1:205; G 2:139

Utrum sensitiva et vegetativa in Christo essent decuctae de potentia materiae. Roger Marston, *IV.9* (1285–86): G 2:268

Christ in triduum

Utrum dicere quod corpus Christi mortuum et alterius hominis mortuum fuerit corpus aequivoce sit erroneum. Godfrey of Fontaines, *III.5* (1286): G 1:153

Utrum Christus in triduo mortis fuerit idem homo. Thomas Aquinas, *II.1* (1269): G 1:278

Utrum corpus Christi consecratum in triduo mortis eius fuisset vivum an mortuum. Henry of Ghent, *II.4* (1277): G 1:179

Utrum corpus Christi in sepulchro habuit aliquam formam substantialem qua informabatur, anima eius ab ipso separata. Henry of Ghent, *I.4* (1276): G 1:177

Utrum anima Christi separata, remansit aliqua forma in corpore eius. Henry of Ghent, *II.2* (1277): G 1:179

Utrum corpus Christi vivum et mortuum fuerit idem numero. Bernard of Trilia, *I.5* (1283): G 1:102

Utrum corpus Christi idem fuerit mortuum et vivum. Roger Marston, *II.11* (1285–86): G 2:268

Utrum incorruptionis corporis Christi fuit causa acceleratio resurrectionis vel conservatio miraculosa alicuius formae quae prius erat in corpore vivo. Godfrey of Fontaines, *V.5* (1288): G 1:156

- Utrum in triduo mortis Christi verum fuit dicere quod Christus fuit in sepulchro. Durandus of Saint-Pourcain, *III.5* (1314): G 2:73
 Utrum corpus Christi mortuum est adorandum. Bertrand de la Tour, *I.7* (1311–12): G 2:68
 Utrum oculus Christi post mortem fuerit oculus aequivoce. Thomas Aquinas, *III.4* (1270): G 1:279

Geometry

- Utrum Deus possit facere duos angulos rectos quorum unus sit major alio. Francis Caracciolo (Anon 19), q. 4 (1300–10): G 2:299

Heaven

Simplicity of heaven

- Utrum caelum sit subiectum simplex. John Quidort, *I.9* (1304): G 1:229
 Utrum materia sit in celo. John of Lana, *II.7* (1330s): G 2:154
 Utrum caelum habeat materiam. Gerard of Bologna, *I.13* (1294): G 1:129
 Utrum caelum sit compositum ex materia et forma. Hervaeus, *III.10* (1309–18): G 1:203
 Utrum coelum habeat materiam. Gui Terreni, *V.10* (1317): G 1:173
 Utrum substantia celi sit composita ex materia et forma. Anon 31, q. 4 (1317–27): G 2:307
 Utrum substantia caeli sit composita ex materia et forma. Anon 7, q. 4 (?): G 1:304
 Utrum celum sit generabile et corruptibile. John of Naples, *VIII.13* (?): G 2:166

Animation of heaven

- Utrum celum sit animatum. Henry of Lubeck, *III.7* (1325): G 2:137
 Utrum celum sit animatum; vel, quod idem est, utrum intelligentia moveat celum sicut anima ejus. John of Lana, *I.4* (1330s): G 2: 153
 Utrum ex anima celi et celo fiat magis unum quam ex anima humana et corpore humano. Anon 25, q. 4 (?): G 2:304
 Utrum intelligentia uniatur caelo quod movetur ab ipsa, in ratione formae et animae. James of Therines, *I.5* (1306): G 1:211
 Utrum ex intelligentia movente celum et celo moto fiat unum essentialiter. Henry of Lubeck, *I.14* (1323): G 2:135
 Utrum celum moveatur a forma sua. Anon 31, q. 5 (1317–27): G 2:307
 Utrum celum moveatur a motore separato secundum esse. John of Naples, *IX.11* (?): G 2:168

Bodies above the heavens

- Utrum angelus possit esse in convexo caeli empyrei. Thomas Aquinas, *VI.3* (1272): G 1:282
 Utrum aquae sint super caelos. Thomas Aquinas, *IV.3* (1271): G 1:280
 Utrum positio theologorum in ponendo aquas supra firmamentum repugnet philosophiae. John Baconthorpe, *II.11* (1324–25): G 2:150

Utrum Christus ascenderit super omnes caelos seu supra convexum ultimi caeli. Bernard of Trilia, *I.6* (1283): G 1:102

Utrum Christus ascendit super omnes caelos. Henry of Ghent, *XV.2* (1291): G 1:199

Utrum Deus possit facere aliquem beatum ultra convexum celi empyrei. Francis Caracciolo (Anon 19), q. 3 (1300–10): G 2:299

Utrum caleum empyreum habeat influentiam super alia corpora. Thomas Aquinas, *IV.19* (1272): G 1:283

Place of heaven

Utrum ultima sphaera hebeat esse ubi, sive sit in loco. Hervaeus (?), *X.7* (?): G 1:208, 2:139

Utrum ultima sphaera sit in loco. Henry of Lubeck, *II.18* (1324): G 2:137

Size of empyreum

Utrum empyreum sit maximum corporum. Raymond Rigauld, *IV.45* (?): G 2:245

Humours

Utrum humidum radicale possit restaurari. John of Naples, *V.10* (?): G 2:163

Utrum sit ponere spiritum radicalem. James of Viterbo, *IV.16* (?): G 2:147

Increase

Increase/decrease (incl. condensation/rarefaction)

Utrum in re augmentata sit signare partem auctam. Giles of Rome, *IV.13* (1289): G 1:144

Utrum in augmentatione naturali quaelibet pars animati secundum speciem et non secundum materiam augeatur. Nicholas Trivet, *IV.12* (1305): G 1:252

Utrum quaelibet pars aucti sit aucta. Nicholas of Lyra (Anon 18), q. 13 (1310): G 2:298

Utrum species in sacramento altaris possint condensari et rareferi vel non. Thomas of Sutton, *II.18* (1285): G 1:294

Utrum in sacramento altaris seu in accidentibus sub quibus existit sacramentaliter corpus Christi, possit salvari motus augmenti nisi ponantur differre dimensiones terminatae ab interminatis. James of Viterbo, *III.17* (1295–96): G 2:145

Utrum membra principalia abscissa possint restaurari. Raymond Rigauld, *IV.8* (1289): G 2:244

Increase without extrinsic addition

Utrum semen de quo formandum corpus humanum, in semetipso possit multiplicari sine additamento ab extrinseco, sicut dicitur de costa de qua formatum est corpus Evae. Gerard of Abbeville, *XV.14* (1270): G 1:124

Utrum ex costa possibile fuit formari mulierem sine materiae additione. Henry of Ghent, *VII.9* (1282): G 1:187

Utrum de costa Adae sine additione materiae, potuerit formari Eva. Giles of Rome, *II.11* (1287): G 1:142

Utrum Deus potuit formare corpus Evae de costa Adae absque additione alterius materiae. Thomas of Sutton, *IV.6* (1287): G 1:295

Nutrition

In general

Utrum caro secundum speciem unius hominis possit fieri caro secundum speciem alterius hominis. Nicholas Trivet, *IV.16* (1305): G 1:252

Utrum calidum agat in humidum in animalibus et universaliter in hiis quae nutriuntur. James of Viterbo, *IV.14* (?): G 2:146

De nutrimento quod fuit per fructum ligni vitae et aliorum lignorum in statu innocentiae: de nutrimento sive de modo nutriendi. Anon 11, q. 1 (first half of 13th century): G 2:289

Utrum ex cibo malo et intemperato possit generari sanguis purus temperatus. James of Viterbo, *IV.15* (?): G 2:147

Nutrition and bodily increase

Utrum illud quod nutritur semper augeatur. Francis Caracciolo (Anon 22), q. 24 (1300–10): G 2:301

Utrum comestione debeant proponi grossa aut subtilia. Richard of Middleton, *II.17* (1286): G 1:269

Si nutrimum augeretur vel etiam decresceret. Anon 11, q. 2 (first half of the 13th century): G 2:289

Conversion of food into truth of human nature

Utrum semen mediante quo contrahitur originale, sit de substantia generantis et non de superfluo alimenti. Ferrarius Catalaunus, *I.8* (1276): G 1:109

Utrum alimentum convertatur in veritatem humanae naturae. Thomas Aquinas, *VIII.5* (1267): G 1:285

Utrum aliquid nutrimenti convertatur in veritatem humanae naturae. Henry of Ghent, *II.10* (1277): G 1:180

Utrum alimentum convertatur in virtutem nutriti et specialiter hominis. John of Naples, *II.13* (?): G 2:161

Utrum qualitas nutrimenti maneat in nutrito. John of Naples, *I.9* (?): G 2:160

Utrum elementum transeat in veritatem humanae naturae. Giles, *I.12* (after 1325): G 2:100

Utrum alimentum conversum in corpus Christi fuerit assumptum. Gerard of Saint-Victor, *II.2* (1312–13): G 2:96

Utrum caro secundum speciem unius hominis possit esse caro secundum speciem alterius hominis. John Peckham, *II.8* (1269): G 2:175. Conversion of food after resurrection

Utrum Christus post resurrectionem vere comedit, cibum sibi incorporando. Thomas Aquinas, *III.5* (1270): G 1:279

Utrum aliquid nutrimenti convertatur in veritate humanae naturae in corpore resurgente. Gerard of Abbeville, *VIII.12* (?): G 1:119

Utrum per generativam vel nutritivam aliquid de alimento convertatur in illud quod resurget. Roger Marston, *IV.26* (1285–86): G 2:269

Indivisibles, reality of

- Utrum instans dicat aliquid formaliter positivum. Peter Thomas, *I.15* (1310–30?): G 2:229
- Utrum indivisibile cuiuslibet continui sit aliquid positivum praeter ipsum continuum. Nicholas Trivet, *XI.22* (1314): G 1:254
- Utrum Deus possit annihilare unum solum punctum lineae finitae, scilicet ejus principium vel terminum. John of Naples, *X.6* (?): G 2:169

*Infinity***Nature of infinity**

- Utrum infinitum secundum quod infinitum dicat privationem. Prosper of Reggio Emilia, *I.10* (1317–118): G 2:233

Infinite by addition*Possibility of actual infinite*

- Utrum Deus possit facere infinita esse actu. Thomas Aquinas, *IX.1* (1266): G 1:286
- Utrum Deus possit facere contradictoria esse simul vera, et infinita esse simul actu. Thomas Aquinas, *XII.2* (1270): G 1:289
- Utrum Deus possit producere infinita in actu. William of Hothun, *I.1* (1280): G 1:175
- Utrum Deus possit facere infinitum in actu. Anon 31, q. 8 (1317–1327): G 2:307
- Utrum Deus possit facere infinitum in actu. Anon 7, q. 8 (?): G 1:304
- Utrum Deus possit facere multitudinem infinitam. William of Wodeford, *I.2* (?): G 2:128
- Utrum posset producere in actu completo infinitum sive multitudinem aliquam aliquorum entium infinitam. Godfrey of Fontaines, *X.2* (1294/95): G 1:161
- Utrum Deus possit facere multitudinem infinitam. Gerard of Bologna, *II.2* (1295): G 1:129
- Utrum in numeris sit abire in infinitum. Peter of England, *III.22* (1305): G 2:215
- Utrum, supposito quod Deus sit infinitae virtutis, possit facere effectum infinitum in actu. Hervaeus Natalis, *IV.4* (1312–13): G 2:284
- Utrum possit Deus facere infinitam multitudinem suppositorum sub una specie. John du Val, *I.8* (1312–14): G 2:186
- Utrum Deum possit facere infinita differentia specie, aequaliter ab ipso distantia simpliciter. Peter of Auvergne, *I.2* (1296): G 1:258
- Utrum aliquid praeter Deum possit esse infinitum. John of Naples, *X.1* (?): G 2:169
- Utrum anima Christi possit scire infinita. Thomas Aquinas, *III.3* (1270): G 1:279
- Utrum in Deo sit ponere aliquam infinitatem idearum vel cognitorum. Henry of Ghent, *IV.3* (1280): G 1:183
- Utrum Deus scientia visionis cognoscat infinita. Bernand of Trilia, *III.2* (1285): G 1:104
- Utrum Deus cognosceret infinita. William of Alnwick, *I.9* (1316): G 2:114
- Utrum rationes in Deo fiendorum et possibilitium fieri sint infinita. Roger Marston, *IV.4* (1285–86): G 2:268

Equality of infinities

- Utrum unum infinitum possit esse majus altero. Peter of Tarentasia, *I*8 (1264): G 2:226
 Utrum omnia infinita sint aequalia. Gerard of Abbeville, *XX*.16 (?): G 2:93
 Utrum unum infinitum sit majus alio. John of Naples, *X*.2 (?): G 2:169
 Utrum unum infinitum possit esse maius altero. Anon 8, q. 8 (?): G 1:305
 Utrum creatura simul cum Deo sit aliquid melius quam solus Deus. John of Naples, *XIII*.26 (?): G 2:173
 Utrum Deus possit producere in actu infinita et plus quam infinita. Remi of Florence, *II*.3 (1304–05): G 2:253
 Utrum intellectus divinus intelligat plura quam infinita. Peter of Falco, *II*.2 (1281–82): G 2:126
 Utrum intellectus divinus intelligat plura quam infinita. Richard of Middleton (?), *V*.2 (?): G 1:273

Qualitative infinite

- Utrum ponentes quod supra quamcumque creaturam datam Deus posset facere meliorem in infinitum et quod caritas sit augibilis in infinitum, ponant impossibilia. Nicholas Trivet, *I*.11 (1302): G 1:247
 Utrum in augmento caritatis sit ponere terminum. Ranulphe d'Homblieres, *I*.16 (1274): G 1:265
 Utrum caritas possit augeri in infinitum. Henry of Ghent, *V*.22 (1280): G 1:184
 Utrum in statu isto viae [caritas] possit augeri in infinitum. Richard Knapwell, *I*.15 (1284–85): G 2:256
 Utrum caritas possit crescere in infinitum. Giles of Rome, *I*.18 (1286): G 1:141
 Utrum caritas possit augeri in infinitum. Godfrey of Fontaines, *VII*.12 (1290/91 or 1291/92): G 1:158
 Utrum caritas in statu viae si non haberet terminum posset augeri in infinitum. Giles of Rome (?), *VII*.12 (?): G 1:148
 Utrum caritas possit augeri in infinitum propter considerationem solum rationis. Peter of Saint-Denys, *II*.2 (1312–13): G 2:221
 Utrum caritas possit augeri in infinitum. John of Lana, *II*.11 (1330s): G 2:154
 Utrum peccatum in creatura intellectuali incorporea secundum augmentum procedat in infinitum. Henry of Ghent, *XII*.7 (1288): G 1:195
 Supposito quod supra quamcumque creaturam datam Deus posset facere in gradu essentiali altiore in infinitum, utrum praetermissis mediis prout hic de mediis loqui possumus, possit illam creare quae in infinitum distat a quacumque creatura nunc data. Thomas of Sutton, *I*.3 (1284): G 1:292
 Utrum aliqua forma creata sit intensive et in se formaliter infinita. Nicholas Trivet, *II*.9 (1303): G 1:249
 Utrum Deus possit subtilitatem corporis augere in infinitum. Laurence the Breton, *I*.4 (1311–12): G 2:191
 Utrum in aliquo finito sit dare potentiam infinitam. Peter of England, *III*.10 (1305): G 2:214
 Utrum Deus possit quacumque creatura data producere nobiliorem in infinitum. James of Therines, *II*.5 (1307): G 1:213
 Utrum Deus possit in infinitum producere creaturam nobiliorem quacumque creatura data. Hervaeus (?), *VII*.2 (?): G 1:205; G 2:139
 Utrum absque repugnantia posset Deus facere in infinitum quacumque creatura data in perfectione nobiliorem. Anon 1, q. 6 (?): G 1:297
 Utrum qualibet creatura data Deus possit facere inferiorem in infinitum; et potest intelligi de imperfecta ut est materia prima. Peter of Saint-Denys, *I*.5 (1311–12): G 2:221

Infinite by division

- Utrum Deus potentiam continui qua est divisibile in infinitum possit reducere ad actum. Ferrarius Catalaunus, *II.1* (1277): G 2:86
- Utrum magnitudo naturalis sit divisibilis in infinitum. Richard of Middleton, *III.5* (1287): G 1:270
- Utrum continuum possit dividi in infinitum in partes aequales. Godfrey of Fontaines, *XVI.19* (1303/04): G 2:104
- Utrum Deus cognoscat omnes partes continui. John of Naples, *XII.2* (?): G 2:171
- Utrum Deus potentiam continui qua est divisibile in infinitum possit reducere. Anon 6, q. 1 (?): G 1:302
- Utrum Deus possit facere species infinitas secundum omnem modum, scilicet ad superius ut inter supremam creaturam et Deum, et ad inferius ut inter materiam primam quae dicitur esse infima creaturarum et nihil, et in medio ut inter duas species creatas. James of Viterbo, *I.2* (1293): G 1:215
- Utrum possit Deus facere infinita secundum speciem differentia, inter infimam creaturam et non ens. Peter of Auvergne, *I.3* (1296): G 1:258
- Utrum Deus possit facere infinita specie differentia inter supremam creaturam et ipsum. Peter of Auvergne, *I.4* (1296): G 1:258
- Utrum inter duas species in universo Deus posset sic facere infinitas. Peter of Auvergne, *I.5* (1296): G 1:258

*Intensification and remission of forms***Reality of intensification and remission**

- Utrum aliqua forma accidentalis intendatur vel remittatur. Giles of Rome, *II.14* (1287): G 1:142
- Utrum forma accidentalis intendatur et remittatur. Peter of Auvergne, *III.6* (1298): G 1:260
- Utrum caritas suscipiat magis et minus. John Baconthorpe, *II.4* (1324–25): G 2:150
- Utrum qualitas recipiat magis et minus. Robert Holcot, *III.10* (Before 1349): G 2:260
- Utrum aliquod accidens suscipiat magis et minus. Hervaeus (?), *VI.11* (?): G 1:205; G 2:139
- Utrum rectitudo rationis, secundum id quod est, suscipiat magis et minus. John of Pouilly, *I.10* (1307): G 1:224
- Utrum habitus infusa possit augeri. Henry of Ghent, *V.19* (1280): G 1:184
- Utrum caritas possit augeri. Richard Knapwell, *I.14* (1284–1285): G 2:256
- Utrum caritas quae est donum creatum possit recipere in se augmentum. Giles of Rome (?), *VII.10* (?): G 1:148
- Utrum caritas possit augeri et minui. Thomas of Bailly, *IV.11* (1304): G 2:276
- Utrum caritas possit augeri. John of Naples, *XIII.15* (?): G 2:172
- Utrum caritas possit diminui cum effectum. Henry of Ghent, *V.23* (1280): G 1:184
- Utrum caritas possit diminui. Godfrey of Fontaines, *XIV.17* (1298/99): G 1:167
- Utrum caritas possit minui. Robert Walsingham, *I.13* (1312–13): G 2:263
- Utrum forma substantialis recipiat magis et minus. Thomas of Sutton, *IV.12* (1287): G 1:296

Theories of intensification/remission*Intensification by degrees of essence*

- Utrum forma accidentalis suscipiat magis et minus per essentiam. Nicholas Trivet, *III.13* (1304): G 1:250
- Utrum caritas per suam essentiam augeatur. Thomas Aquinas, *IX.13* (1266): G 1:286
- Utrum accidentia suscipiant magis et minus secundum essentiam vel secundum esse. James of Viterbo, *II.3* (1294): G 1:216
- Utrum caritas recipiat magis et minus secundum gradus in essentia. Anon 23, q. 7 (1306): G 2:302
- Utrum in formis accidentalibus sint gradus quantum ad esse tantum vel etiam quantum ad essentiam. John of Naples, *I.5* (?): G 2:160
- Utrum caritas possit minui secundum substantiam. Roger Marston, *IV.35* (1285–86): G 2:269
- Utrum caritas sive quicumque habitus possit augeri per essentiam. Godfrey of Fontaines, *II.10* (1286): G 1:153

Intensification by disposition of subject

- Utrum caritas augeatur solum per meliorem dispositionem subjecti. William de la Mare, *I.8* (1274–75): G 2:117

Intensification by generation and corruption

- Supposito quod in caritate sint gradus, utrum cum caritas intenditur gradus unus intensus essentialiter corrumpatur. Thomas of Bailly, *III.15* (1303–04): G 2:275

Intensification by addition

- Utrum caritas augetur quoad habitum per aliquid sibi additum vel per alium modum. Giles of Rome (?), *VII.11* (?): G 1:148
- Utrum caritas vel aliqua alia forma intendatur per aliquid novum inductum intrinsecum ipsi formae. Kykeley, *I.15* (beginning of 14th century): G 2:190
- Utrum caritas augeatur per additionem novae caritatis. Robert Walsingham, *I.12* (1312–113): G 2:263

Are remitted forms privations?

- Utrum in augmento caritatis privatio minoris gradus habeat rationem termini a quo. Gui Terreni, *II.14* (1314): G 1:171
- Utrum minus calidum opponatur perfecte calido solum privative. Thomas of Wylton, *I.10* (1312–13): G 2:279

Numerical identity of degrees

- Utrum forma accidentalis intensa et remissa differant numero. Giles of Rome, *VI.10* (1291): G 1:146
- Utrum caritas aucta sit eadem in numero cum caritate praecedente. James of Viterbo, *II.19* (1294): G 1:217
- Utrum caritas augmentata sit eadem numero quae prius. James of Therines, *II.14* (1307): G 1:213
- Utrum caritas aucta sit eadem numero cum precedente. Prosper of Reggio Emilia, *I.14* (1317–18): G 2:234

- Utrum qualitas intensa et remissa sit eadem numero. John (associated with John of Naples, Giles of Rome), *I.8* (?): G 2:148
- Utrum aliqua forma numero possit esse terminus istorum motuum, scilicet motus intensioris et motus remissioris. Kykeley, *II.16* (beginning of 14th century): G 2:190
- Utrum qualitas eadem numero suscipiat magis et minus. Thomas of Wylton, *I.9* (1312–13): G 2:279

Indivisibility of degrees

- Utrum gradus albedinis sint simpliciter indivisibiles. Thomas of Wylton, *I.11* (1312–13): G 2:279
- Utrum latitudo huiusmodi graduum accipiatur secundum modum quantitatis continuæ et discretæ, i.e. utrum sint æqualis perfectionis vel inæqualis. Thomas of Bailly, *III.16* (1303–04): G 2:275
- Utrum cum unitate specifica speciei atome alicujus qualitatis stet distinctio graduum infra illam naturam sic unam. Thomas of Wylton, *I.8* (1312–13): G 2:279
- Utrum aliqua forma recipiat intentionem a parte subiecti quod tamen secundum se consistit in indivisibili. Nicholas Trivet, *V.24* (1306): G 1:253
- Continuity of intensification
- Utrum in qualibet alteratione sint infinitæ formæ realiter differentes. Hervæus, *II.13* (1308): G 1:202

Specification of degrees

- Utrum forma accidentalis intensa et remissa sit eadem specie. Giles of Rome, *VI.9* (1291): G 1:146
- Utrum qualitas intensa et remissa sint eadem specie. John (assoc with John of Naples, Giles of Rome), *I.7* (?): G 2:148

Light

Exists in the medium

- Utrum lux corporalis educatur de potentia medii vel de nihilo. Francis Caracciolo (Anon 22), q. 27 (1300–110): G 2:301
- Utrum lumen educatur de potentia medii. Henry of Lubeck, *III.19* (1325): G 2:137
- Utrum lumen realiter sit in aere. Richard of Middleton, *I.11* (1285): G 1:268
- Utrum lux sit realiter in medio. James of Viterbo, *IV.6* (?): G 2:146
- Utrum lux in medio habeat esse reale vel intentionale tantum. Remi of Florence, *I.6* (1303–04): G 2:253
- An radii diversorum luminarium existentes in eadem parte aeris habeant ibi esse distinctum. Peter John Olivi, *III.6* (?): G 2:208
- Utrum species habeat esse corporale in medio. Raymond Rigauld, *I.8* (?): G 2:240
- Utrum species rei in oculo sit realis. Peter of England, *III.19* (1305): G 2:215
- Utrum colores qui apparent in iride sint veri colores. Nicholas of Lyra (Anon 18), q. 10 (?): G 2:298

As related to sight

- Utrum visus fiat intussuscipiendo vel extramittendo. Roger Marston, *I.19* (1282–83): G 2:265
- Utrum visio corporalis fiat per emissionem radiorum. Kykeley, *I.10* (beginning of 14th century): G 2:189
- Utrum modica diversitas radiorum faciat diversitatem in effectu. Peter of England, *II.10* (1304–05): G 2:213
- Utrum imago videatur in speculo vel res ipsa. Roger Marston, *IV.24* (1285–86): G 2:269

Permanent or successive

- Utrum esse luminis sit in continuo fieri aut habeat esse manens. John Peckham, *II.7* (1269): G 2:175

*Limit-decision problems***Existence for an instant**

- Utrum Deus possit creare angelum uno tantum instanti temporis permanentem. Roger Marston, *III.2* (1284–85): G 2:267
- Utrum Deus possit facere creaturam uno solo instanti durantem. Vital du Four, *III.1* (1296–97): G 2:282
- Utrum Deus possit facere creaturam quae non duret nisi per unum instans. John Quidort, *I.6* (1304): G 1:229
- Utrum aliqua creatura possit durare per solum unum instans. John of Naples, *IX.7* (?): G 2:167
- Utrum virtute divina possibile sit materiam sine forma per instans temporis vel duas formas substantiales simul esse in eadem. Nicholas Trivet, *I.6* (1302): G 1:247
- Utrum forma per solum instans possit esse in subiecto. Gerard of Bologna, *II.20* (1295): G 1:130
- Utrum repugnet vel contradicat creaturae in quantum creatura agere in instanti; dato quod fiat illuminatio in instanti, utrum illuminatio diurna hoc est quae durat per totam diem, mensuretur sive fiat ex illuminationibus instantaneis sive indivisibilibus. Vital du Four, *III.7* (1296–97): G 2:282
- Utrum in aliquod subiectum possit esse sub aliqua forma solum per instans. Anon 27, q. 2 (?): G 2:304

Limit decisions

- Utrum angelus potuit mereri et demereri in primo instanti. William Ockham, *II.6* (1324–25): G 2:119
- Utrum sit dare primum nunc in quo nimis laute expendens peccet mortaliter. Gerard of Bologna, *III.20* (1296): G 1:131
- Utrum Deus simul posset infundere caritatem et augere eam. Hervaeus, *II.6* (1308): G 1:202
- Utrum Beata Virgo fuerit sanctificata in instanti creationis vel infusionis animae suae. Hervaeus (?), *VII.22* (?): G 1:206; G 2:139
- Utrum Virgo Beata contraxerit originale sub mensura temporis vel instantis. Raymond Rigauld, *V.6* (?): G 2:245

- Utrum, supposito quod Beata Virgo fuit concepta in peccato originali, in eodem instanti potuerit habere gratiam. Giles of Rome, *VI*.20 (1291): G 1:146
- Utrum Beata Virgo posuit stesisse in peccato originali tantum per instans. William Ockham, *III*.10 (1324–25): G 2:120
- Utrum esset dare ultimum instans in quo Christus vivebat. Giles of Rome, *II*.5 (1289): G 1:144
- Utrum in iustificatione impii simul in eodem instanti sit introductio, id est infusio gratiae, et expulsio, id est remissio culpae. Bernard of Trilia, *II*.19 (1284): G 1:103
- Utrum gratia sanctificans fuit Beatae Virgini infusa in primo instanti suae creationis. Thomas of Sutton, *III*.15 (1286): G 1:295
- Utrum angelus in primo instanti potuerit esse in culpa, hoc est utrum in primo instanti se potuit nimis amare. John Peckham, *I*.9 (1270): G 1:221
- Utrum anima in instanti infusionis suae contrahat originale peccatum. Roger Marston, *II*.14 (1283–84): G 2:266
- Utrum angelus potest peccasse in primo instanti suae creationis. Nicholas Trivet, *IV*.11 (1305): G 1:252
- Utrum angelus in primo instanti suae creationis poterit peccare mortaliter. John du Val, *I*.5 (1312–14): G 2:186
- Utrum angelus potuerit peccare in primo instanti suae durationis. John of Naples, *XII*.5 (?): G 2:171
- Utrum faba ascendens obvians lapidi molari descendenti quiescat. Richard of Middleton, *II*.16 (1286): G 1:269

Naturally divisible temporal instants

- Utrum duobus instantibus existentibus in tempore angeli respondeat unicum temporis nostri. Henry of Ghent, *XIII*.7 (1289): G 1:197
- Utrum Deus in hoc instanti posset facere mundum antiquiorem. Raymond Rigauld, *VI*.1 (?): G 2:246
- Utrum instans habeat rationem plurium signorum. Giles, *I*.9 (after 1325?): G 2:100
- Utrum in eodem instanti sint plura signa. John (associated with John of Naples, Giles of Rome), *I*.5 (?): G 2:148
- Utrum in eodem instanti sub speciebus illis sit substantia panis et corpus Christi. Thomas Aquinas, *VII*.9 (1265): G 1:284
- Utrum in eodem instanti temporis possit dici quod sub illis speciebus est panis et corpus Christi. Richard of Middleton, *I*.4 (1285): G 1:268
- Utrum natura pure existens creata sit et non sit in eodem instanti. Anon 12, q. 6 (1265–1266): G 2:290

Matter

Reality of prime matter

Distinct from form

- Utrum sit dare materiam primam. Peter of England, *II*.1 (1304–05): G 2:213
- Utrum materia sit distincta a forma. Amadeus of Castello, *I*.8 (1313–14): G 2:60
- Utrum probare materiam primam esse pertineat ad philosophiam naturalem. James of Viterbo, *IV*.5 (?): G 2:146

Separable from form

- Utrum Deus possit facere materiam esse sine forma. Anon 13, q. 2 (1255–75): G 2:291
- Utrum Deus possit facere quod materia sit sine forma. Thomas Aquinas, *III.1* (1270): G 1:279
- Utrum Deus potuit facere materiam sine forma et e converso. Gerard of Abbeville, *XX.19* (?): G 2:94
- Utrum materia possit existere per se sine forma. Henry of Ghent, *I.10* (1276): G 1:178
- Utrum Deus per infinitam potentiam suam possit facere materiam esse sine omni forma. John Peckham, *III.1* (1277): G 2:177
- Utrum possit facere materiam actu existere sine forma. Roger Marston, *I.2* (1282–83): G 2:264
- Utrum Deus posset facere materiam actu sine forma. Bernard of Trilia, *I.2* (1283): G 1:102
- Utrum Deus posset facere materiam primam actu existentem absque omni forma. Roger Marston, *II.2* (1285–86): G 2:268
- Utrum Deus possit facere materiam sine forma. James of Viterbo, *IV.1* (?): G 2:146
- Utrum materia possit fieri in effectu sine forma. Kykeley, *I.11* (beginning of 14th century): G 2:189
- Utrum materia prima possit conservari in esse sine omni forma. Thomas of Bailly, *I.5* (1301–02): G 2:273
- Utrum Deus possit facere quod materia existat actu sine forma. Remi of Florence, *I.1* (1303–04): G 2:252
- Utrum Deus possit facere quod materia existat actu sine forma. Remi of Florence, *II.1* (1304–05): G 2:253
- Utrum Deus possit facere materiam esse sine forma. Hervaeus (?), *VI.1* (?): G 1:205; G 2:139
- Utrum Deus possit facere materiam sine forma. John of Naples, *VIII.7* (?): G 2:166
- Utrum quocumque agente materia possit esse sine omni forma. Henry of Lubeck, *I.18* (1323): G 2:135
- Utrum materia prima creata fuerit vel creari potuerit omnino informis sive carens omni forma. Godfrey of Fontaines, *I.4* (1285): G 1:151
- Utrum Deus possit assumere materiam primam sine forma, in unitate suppositi. Peter of Auvergne, *IV.5* (1299): G 1:261
- Utrum in reliquiis sanctorum, facta resolutione ad materiam, sit aliquid adorandum. Peter of Auvergne, *II.13* (1297): G 1:260

Prime matter lowest of beings

- Utrum in causa materiali sit ponere statum. Peter of Ang, *II.7* (after Richard of Middleton): G 2:217
- Utrum possit fieri vel esse aliquod ens inferioris ordinis quam materia prima. Henry of Lubeck, *I.20* (1323): G 2:135

Matter and passive potencies

- An potentia materiae sit eadem per essentiam cum materia cuius est. Peter John Olivi, *III.3* (?): G 2:208
- Utrum privatio sit essentia materiae. Nicholas Trivet, *II.8* (1303): G 1:249
- Utrum materia sit ratio receptiva quantitatis continua. Hervaeus, *II.10* (1308): G 1:202
- Utrum materia prima sit sua potentia. Nicholas Trivet, *V.22* (1306): G 1:253

- Utrum supposito quod privatio subtrahatur a materia et illa cedat in compositionem alicuius compositi, illud compositum sit corruptibile vel incorruptibile. Francis Caracciolo (Anon 21), q. 12 (1300–10): G 2:300
- Utrum possibilitas sit in entibus ex materia vel quia sunt ex nihilo. Raymond Rigauld, *III.11* (?): G 2:243
- Utrum Deus posset facere aliquam creaturam inferiorem prima materia generalibium et corruptibilium. Richard of Middleton, *II.3* (1286): G 1:269
- Utrum Deus possit perficere omnem possibilitatem materiae. Raymond Rigauld, *I.2* (?): G 2:240
- Utrum relatio materiae sit relatio potentiae. Gui Terreni, *III.4* (1315): G 1:171
- Utrum possint esse duae potentiae pure passivae essentialiter distinctae. James of Viterbo, *III.16* (1295–96): G 2:145
- Utrum materia possit esse pars essentialis alicujus corporis incorruptibilis per naturam. Gregory of Lucca, *I.6* (1310–11): G 2:106
- Unity of matter
- Utrum materia omnium habentium materiam sit una. Matthew of Aquasparta, *II.9* (1279–180): G 2:195
- Utrum omnium corporalium sit una materia. Willam of Hothun, *I.17* (1280): G 1:176
- Utrum sit materia una numero in omni substantia eam habente. Giles of Rome (?), *VII.8* (?): G 1:148
- Utrum circumscripto a materia omni respectu ad formam sit una materia omnium. Francis Caracciolo (Anon 21), q. 11 (1300–10): G 2:300
- Utrum sit omnium creaturarum communis materia. Gueric of Saint-Quentin, *II.7* (1233–42): G 2:108

Grades of matter

- Utrum in materia sint essentielles gradus sicut in forma. Giles of Rome, *V.19* (1290): G 1:145
- Utrum in essentia materiae possit dari plus et minus. John of Naples, *VII.5* (1316–17): G 2:165

Matter and dimensions

- Utrum sit ponere dimensiones interminatas in materia. Peter of Ang, *II.8* (After Richard of Middleton): G 2:217
- Utrum in materia sit propria extensio sine quantitate. Francis Caracciolo (Anon 22), q. 21 (1300–10): G 2:301
- Utrum aliqua qualitas manet inseparabiliter in materia. Nicholas Trivet, *III.11* (1304): G 1:250
- Utrum alia sit dimensio materiae et dimensio quantitatis. Hervaeus Natalis, *VIII.10* (after 1304): G 2:182
- Utrum materia existens sub quantitate habeat aliam extensionem ab extensione quantitatis. Nicholas Trivet, *XI.21* (1314): G 1:254
- Utrum in substantia corporea dimensiones indeterminatae praecedunt formam substantialem in materia. Peter of Auvergne, *I.10* (1296): G 1:259
- Utrum in materia generabilium praecedat aliqua dimensio formam quae inducitur. Thomas of Wylton, *I.17* (1312–13): G 2:279
- Utrum in materia prima quacumque sit potentia passiva ad quamcumque extensionem. Roger Marston, *IV.23* (1285–86): G 2:269
- Utrum extensio materiae sit alia ab extensione quantitatis qua est in materia. Thomas of Sutton, *III.17* (1286): G 1:295

*Matter-form composite***Form educed from matter**

- Utrum forma inducatur in materiam mediantibus aliquibus dispositionibus. Roger Marston, *I.17* (1282–83): G 2:265
- Utrum in materia prima, virtute supernaturalis agentis, possit fieri forma et species ad quam non est in potentia naturali. Godfrey of Fontaines, *II.6* (1286): G 1:153
- Utrum in composito ex materia et forma educibili de potentia materiae creato, principalius creetur materia an forma. Henry of Ghent, *XI.3* (1287): G 1:193
- Utrum forma substantialis educatur de potentia materiae. Nicholas Trivet, *V.23* (1306): G 1:253
- Utrum Deus possit educere formam de potentia materiae. John of Lana, *I.2* (1330s): G 2:153
- Utrum in materia prima possit induci a Deo aliqua forma quae non possit per agens naturale educi de ea. Thomas of Wylton, *I.22* (1312–13): G 2:279
- Utrum forma naturalis per agens naturale recedat in potentiam materiae. Francis Caracciolo (Anon 22), q. 23 (1300–10): G 2:301
- Utrum forma quae educitur de potentia materiae sit idem cum essentia materiae. Godfrey of Fontaines, *XIV.25* (1298/99): G 1:167
- Utrum anima intellectiva educatur de potentia materiae. Thomas of Sutton, *I.12* (1284): G 1:293

Priority of matter or form

- Utrum forma principalius creetur a Deo quam materia. Giles, *I.27* (?): G 2:101

Substantiality and corporeality

- Utrum esse corporeum de genere substantiae sit a forma substantiali vel a materia. Gerard of Sienna, *I.14* (1330): G 2:98
- Utrum substantia praedicetur de materia et forma. Francis Caracciolo (Anon 21), q. 9 (1300–10): G 2:300

Measure

- Utrum mensura et mensuratum sint unigenae. Peter of Ang, *II.15* (After Richard of Middleton): G 2:217
- Utrum numerus formaliter sit ens praeter animam. Thomas of Wylton, *I.15* (1312–13): G 2:279

Medicine

- Utrum si homo non peccasset utilis fuisset consideratio medicorum et utrum indiguisset adminiculo artis medicinae. James of Viterbo, *IV.18* (?): G 2:147
- Utrum melius sit facere phlebotomiam in novilunio aut in plenilunio. Henry of Lubeck, *I.33* (1323): G 2:136

Utrum sit flebotomandus a medico astrologo ille de quo iudicatur per astrologiam quod si flebotomatur moritur, et per medicinam quod si non flebotomatur moritur, utpote qui incurrit squalentiam. John of Naples, *VIII.31* (?): G 2:167

Motion of body

Necessity of motion

Utrum omne movens naturaliter de necessitate moveatur. Nicholas Trivet, *III.4* (1304): G 1:250

Motion in instant

Generally

Utrum Deus posset movere aliquod corpus localiter ab oriente in occidentem motu recto in instanti. Richard of Middleton, *II.2* (1286): G 1:268

Utrum motus naturalis possit fieri in instanti. Richard of Middleton, *III.6* (1287): G 1:270

Utrum Deus possit facere quod unum corpus existens in uno loco, puta Parisus, fuerit in loco remoto ut Romae, absque hoc quod sit in loco medio. Richard of Middleton (?), *V.4* (?): G 1:273

Utrum Deus posset movere unum corpus de loco ad locum in instanti. Peter of Trabibus, *II.1* (1296): G 2:231

Utrum Deus potest facere motum in instanti. William Ockham, *IV.10* (1324–25): G 2:121

An Deus possit in uno instanti transferre aliquam rem de uno loco ad alterum per spatium intermedium. Peter John Olivi, *I.1* (?): G 2:205

Utrum Deus omnipotentia sua possit facere quod corpus subito possit moveri. Gerard of Abbeville, *XV.7* (1270): G 1:123

Utrum Deus possit facere quod unum corpus existens in uno loco, puta Parisius, fuerit in loco remoto ut Romae, absque hoc quod sit in loco medio. Peter of Falco, *II.4* (1281–82): G 2:126

Utrum virtute divina vel aliqua alia, grave possit moveri in instanti. Gerard of Bologna, *IV.3* (1297): G 1:132

In vacuum

Utrum posito vacuo, motus possit fieri in instanti. Raymond Rigauld, *IV.31* (?): G 2:245

Utrum posito vacuo et quod grave descenderet per illud, ille motus descendendi foret subitus vel successivus. Nicholas Trivet, *III.17* (1304): G 1:250

Requires subject

Utrum Deus possit facere motum sine mobili. John of Naples, *I.1* (?): G 2:160

Utrum Deus possit facere motum sine mobili. John of Naples, *VI.16* (1315–16): G 2:165

As fluxus formae

Utrum motus et forma ad quam est sit idem secundum rem. Francis Caracciolo (Anon 22), q. 22 (1300–10): G 2:301

Utrum motus differat realiter a suo termino. Nicholas Trivet, *II.21* (1303): G 1:249

Utrum motus sit idem cum termino ad quem. John of Naples, *I.8* (?): G 2:160

As relation

Utrum motus localis sit de genere relationis. Laurence the Breton, *I.9* (1311–12): G 2:191

And glorified body

Utrum motus sit in corporibus glorificatis. Alexander of Hales, *II.11* (1231–38): G 2:59

Utrum corpus glorificatum inanimatum moveatur. Gerard of Abbeville, *I.10* (1264): G 1:112

Utrum si corpus gloriosum deponeretur ab anima moveretur si poneretur in aere. Vital du Four, *III.9* (1296–97): G 2:282

*Motion of heaven***Cause of motion of heaven**

Utrum substantia caeli per seipsam sit mobilis. Godfrey of Fontaines, *V.7* (1288): G 1:156

Utrum Deus sit motor. John Peckham, *III.2* (1277): G 2:177

Utrum Deus sit motor orbis. Francis Caracciolo (Anon 21), q. 4 (1300–10): G 2:300

Motion of heaven is natural

Utrum plus conveniat celo moveri quam quiescere. William of Barlo, *I.6* (1266–67): G 2:115

Role of motion in sustaining universe

An cessantibus motionibus celestium corporum omne corpus elementatum corruptibile in elementa solveretur in momento. Anon 15, q. 10 (1269–70): G 2:293

An si nulla essent lumina stellarum et nullus esset motus celestium corporum omnia animalia corruptibilia in momento morentur. Anon 15, q. 13 (1269–70): G 2:293

Utrum cessatio motus caeli post iudicium erit causa incorruptionis corporum damnantorum. Henry of Ghent, *XI.15* (1287): G 1:194

Utrum celo quiescente cessent omnes alii motus. Peter of Trabibus, *I.42* (1295): G 2:231

Utrum ad causalitatem et motum istorum inferiorum requiritur necessario causalitas et motus corporum supercaelestium. Nicholas Trivet, *I.27* (1302): G 1:248

Utrum cessante motu celi cesset omnis actio in inferioribus. John of Naples, *IX.12* (?): G 2:168

Utrum posita annihilatione spherarum inferiorum prima sphaera cum motore suo sufficeret ad generationem et generaturm permanentiam. Henry of Lubeck, *III.9* (1325): G 2:137

Utrum cessante motu celi cessarent generationes et corruptiones. Anon 35, q. 2 (?): G 2:309

Eternity of motion

Utrum probabilius sit primum mobile et motum eius incepisse de novo quam fuisse ab aeterno. Hervaeus, *III.11* (1309–18): G 1:203

Motion requires fixity of poles

Utrum in motu celi requiratur fixio polorum sicut et centri. James of Viterbo, *IV.7* (1295–96): G 2:146

Motion is absolute (non-relational)

Utrum motus celi sit aliquid absolutum. Henry of Lubeck, *II.19* (1324): G 2:137

Motion of immaterial substance

Reality of motion of immaterial substance

Utrum angelus moveatur de loco ad locum. Henry of Ghent, *IV.17* (1279): G 1:182

Utrum angelus potest moveri localiter. William Ockham, *I.5* (1324–25): G 2:118

Motion of immaterial substance instantaneous or successive

Utrum angelus moveatur in instanti vel successive. Anon 12, q. 7 (before 1265–1266): G 2:290

Utrum angelus moveatur in instanti. Thomas Aquinas, *IX.9* (1266): G 1:286

Utrum motus angeli sit in instanti. Thomas Aquinas, *XI.4* (1267): G 1:287

Utrum angelus poterit vel possit moveri a loco in locum et in instanti. Peter of England, *II.25* (1304–05): G 2:214

Utrum angelus possit moveri de extremo ad extremum non transeundo per medium. Thomas Aquinas, *I.5* (1269): G 1:277

Utrum angelus possit ire et redire de loco ad locum sine quiete media. Peter of Traibus, *I.9* (1295): G 2:230

Utrum angelus possit transire de celo in terram absque hoc quod transeat per medium. Peter Swannington, *I.10* (1300): G 2:224

Motion of angel through vacuum

Utrum angelus possit moveri per vacuum. William Ockham, *I.8* (1324–25): G 2:119

Operation, necessity of

- Utrum cuilibet naturae specificae respondeat propria et determinata operatio. Thomas of Sutton, *I.8* (1284): G 1:292
- Utrum Deus possit facere rem sine propria operatione. Anon 25, q. 2 (?): G 2:304
- Utrum alicui possit convenire ratio agentis et non possit agere. Gui Terreni, *III.3* (1315): G 1:171
- Utrum entia naturalia differant ab artificialibus per hoc quod entia naturalia habent in se ipsis principia sui motus, et artificialia non. Anon 35, q. 5 (?): G 2:309
- Utrum inclinatio formae differat realiter a forma. William Ockham, *III.22* (1324–25): G 2:120

*Permanent/successive distinction***Is all existence successive**

- An substantia intellectualis, puta angelus, sit possibilis fieri successive a Deo. Peter John Olivi, *II.14* (?): G 2:207
- Utrum ignis qui est in candela sit idem numero et in fine et in principio. James of Viterbo, *IV.10* (?): G 2:146
- Utrum esse cuiuslibet rei semper sit in fieri. Ferrarius Catalaunus, *I.3* (1276): G 1:109
- Utrum esse creaturae sit continue in fieri. Hervaeus Natalis, *VIII.7* (after 1304): G 2:182
- Utrum esse creaturae sit in continuo fieri vel in continuo facto esse. John of Naples, *VZ.5* (1315–1316): G 2:164
- Utrum gratia in anima sit in fieri vel in facto esse. John Peckham, *III.39* (1277): G 2:178
- Utrum caritas habeat esse in fieri vel in facto esse. Godfrey of Fontaines, *IX.11* (1293/94): G 1:160
- Utrum Deus possit facere substantiam spiritualem, puta angelum vel animam successive. Peter of Ang, *I.1* (after Richard of Middleton): G 2:216
- Utrum fieri rerum permanentium differat per essentiam ab esse eorum. Peter of Ang, *I.6* (after Richard of Middleton): G 2:216
- Utrum esse creaturae, ex dependentia sui a creatore, habeat esse in continuo fieri vel in esse manenti. Raymond Rigauld, *I.6* (?): G 2:240
- Utrum esse substantiae corruptibilis mensuretur tempore. Hervaeus, *II.12* (1308): G 1:202
- Utrum substantia rei generabilis sit in tempore. Giles, *I.7* (?): G 2:100
- Utrum visio sit actio manens. Martin of Abbeville, *II.9* (1313–14): G 2:193

Is creation successive?

- Supposito secundum Commentatorem quod motus vel transmutatio sit forma imperfecta ad quam est sive id quod per ipsum acquiritur, utrum ista duo stent simul: quod creatio sit idem quod factio ipsius esse creaturae et cum ipsa tota creatura quantum ad totam essentiam et ipsum esse creetur. Godfrey of Fontaines, *IX.6* (1293/94): G 1:159
- Utrum angelus semper creetur. Hervaeus, *IX.3* (1305–07): G 2:62

*Place of body***Nature of place***Place as a relation*

Utrum deus possit facere quod manente corpore et loco, corpus non habeat ubi sive esse in loco. John Duns Scotus, *I.11* (1307): G 1:219

Utrum ubi importat rem distinctam a rebus absolutis. William Ockham, *VII.6* (1324–25): G 2:124

Utrum unitas universi vel approximatio causarum vel distantia rerum important res distinctas a rebus absolutis. William Ockham, *VII.8* (1324–25): G 2:124

Immobility of place

Utrum locus sit immobilis. Nicholas Trivet, *II.23* (1303): G 1:249

Presence of body to place

Utrum substantia materialis extensa per suas partes intrinsecas sit immediate praesens loco. William Ockham, *II.20* (1324–25): G 2:121

Proper place of body

Utrum post resurrectionem erunt aliqua individua composita in isto mundo inferiori. Henry of Ghent, *IV.12* (1279): G 1:182

Utrum corpori glorioso sit aliquis locus determinatus ad quem naturaliter moveatur. James of Aleus, *I.12* (1285): G 1:210

Utrum si Deus faceret corpus in convexo celi posset movere pedem. Laurence the Breton, *I.8* (1311–12): G 2:191

Co-location of two or more bodies*Possibility of co-location*

Utrum duae materiae possint esse simul. John of Naples, *I.4* (?): G 2:160

Utrum duo corpora sint in eodem loco. Gerard of Abbeville, *VI.21* (1266): G 1:117

Utrum duo corpora eiusdem speciei possint aliquo modo esse simul in eodem loco distincta secundum se. Thomas of Sutton, *IV.16* (1287): G 1:296

Utrum duo corpora possint simul esse in eodem loco simul. Peter of Ang, *II.14* (after Richard of Middleton): G 2:217

Possibility of co-location by divine power

Utrum possit facere Deus idem corpus numero esse simul et semel localiter in pluribus locis absque hoc quod aliquid convertatur in ipsum. William de la Mare, *I.3* (1274–75): G 2:117

Utrum per miraculum possint duo corpora esse in eodem loco simul. Richard Knapwell, *I.21* (1284–85): G 2:256

Utrum Deus possit facere quod duo corpora sint in eodem loco. Raymond Rigauld, *I.7* (?): G 2:240

Utrum duo corpora simul esse in eodem loco implicet contradictionem. James of Ascoli, *I.9* (1311–12): G 2:141

Utrum per virtutem divinam posset fieri quod duo corpora possent esse simul. Durandus of Saint-Pourcain, *III.8* (1314): G 2:73

- Utrum Deus possit facere quod duo corpora sint simul in eodem loco. John of Naples, *VII.4* (1316–17): G 2:165
- Utrum duo corpora possint esse in eodem loco proprio quacumque virtute divina. Anon 31, q. 3 (1317–27): G 2:307
- Utrum duo corpora possint esse in eodem loco proprio quacumque virtute divina. Anon 7, q. 3 (?): G 1:304
- An duo corpora possint esse simul in eodem loco. Peter John Olivi, *III.7* (?): G 2:208
- Supposito quod duo corpora sint in eodem loco, utrum sint ibi circumscriptive. Anon 24, q. 7 (?): G 2:303
- Utrum [duo corpora in eodem loco sint ibi] diffinitive. Anon 24, q. 8 (?): G 2:303

Glorified body co-located with other bodies

- Utrum corpus gloriosum possit esse cum alio corpore in eodem loco. Thomas Aquinas, *I.21* (1269): G 1:278
- Utrum aliquo modo corpus gloriosum possit esse simul in eodem loco cum alio corpore. Thomas Aquinas, *I.22* (1269): G 1:278
- Utrum duo corpora glorificata possint esse simul in eodem loco. Peter of Trabibus, *I.16* (1295): G 2:230
- Utrum corpus gloriosum possit simul esse cum non glorioso. Roger Marston, *I.23* (1282–83): G 2:265
- Utrum corpus gloriosum posset esse cum non glorioso simul. Roger Marston, *IV.25* (1285–86): G 2:269

Multilocation

Possibility of multilocation

- Utrum idem homo possit esse corporaliter et localiter in diversis locis. John Peckham, *III.38* (1277): G 2:178
- Utrum aliquod corpus possit simul esse in diversis locis. Godfrey of Fontaines, *IV.5* (1287): G 1:154
- Utrum unum corpus possit simul esse in diversis locis. Peter of Ang, *II.13* (After Richard of Middleton): G 2:217

Possibility of multilocation by divine power

- Utrum Deus per omnipotentiam suam possit facere quod unum corpus sit localiter in pluribus locis. Matthew of Aquasparta, *IV.1* (1282): G 2:196
- Utrum Deus possit facere idem corpus localiter esse simul in duobus locis. Thomas Aquinas, *III.1* (1270): G 1:279
- Utrum Deus posset facere quod unum corpus esset in duobus locis sine conversione eius in aliud corpus. Bernard of Trilia, *II.3* (1284): G 1:103
- Utrum idem corpus in diversis locis simul per miraculum esse possit. Richard Knapwell, *I.22* (1284–85): G 2:256
- Utrum Deus possit facere idem corpus numero esse in duobus locis localiter. Roger Marston, *III.4* (1284–85): G 2:267
- Utrum Deus posset facere unum corpus in diversis locis localiter. Richard of Middleton, *I.2* (1285): G 1:268
- Utrum aliqua virtute possit unum corpus esse simul in pluribus locis. Francis Caracciolo (Anon 22), q. 26 (1300–10): G 2:301
- Utrum Deus possit facere idem corpus esse localiter in diversis locis. John of Naples, *V.1* (?): G 2:163
- Utrum Deus posset facere quod illud quod habet diversa loca apparentia in comparatione ad diversos videntes ex parte materiae et naturae rei, posset apparere eisdem in uno et eodem loco. Nicholas Trivet, *I.7* (1302): G 1:247

Utrum divina potentia una substantia creata possit esse in diversis locis maxime distantibus. Anon 23, q. 3 (1306): G 2:302

Multilocation of Christ's body

Utrum Christus post resurrectionem apparens aliquibus sanctis in hoc mundo, eadem hora apparitionis remaneat in caelo. Ranulphe d'Homblières, *I.10* (1274): G 1:265
Utrum corpus Christi possit esse simul in diversis locis. Vital du Four, *II.3* (1295–96): G 2:281

Utrum corpus Christi sicut est in caelo localiter et in sacro sacramento altaris, ita possit esse simul et semel localiter in caelo et in terra. Gerard of Abbeville, *VII.3* (?): G 1:118

Multilocation of Ambrose at St Martin's funeral

Quomodo B. Ambrosius exequiis B. Martini dicit se interfuisse. Gerard of Abbeville, *IX.5* (?): G 1:119

Utrum beatus Ambrosius interfuerit exequiis beati Martini. Giles of Rome, *II.17* (1287): G 1:142

Quaeritur ubi erat beatus Ambrosius quando fecit Turonis exequias beati Martini, an Mediolani an Turonis. John of Murrho, *I.2* (1289–90): G 2:158

Vacuum

Extrac cosmic vacuum

Utrum corpus gloriosum possit se facere extra superficiem caeli empyrei. Berthaud of Saint-Denys, *I.15* (1282): G 1:106

Utrum aliquod corpus posset esse supra convexum caeli empyrei. Bernard of Trilia, *II.13* (1284): G 1:103

Utrum Deus possit creare aliquid quod, si fiat, non sit pars universi. Thomas of Sutton, *III.6* (1286): G 1:294

Utrum Deus possit facere corpus aliquod extra caelum quod non tangat caelum. Henry of Ghent, *XIII.3* (1289): G 1:197

Intrac cosmic vacuum

Utrum Deus possit facere spheram ultimam absque aliquo corpore interius contento. Roger Marston, *III.3* (1284–85): G 2:267

Utrum Deus possit conservare caelum et terram in esse per subtractionem influentiae suae, annihilatis intermediis. Nicholas Trivet, *II.2* (1303): G 1:248

Utrum Deus posset conservare caelum et terram in esse, annihilatis [intermediis] per subtractionem influentiae suae. Anon 1, q. 7 (?): G 1:297

Utrum Deus possit facere ut vacuum sit. Henry of Ghent, *XV.1* (1291): G 1:199

Place of body in eucharist

Is body extended?

Utrum substantia materialis extensa corporis Christi componitur ex partibus substantialibus eiusdem rationis situ aliter distinctis. William Ockham, *IV.19* (1324–25): G 2:121

- Utrum possit totum corpus Christi sub speciebus panis contineri. Thomas Aquinas, *VII.8* (1265): G 1:284
- Utrum Christus sit totus in qualibet parte hostiae. Roger Marston, *III.23* (1284–85): G 2:267
- Utrum corpus Christi sub sacramento sit extensum. Roger Marston, *III.24* (1284–85): G 2:268
- Utrum Deus posset facere substantiam existere secundum propriae substantiae partem. William of Wodeford, *I.3* (?): G 2:128
- Utrum terminus conversionis panis in sacramento altaris sit materia corporis Christi ut est sub modo quantitativo. John of Naples, *IV.10* (?): G 2:162
- Utrum substantia materialis extensa per suas partes intrinsecas sit in loco diffinitive seu circumscriptive. William Ockham, *IV.20* (1324–25): G 2:121
- Supposito quod quantitas sit res absoluta distincta a substantia et qualitate, utrum quantitas corporis Christi sub hostia possit habere positionem de genere quantitatis sine positione quae est praedicamentum. William Ockham, *IV.18* (1324–25): G 2:121

Is body really present?

- Utrum corpus Christi sit vere sub sacramento. Matthew of Aquasparta, *II.6* (1279–80): G 2:195
- Utrum corpus Christi gloriosum quod est in caelo habet vere esse in altari sub speciebus panis. Godfrey of Fontaines, *VI.3* (1289): G 1:157
- Utrum corpus Christi sit vere sub sacramento. Matthew of Aquasparta, *II.6* (1279–80): G 2:195

Is body in a place?

- Utrum vere illud corpus assumptum sit in altari. Peter of Trabibus, *I.4* (1296): G 2:229
- Utrum species sacramenti corporis Christi tangunt verum corpus Christi quod est in eis. Henry of Ghent, *I.5* (1276): G 1:177
- Utrum corpus Christi descendat in stomachum. John Peckham, *III.41* (1277): G 2:178
- Utrum accidentia distent localiter a corpore Christi. Raymond Rigauld, *IV.3* (?): G 2:244
- Utrum corpus incipiens esse sacramentaliter sub specie panis vere mutatur localiter. William Ockham, *VI.3* (1324–25): G 2:123

Extension of host required for presence

- Utrum hostia consecrata tam possit dividi seu teri quod desinat esse corpus Christi. John of Naples, *XI.10* (?): G 2:170

Causal powers capacities of body

- Utrum Christus videat se sub illis speciebus oculo corporali. Henry of Ghent, *I.6* (1276): G 1:178
- Utrum Christus seipsum videat ut est sub sacramento. Roger Marston, *I.8* (1282–83): G 2:264
- Utrum sit caro Christi [caro vel puer] quae aliquotiens videtur apparere in loco hostiae consecratae. Roger Marston, *I.10* (1282–83): G 2:264

- Utrum corpus Christi in sacramento altaris sit visibile ab oculo glorificato. Peter of England, *I.8* (1303–04): G 2:212
- Utrum Christus sub sacramento altaris videat se oculo corporali. Peter of Tarantasia, *I.37* (1264): G 2:227
- Utrum Christus oculo suo corporali se videt sub specie sacramentali. Ranulphe d'Homblières, *I.8* (1274): G 1:265
- Utrum Christus in die Cenae quando dedit corpus suum discipulis suis, videret illud oculo corporali sub specie sacramentali. Ranulphe d'Homblières, *I.9* (1274): G 1:265
- Utrum Christus videat se sub sacramento oculo corporali. Peter of Ang, *II.41* (After Richard of Middleton): G 2:218
- Utrum Christus in coena dederit corpus suum passibile discipulis aut impassibile. Roger Marston, *II.7* (1283–84): G 2:266
- Utrum angelus potest naturaliter videre corpus Christi sub sacramento altaris. Henry of Ghent, *XI.12* (1287): G 1:194
- Utrum angelus possit visione intellectuali naturali videre corpus Christi sub sacramento altaris. Robert Walsingham, *I.9* (1312–13): G 2:262
- Utrum Christus prout est sub sacramento altaris possit sentire. Nicholas of Lyra (Anon 16), q. 4 (1310): G 2:295
- Utrum oculus glorificatus possit videre corpus Christi in sacramento altaris. Peter of Saint-Denis, *II.8* (1312–13): G 2:221
- Utrum Christus existens in Eucharistia potest videre alia et videri ab aliis. William Ockham, *IV.13* (1324–25): G 2:121

Place of immaterial substance

Presence by essence/operation

- Utrum angelus sit in loco. Francis of Caracciolo (Anon 22), q. 14 (1300–10): G 2:301
- Utrum angelus sit in loco per suam substantiam. William Ockham, *I.4* (1324–1325): G 2:118
- Utrum substantia vel essentia angeli sit ubicumque est sua virtus. Matthew of Aquasparta, *I.5* (1277–78): G 2:194
- Utrum essentiae vel existentiae angeli, exclusa omni operatione quam habeat supra corpora sive in corporibus, debeatur locus corporalis. Eustache, *II.16* (1263–66): G 2:79
- Utrum angelus possit esse in loco et non operari in eo. John of Naples, *VIII.12* (?): G 2:166
- Utrum dato quod Deus non influeret in res, esset ubique et in omnibus rebus. Eustache, *III.1* (1266): G 2:79

Definitive presence of angel in place

- Utrum locus angeli possit esse superficies tantum aut necessario habeat trinam dimensionem. Matthew of Aquasparta, *I.4* (1277–78): G 2:194
- Utrum esse limitatum sit ratio quare aliquid est in loco definitive. Nicholas Trivet, *V.26* (1306): G 1:253
- Utrum angelo, ratione naturae, debeatur locus corporalis. Ranulphe d'Homblières, *II.5* (1275): G 1:265

Operation in place

- Utrum angeli moveant corpora per intellectum et voluntatem solum. James of Viterbo, *I.10* (1293): G 1:215
- Utrum in angelo sit aliquod principium activum aliud ab intellectu et voluntate. Godfrey of Fontaines, *I.6* (1288): G 1:156
- Utrum necesse sit ponere in angelo aliquod principium motivum quo moveant corpus, aliud a voluntate et intellectu. Nicholas Trivet, *IV.10* (1305): G 1:252
- Utrum in angelo, praeter intellectum et voluntatem, sit aliqua tertia potentia scilicet motiva. John of Naples, *I.2* (?): G 2:160
- Utrum praeter intellectum et voluntatem in angelis sit alia potentia respectu motus quem faciant in inferioribus. Henry of Lubeck, *III.18* (1325): G 2:137
- Utrum angelus simul mutet totum locum in quo est. Raymond Rigauld, *III.14* (?): G 2:243
- Utrum spiritus possit videri oculo corporali. Raymond Rigauld, *III.13* (?): G 2:243

Multilocation/co-location*Multilocation*

- Utrum angelus possit simul esse in diversis locis. Gueric of Saint-Quentin, *VI.6* (1233–1242): G 2:110
- Si angelus moveatur ab Oriente in Occidentem, vel ab A in B, si quiescit in A. Nicholas du Pressoir, *II.8* (1274): G 2:203
- Utrum angelus possit simul esse in pluribus locis. Peter of Falco, *II.8* (1281–1282): G 2:127
- Utrum angelus possit simul esse in pluribus locis. Richard of Middleton (?), *V.8* (?): G 1:273
- Utrum possit fieri quod angelus sit simul in pluribus locis. Godfrey of Fontaines, *XIII.4* (1297/1298): G 1:165

Co-location

- Utrum duo angeli possint esse in eodem loco simul. Peter of Ang, *II.17* (After Richard of Middleton): G 2:217
- Utrum, supposito quod angelus sit localis, plures angeli possunt esse in eodem loco corporali. William of Barlo, *I.5* (1266–67): G 2:115

Plurality of worlds

- Utrum plures mundos esse simul includat contradictionem. Richard of Middleton, *II.13* (1286): G 1:269
- Utrum posset extra mundum istum fieri altera terra eiusdem speciei cum terra huius mundi. Godfrey of Fontaines, *IV.6* (1287): G 1:154

Potency

- Utrum sit dare aliquod ens quod sit pura potentia. John Baconthorpe, *II.9* (1324–25): G 2:150

Utrum potentia quae est differentia entis sit potentia objectiva vel potentia subjectiva.
 James of Ascoli, *I.5* (1311–12): G 2:141
 Utrum sit dare aliquam potentiam substantialem differentem a materia quae ponitur
 substantiari per posse John Baconthorpe, *II.10* (1324–25): G 2:150

Power, active

Is substance the immediate principle of operation?

Utrum substantia creata possit esse immediatum principium operationis et praecipue
 transeuntis extra. Godfrey of Fontaines, *XIII.3* (1297/98): G 1:165
 Utrum aliqua substantia creata possit esse immediatum principium alicuius operationis.
 Godfrey of Fontaines, *II.4* (1286): G 1:152
 Utrum substantia creata possit esse immediatum principium alicuius sui actus. Godfrey
 of Fontaines, *VI.4* (1289): G 1:157
 Utrum aliqua substantia creata possit esse immediatum principium suae operationis.
 Gui Terreni, *II.10* (1314): G 1:171
 Utrum cognitio sit actio de genere actionis. Gerard of Sienna, *I.10* (1330): G 2:98
 Can one power have many operations simultaneously?
 Utrum in eadem potentiam operativa possunt simul esse plures operationes. Francis
 of Meyronnes, *Quod. 1* (4), 16 (1323–24): G 2:90

Can one thing be the object of many powers?

Utrum idem sub eadem ratione possit esse obiectum diversarum potentiarum. John
 of Pouilly, *I.9* (1307): G 1:224

Does a bodily power touch its object?

Utrum virtus substantiae corporalis possit tangere corpus. Henry of Lubeck, *I.16*
 (1323): G 2:135

Can light or motion cause heat

Utrum lumen vel motus de se calefaciat. Nicholas of Lyra (Anon 18), *I.11* (1310):
 G 2:298

Quality

The possibility of quality without quantity

Utrum Deus possit facere quod albedo aut aliqua qualitas corporalis sit sine quantitate.
 Thomas Aquinas, *VII.10* (1265): G 1:284
 Utrum aliqua qualitas possit habere esse absque omni subiecto, sive sine quantitate.
 Godfrey of Fontaines, *IV.22* (1287): G 1:155

Distinction between substance and quality

Utrum qualitas differt realiter a substantia. William Ockham, *VII.2* (1324–25): G 2:124

*Quantity***Quantity as absolute (non-relational) accident**

Utrum quantitas dicat rem aliquam ultra substantiam cuius est quantitas, loquendo de re absoluta. Richard of Middleton, *II.14* (1286): G 1:269

Utrum potest evidenter probari quod quantitas sit res absoluta distincta a substantia et qualitate. William Ockham, *IV.25* (1324–25): G 2:121

Utrum per principia fidei potest sufficienter probari quod quantitas sit res absoluta distincta a substantia et qualitate. William Ockham, *IV.26* (1324–25): G 2:121

Utrum de intentione Philosophi sit ponere quantitatem distinctam a substantia et qualitate. William Ockham, *IV.27* (1324–25): G 2:121

Utrum intentio sanctorum sit ponere quantitatem mediam inter substantiam et qualitatem. William Ockham, *IV.28* (1324–25): G 2:121

Utrum substantia materialis per suas partes intrinsecas potest esse quantitas sive quanta. William Ockham, *IV.23* (1324–25): G 2:121

Utrum substantia materialis per suas partes intrinsecas potest esse quanta sine quantitate addita sibi. William Ockham, *IV.24* (1324–25): G 2:121

Utrum substantia sit id ipsum re quod quantitas. Raymond Rigauld, *IV.5* (?): G 2:244

Utrum ponere quod quantitas sit idem realiter quod substantia repugnet rationi et fidei circa Eucharistiae sacramentum. Bernard Lombardi, *I.13* (1331–32): G 2:65

Utrum quantitas et modus quantitativus differunt realiter. William Ockham, *VII.19* (1324–25): G 2:124

Quantity without substance in Eucharist

Utrum quantitas in sacramento altaris sit sine subiecto. Thomas of Bailly, *IV.12* (1304): G 2:276

Utrum qualitates hostiae sint subiective in quantitate post consecrationem. William Ockham, *IV.34* (1324–25): G 2:122

Utrum quantitas remanens in eucharistia post consecrationem sit subiective in quantitate hostiae. William Ockham, *IV.33* (1324–25): G 2:122

Utrum subsistere quo species panis in sacramento altaris subsistit, sit realiter idem cum essentia. quantitatis vel aliud. Godfrey of Fontaines, *VIII.17* (1292/93): G 1:159

Is continuous quantity prior to discrete quantity?

Utrum quantitas continua sit prior quam discreta. Giles, *I.6* (?): G 2:100

Is quantity cause of impenetrability?

Utrum causa praecisa quare duo corpora non possunt esse simul sit dimensio. Richard of Middleton, *II.15* (1286): G 1:269

Quantity as cause of motion

Utrum quantitas sit causa motus. Gerard of Bologna, *III.22* (1296): G 1:131

Quantity immediately perfects matter

Utrum quantitas immediate perficiat materiam. Gui Terreni, *V.11* (1317): G 1:173

Rationes seminales

Utrum in materia sint rationes seminales eorum quae fiunt ex ipsa. James of Viterbo, *II.5* (1294): G 1:216

Utrum species rei habeat rationem seminalem in materia unde fiat, vel fiat de nihilo. Vital du Four, *III.6* (1296–97): G 2:282

Utrum in materia sit aliquod principium activum transmutandi se ad formam. Anon 31, q. 6 (1317–27): G 2:307

Utrum ratio seminalis hominis sit in alimentis an in substantia generantis. John Peckham, *IV.12* (Before 1269): G 2:180

Utrum in speciebus illis [sacramentibus altarorum] fuerint rationes seminales. Peter of Ang, *II.43* (After Richard of Middleton): G 2:218

Utrum respectu formarum differentium numero sint plures rationes seminales in eadem parte materiae corporalis. Eustache, *II.15* (1263–66): G 2:79

Utrum Deus petuerit facere vel producere in materia rationem seminalem ipsius animae rationalis. James of Viterbo, *III.10* (1295–96): G 2:145

Utrum ad evitandum creationem in generatione substantiali oportet ponere quod forma sit aliquid in materia. John Baconthorpe, *I.6* (1323–24): G 2:149

Utrum in materia sit aliquod principium activum transmutandi se ad formam. Anon 7, *I.6* (?): G 1:304

Utrum potentia in materia et forma a qua est sint idem secundum rem. Peter of Auvergne, *IV.8* (1299): G 1:261

Utrum in materia ante terminum generationis praexistat forma secundum aliquam entitatem positivam distinctam ab entitate materiae. Kykeley, *I.12* (Beginning of 14th century): G 2:189

Utrum formae physicae substantiales habeant esse in materia prima ante sui generationem. Anon 35, *I.1* (?): G 2:309

Relation

Utrum aliqua relatio realis possit alicui advenire de novo sine sui mutatione. Henry of Ghent, *III.10* (1278): G 1:181

Utrum in aliqua creatura per aliquod agens posset incipere esse nova relatio absque mutatione facta in ipsis. Giles of Rome, *V.13* (1290): G 1:145

Utrum ad relationem possit esse mutatio. John of Naples, *VII.17* (1316–17): G 2:166

Utrum Deus possit supplere causalitatem efficientis respectu relationis. Gui Terreni, *II.8* (1314): G 1:171

Sea

Utrum mare propter abundantiam aquarum vel siccitatem unquam redundet vel decrescat. Peter of Trabibus, *I.43* (1295): G 2:231

*Self-motion***Possibility of self-motion**

- Utrum aliquid potest reducere seipsum de potentia ad actum. Henry of Ghent, *XI.6* (1287): G 1:193
- Utrum subiecto idem possit movere seipsum. James of Viterbo, *IV.4* (?): G 2:146
- Utrum aliquid possit seipsum movere primo vel agere de potentia ad actum. Peter of Auvergne, *II.7* (1297): G 1:259
- Utrum idem secundum idem possit agere in seipsum. Giles of Rome, *V.15* (1290): G 1:145
- Utrum inconveniens sit dicere quod aliquid sit simul in potentia et in actu respectu eiusdem. John Lesage, *I.7* (1301–02): G 2:155
- Utrum existens sub una perfectione possit seipsum facere sub alia perfectione. Giles of Rome, *V.16* (1290): G 1:145
- Utrum magis proprie conveniat voluntati movere se quam intellectum. Godfrey of Fontaines, *X.14* (1294/95): G 1:161
- Utrum corpus Christi sub sacramento possit se movere de uno altari ad aliud altare. Peter of Ang, *II.42* (After Richard of Middleton): G 2:218
- Utrum sphaera posita super planum possit moveri sine aliquo impellente vel intra vel extra. Hervaeus, *VIII.12* (After 1304): G 2:182

Will as self-mover

- Utrum voluntas moveat seipsam. Henry of Ghent, *IX.5* (1286): G 1:190
- Utrum voluntas moveat seipsam. Giles of Rome, *III.15* (1288): G 1:143
- Utrum voluntas causet actum suum. Peter Swannington, *I.8* (1300): G 2:224
- Utrum ponens voluntatem se movere per se necessario habet ponere quod volens comedere aliquando semper velit comedere. John Lesage, *I.5* (1301–1302): G 2:155
- Utrum ponentes voluntatem se movere per se necessario habent ponere quod idem gignat se. John Lesage, *I.6* (1301–1302): G 2:155
- Utrum ponentes voluntatem vel aliquid aliud simplex differens a se solum secundum rationem movere seipsum motu reali, possint inquirere vel probare Deum esse per viam motus. John of Pouilly, *II.6* (1308): G 1:225
- Utrum potest probari quod voluntas libere causet actus suos effective. William Ockham, *I.16* (1324–25): G 2:119

Substance as cause of its own accidents

- Utrum subiectum per se possit esse causa sufficiens sui accidentis. Henry of Ghent, *X.9* (1286): G 1:192
- Utrum subiectum possit esse immediatum principium praecipue effectuum sui accidentis. Godfrey of Fontaines, *VIII.2* (1292/93): G 1:158
- Utrum aliquid subiectum possit esse causa effectiva sui accidentis. Gerard of Bologna, *I.12* (1294): G 1:129

- Utrum subjectum possit esse causa efficiens sui accidentis. Nicholas of Lyra (Anon 16), q. 5 (1310): G 2:295
- Utrum subjectum sit causa effectiva propriorum accidentium. John of Naples, *III.8* (?): G 2:161
- Utrum essentia angeli vel animae sint in genere causae efficientis respectu suarum potentiarum. Giles of Rome, *VI.12* (1291): G 1:146
- Utrum anima sit causa suarum potentiarum. John (associated with John of Naples, Giles of Rome), *I.9* (?): G 2:148
- Utrum voluntas in movendo vires inferiores et partes corporis ad suos actus imprimat illis aliquam formam quae sit principium motus. Nicholas Trivet, *I.20* (1302): G 1:248

Self-motion of natural bodies

- Utrum sequatur quod si grave movetur effective a generante quod moveatur effective a forma sua. Godfrey of Fontaines, *XV.20* (1303/04): G 2:104
- Utrum forma gravis sit principium motus ejus. John of Naples, *I.6* (?): G 2:160
- Utrum gravia et levia ex se moveantur. John of Naples, *I.7* (?): G 2:160
- Utrum aliquid naturaliter frigidum factum actu calidum possit reverti ad naturam suae frigiditatis, et praecipue si aliquid tale assumatur ad nutrimentum vel medicinam cuius calorem sustineat calor naturalis. Francis Caracciolo (Anon 21), q. 15 (1300–10): G 2:300

Soul-body relation

And natural philosophy

- Utrum ad philosophiam naturalem pertineat determinare de anima rationali. John of Naples, *II.14* (?): G 2:161

Soul as form

Is soul form of body?

- Utrum anima intellectiva sit forma specifica propria hominis. John of Naples, *XIII.9* (?): G 2:172
- Utrum demonstrative possit probari animam intellectivam esse formam corporis humani. Thomas of Wylton, *I.23* (1312–13): G 2:279
- Utrum potest demonstrari quod anima intellectiva sit forma corporis. William Ockham, *I.10* (1324–25): G 2:119
- Utrum anima rationalis est forma corporis unde corpus est. John Peckham, *III.25* (1277): G 2:178
- Utrum si anima Petri uniretur materiae Pauli vel lapidis, esset idem homo numero qui fuit. John of Naples, *VII.6* (1316–1317): G 2:165
- Utrum anima rationalis de uno corpore egrediens possit ingredi aliud corpus et movere illud et vivificare. Eustache, *III.10* (1266): G 2:80
- Utrum anima possit aliquod corpus movere non proprium, saltem ut motor. Raymond Rigauld, *V.13* (?): G 2:245
- Utrum possibile sit quod anima Christi simul et semel sit in diversis locis. Gerard of Abbeville, *VIII.9* (?): G 1:119
- Utrum intellectus creatus humanus possit dare alicui enti naturali suum formale complementum. Gerard of Sienna, *I.11* (1330): G 2:98

Can angel inform matter?

Utrum Deus possit facere angelum informare materiam. John Duns Scotus, *I.9* (1307): G 1:219

Union of body and soul by natural powers

Utrum corpore humano disposito et organico, anima virtute propria possit corpus suum intrare et perficere. Richard of Middleton (?), *V.9* (?): G 1:273

Utrum anima separata non impedita, suo corpori omnino disposito propria virtute posset reuniri. Henry of Ghent, *XI.14* (1287): G 1:194

Utrum corpore humano disposito et organico, anima virtute propria possit corpus suum intrare et perficere. Peter of Falco, *II.9* (1281–82): G 2:127

Necessity of union of soul with disposed body

Utrum materia disposita ad receptionem animae intellectualis Deus possit eam non infundere. Peter of Auvergne, *IV.3* (1299): G 1:261

Place of soul

Utrum Deus sit locus animae. Raymond Rigauld, *II.3* (?): G 2:242

Degrees of soul

Utrum sicut corpora humana differunt per gradus mixtionis et complexionis ita animae perficientes corpora differant per gradus naturae. Vital du Four, *III.4* (1296–97): G 2:282

Immateriality of soul

Si anima est immaterialis et incorporea. Eudes of Chateauroux, *I.5* (1238–40): G 2:76

Separated soul*Separated soul as form*

Utrum anima, destructo corpore, remaneat forma. Raymond Rigauld, *V.11* (?): G 2:245

Utrum in triduo Christus esset anima. Raymond Rigauld, *VI.3* (?): G 2:246

Utrum Deus potuit facere quod anima Christi in triduo fuisset separata a corpore in sepulchro et coniuncta illi consecrato in pyxide, si fuisset consecratum. Henry of Ghent, *XIII.4* (1289): G 1:197

Place of separated soul

Utrum animae separatae locus limitetur secundum limites ubi sui corporis. Raymond Rigauld, *VI.6* (?): G 2:247

Utrum animae possint alicubi extra corpus suum. Eustache, *I.21* (1263–66): G 2:78

Is separation instantaneous or successive?

Utrum anima separetur a corpore subito an successive. John Peckham, *I.11* (1270): G 1:221

Utrum anima separetur a corpore subito vel successive. Raymond Rigauld, *VII.8* (?): G 2:248

Is separation natural or by divine power?

Utrum anima gloriosa possit se a suo corpore separare. Roger Marston, *II*.15 (1283–84): G 2:266

Soul as mover

Utrum vita praecedat motum localem viventis vel e contrario. John of Naples, *II*.12 (?): G 2:161

Utrum anima Christi potest movere corpus Christi in Eucharistia. William Ockham, *IV*.14 (1324–25): G 2:121

Extension of soul/non-intellective form*Extension of sensitive soul in body*

Utrum anima sensitiva sit extensa ad extensionem totius corporis. Kykeley, *I*.3 (beginning of 14th century): G 2:189

Extension of intellective soul in body

Qualiter anima est in corpore et tota in qualibet parte. Anon 11, q. 4 (first half of the 13th century): G 2:289

Utrum [anima] magis sit in una parte quam in alia. Anon 11, q. 5 (first half of the 13th century): G 2:289

Utrum tota anima per essentiam sit in qualibet parte corporis. Guerric of Saint-Quentin, *I*.6 (1233–42): G 2:107

Utrum anima tota secundum essentiam suam sit in qualibet parte corporis. Gui of Cluny, *VII*.5 (1233–42): G 2:111

Utrum anima ita sit in corpore quod ab ipso diffiniatur. Eustache, *III*.9 (1266): G 2:80

Utrum anima sit tota in qualibet parte corporis. William of Hothun, *I*.10 (1280): G 1:176

Utrum sit anima in qualibet parte corporis tota. Raymond Rigauld, *V*.25 (?): G 2:246

Utrum anima intellectiva sit in qualibet parte corporis. Nicholas Trivet, *III*.18 (1304): G 1:250

Utrum anima intellectiva sit tota in toto corpore et tota in qualibet ejus parte. John of Naples, *XIII*.10 (?): G 2:172

Utrum anima intellectiva sit tota in toto et tota in qualibet parte. William Ockham, *I*.12 (?): G 2:119

Utrum similiter sit anima rationalis in corpore sicut anima sensibilis vel vegetabilis. Anon 11, q. 6 (First half of the 13th century): G 2:289

Utrum forma substantialis noneducta de potentia materiae sit extensa per accidens. John of Pouilly, *I*.8 (1307): G 1:224

Form and organs

Utrum aliqua operatio humana debeat plus poni in una parte hominis quam in alia. Peter of England, *III*.18 (1305): G 2:215

Utrum operatio membri corporis humani sit ab anima vel a membri complexione. John of Naples, *XII*.10 (?): G 2:171

Utrum cor vel hepar sit primum membrum in animali. Remi of Florence, *II*.10 (1304–05): G 1:253

*Substance***Individuation of substance**

Utrum principium individuationis substantiae sit proprietas substantialis quae praecedat naturaliter omne accidens. Thomas of Sutton, *I.21* (1284): G 1:293

Possibility of substance without accident

Utrum Deus posset facere aliquam substantiam sine quantitate et qualitate. Raoul the Breton, *I.3* (1312–14): G 2:237

Utrum substantia corporea per essentiam suam sit quanta. Peter of Auvergne, *I.9* (1296): G 1:259

Utrum substantia creata per naturam possit esse sine omni accidente. Eustache, *III.3* (1266): G 2:79

Utrum Deus possit hoc facere quod aliqua substantia esset sine omni accidente. Eustache, *III.4* (1266): G 2:80

Utrum Deus posset facere substantiam animatum sine omni accidente ut hominem vel equum. Peter of Falco, *I.2* (1280–81): G 2:125

Utrum Deus possit facere substantiam sine accidente. Peter of Ang, *I.2* (After Richard of Middleton): G 2:216

Utrum substantia sine omni accidente possit esse objectum visus. Raymond Rigauld, *IV.6* (?): G 2:244

Utrum si corpus humanum resurgeret sine quantitate esset idem numero quod prius. Godfrey of Fontaines, *VI.16* (1289): G 1:157

Utrum aliquod corpus humanum resurgens sine quantitate sit idem in numero quod prius. Hervaeus, *VI.14* (1312–13): G 2:284

Utrum si homo resurgeret sine dimensionibus esset idem numero qui prius. Henry of Lubeck, *II.14* (1324): G 2:136

Utrum Deus potest conservare substantiam materiale[m] extensam sine motu locali destruendo omne accidens absolutum in ea. William Ockham, *IV.22* (?): G 2:121

*Time***Subject of time**

Utrum tempus habeat esse in aliquo subjective. Peter Thomas, *I.14* (1310–30): G 2:229

Utrum prius et posterius in motibus posterioribus numerata sint tempus an solum in motu primo. Peter of Auvergne, *V.5* (1300): G 1:262

Utrum tempus sit passio motus primi mobilis. Nicholas of Lyra (Anon 16), q. 21 (1310): G 2:296

Utrum instans temporis continui sit idem quod substantia rei mobilis. Gerard of Bologna, *II.21* (1295): G 1:130

Utrum tempus habeat esse suum completum in materia. Henry of Lubeck, *I.24* (1323): G 2:135

Utrum tempus sit numerus numerans vel numerus numeratus. Peter of England, *II.6* (1304–05): G 2:213

Continuity of time

Utrum tempus sit quantitas continua. Giles of Rome, *V.20* (1290): G 1:145
 Utrum idem instans maneat in eodem tempore. Nicholas Trivet, *II.24* (1303):
 G 1:249

Time and flowing now

Utrum tempus sit idem quod nunc fluens. Peter John Olivi, *I.2* (?): G 2:205
 Utrum sit idem et unum instans manens in toto tempore vel sint diversa instantia.
 Peter of England, *II.8* (1304–05): G 2:213

Reality of time

Utrum mundus potuerit fieri antequam sit factus. Thomas of Bailly, *II.4* (1302–03):
 G 2:274
 Utrum praedicamentum quando importat rem distinctam a rebus absolutis. William
 Ockham, *VII.5* (1324–25): G 2:124
 Utrum tempus possit esse sine anima. Henry of Ghent, *III.11* (1278): G 1:181
 Utrum tempus sit aliquid in rerum natura praeter operationem animae. James of
 Viterbo, *III.12* (1295–96): G 2:145
 Utrum infinita numerata motus seu temporis praeteriti fuerit realis quantitas discreta
 vel tantum entia rationis. Bernard Lombardi, *I.16* (1331–32): G 2:65

Time, angelic (aevum)

Does the aevum measure highest angel?

Utrum primum aeviternum sit mensurabile aliqua mensura. Godfrey of Fontaines,
XV.9 (1303–04): G 2:103
 Utrum angelus supremus mensuretur aliqua mensura. Peter of Auvergne, *VI.3* (1301):
 G 1:263

Is there one aevum or many?

Utrum sit unum aevum omnium aeviternorum. Matthew of Aquasparta, *IV.3* (1282):
 G 2:197
 Utrum unum sit aevum omnium aeviternorum. Henry of Ghent, *XI.11* (1287):
 G 1:193
 Utrum esse omnium sempiternorum sive angelorum mensuretur una mensura. Godfrey
 of Fontaines, *VII.8* (1290/91 or 1291/92): G 1:158
 Utrum sit unum aevum omnium aeviternorum. James of Viterbo, *I.9* (1293):
 G 1:215
 Utrum Lucifer sit subiectum aevi. Thomas Aquinas, *V.7* (1271): G 1:281

Does the aevum have a subject?

Utrum aevum sit substantia an accidens. Henry of Ghent, *IX.7* (1286): G 1:190

Is the aevum permanent or successive?

- Utrum mensura angelorum, quae est aevum, sit permanens vel successiva. Gerard of Abbeville, *II.10* (?): G 1:113
- Utrum aevum quod est mensura angelorum sit mensura simplex indivisibilis et manens tota simul, an continua et successiva. Matthew of Aquasparta, *I.3* (1277–78): G 2:194
- Utrum in aevo sit successio aliqua omnino. Henry of Ghent, *V.13* (1280): G 1:184
- Utrum aevum sit mensura simplex vel continua permanens. Matthew of Aquasparta, *III.4* (1280–81): G 2:196
- Utrum in ipso aevo sit successio. Francis Caracciolo (Anon 22), q. 13 (1300–10): G 2:301
- Utrum in aevo sit successio. Sibert of Beka, *I.13* (1318): G 1:275
- Utrum duratio angeli habeat prius et posterius. Thomas Aquinas, *X.4* (1266): G 1:286

Relations between the aevum and time

- Utrum tempus movens creaturam spiritualem et mensurans temporalem sit idem. Thomas Aquinas, *II.5* (1269): G 1:278
- Utrum pluribus instantibus mensurantibus plura mutata esse in motu angeli successivo respondeat unum instans temporis nostri. Godfrey of Fontaines, *VI.13* (1289): G 1:157
- Utrum operatio angeli intrinseca per se mensuretur tempore nostro. Nicholas Trivet, *I.1* (1302): G 1:248

Time (eternity)

- Utrum necesse sit Deum praecessisse productionem mundi duratione, vel natura tantum. Nicholas Trivet, *I.5* (1302): G 1:247
- Supposito quod mundus fuerit creatus in primo instanti temporis et quod non potuerit creari ab aeterno, et item quod prius potuerit creari quam creatus est, et non in infinitum, quaeritur an Deus praesciverit primum instans possibile in quo mundus potuit creari. John Peckham, *III.5* (1277): G 2:177

*Universal hylomorphism***Do all creatures include matter?**

- Utrum una sit materia corporalium et spiritualium. Alexander of Hales, *I.7* (1231–38): G 2:58
- Supposito quod non [sit omnium creaturum communis materia], utrum sicut una est communis materia omnium corporalium ita una sit omnium spirituum. Gueric of Saint-Quentin, *II.8* (1233): G 2:108
- Utrum in omni supposito creato necesse sit ponere materiam primam simpliciter. Peter of Auvergne, *V.3* (1300): G 1:262
- Utrum in omni substantia subsistente a Deo producta sit compositio formae et materiae. Nicholas Trivet, *II.10* (1303): G 1:249

Utrum in natura intellectuali sit dare purum possibile. Gerard of Sienna, *I.6* (1330): G 2:97

Do angels include matter?

Utrum angelus sit compositus ex materia et forma. Thomas Aquinas, *IX.6* (1266): G 1:286

Utrum in angelis sit materia . John Peckham, *III.15* (1277): G 2:177

Utrum angeli sint corporei. John Peckham, *III.16* (1277): G 2:177

Utrum materia prima sit in angelis, William of Hothun. *I.16* (1280): G 1:176

Utrum substantia angelica sit composita ex materia et forma. Giles of Rome, *I.8* (1286): G 1:141

Utrum natura angelica sit composita ex vera materia et vera forma. Godfrey of Fontaines, *III.3* (1286): G 1:153

Utrum natura angelica sit composita ex materia et forma. Peter of England, *II.24* (1304–05): G 2:214

Do souls include matter?

Utrum anima sit composita ex materia et forma. Thomas Aquinas, *III.20* (1270): G 1:279

Can an angel change into a heavenly body?

Supposito quod in superioribus, scilicet caelo vel angelis, sit materia eiusdem rationis, utrum implicetur contradictio dicendo quod possunt ad invicem transmutari. John of Pouilly, *IV.5* (1310): G 1:227

INDEX OF MAIN TREATMENTS OF QUODLIBETAL AUTHORS*

Thomas Aquinas, OP	i 49–133, 526–58	Gerard of Saint-Victor	ii 372–3
John Pecham, OFM	i 135–41	John of Tongres, O.Praem.	ii 374–5
Matthew of Aquasparta, OFM	i 141–3	Laurence of Poulangy, Val-des-Écoliers	ii 376–7
Roger Marston, OFM	i 143–9, ii 32–5	John du Val, Val-des- Écoliers	ii 377
William de la Mare, OFM	i 151–70	Laurence of Dreux, Val- des-Écoliers	ii 377–8
Henry of Ghent	i 171–231, ii 23–32	James of Aaleus, OSA	ii 378–9
Giles of Rome, OESA	i 233–86, ii 35–43	Peter of Saint-Denis, OSB	ii 380–2
Godfrey of Fontaines	i 287–344, ii 43–51	Laurence l'Anglais, OSB	ii 382
Vital du Four, OFM	i 407–9, ii 58–9	Pierre Roger, OSB	ii 382–4, 397
Peter of Trabibus, OFM	i 409–10	Albert of Cluny, O.Clun.	ii 385
Peter John Olivi, OFM	i 411–17, 427–33, ii 55–6	Guy of Cluny, O.Clun.	ii 385–6
Richard of Menneville, OFM	i 417–20	Guy of l'Aumône, O.Cist.	ii 387–9, 398–9
Peter de Falco, OFM	i 420–1	John of Waarde, O.Cist.	ii 389–90
Raymond Rigaud, OFM	i 423–7	Rainier Marquette, O.Cist.	ii 390–1
Jacques du Quesnoy, OFM	i 423–7	James of Thérines, O.Cist.	ii 391–4
Peter of Auvergne	ii 81–130	Nicholas of Vaux- Cernay, O.Cist.	ii 394–6, 400
John Duns Scotus, OFM	ii 131–98	Hannibaldus of Hannibaldi, OP	ii 403
John of Pouilly	ii 199–229	Ferrarius Catalanus, OP	ii 403–4
Thomas Wylton	ii 231–66	William Hothum, OP	ii 404–5
Peter Auriol, OFM	ii 267–329	Peter of Tarantaise, OP	ii 405–8
Jacques Fournier, O.Cist.	ii 354–5	Bernard of Trilia, OP	ii 408–11, 477–80
Servais of Guez, Mont-Saint-Éloi	ii 363–9	Bernard of Auvergne, OP	ii 411–18, 481–8
Andrew of Orchies, Mont-Saint-Éloi	ii 369–70	John Quidort of Paris, OP	ii 66–9, 418
John of Maroeuil, Mont-Saint-Éloi	ii 370–1	Richard Knapwell, OP	ii 59–60, 418–19

* i = vol. I: C. Schabel (ed.), *Theological Quodlibeta in the Middle Ages. The Thirteenth Century*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 1 (Brill: Leiden/Boston 2006);
ii = vol. II: this volume.

Robert of Orford, OP	ii 420–2, 489–91	Prosper of Reggio Emilia, OESA	ii 554–5
Thomas of Sutton, OP	ii 60–6, 423–6	Augustinus Triumphus, OESA	ii 555
Nicholas Trivet, OP	ii 426–9	John of Lana, OESA	ii 556–7
Remigio dei Girolami, OP	ii 429–30	William of Cremona, OESA	ii 557
Hervaeus Natalis, OP	ii 70–3, 431–49	Gerard of Siena, OESA	ii 557–62
Durand of St Pourçain, OP	ii 449–51	James of Pamiers, OESA	ii 562–8
Peter of Palude, OP	ii 451–4	Peter Sutton, OFM	ii 56–8, 570–1
Francis Caracciolo, OP	ii 454–5	Peter of England, OFM	ii 572–9
John of Naples, OP	ii 75–8, 455–63	Alexander of Alessandria, OFM	ii 579–82
Raymond Bequini, OP	ii 464–5	Nicholas of Lyra, OFM	ii 582–91
Henry of Lübeck, OP	ii 73–5, 466–73	James of Ascoli, OFM	ii 591–4
Bernard Lombardi, OP	ii 473–4	Bertrand de la Tour, OFM	ii 595–6
Peter Swanington, O.Carm.	ii 495–500, 542–3	Martin of Abbeville, OFM	ii 596–8
Robert Walsingham, O.Carm.	ii 500–4	William of Alnwick, OFM	ii 598–600
Gerard of Bologna, O.Carm.	ii 505–14	Francis of Marchia, OFM	ii 600–9
Simon of Corbie, O.Carm.	ii 514–17	Francis of Meyronnes, OFM	ii 609–21
Guy Terrena, O.Carm.	ii 330–1, 517–23	Aufredo Gonteri Brito, OFM	ii 621–5
Sibert of Beek, O.Carm.	ii 524–7	Peter of Atarrabia, OFM	ii 625
John Baconthorpe, O.Carm.	ii 527–37, 540–1	Peter Thomae, OFM	ii 626–7
James of Viterbo, OESA	ii 51–5, 547–50	William of Rubio, OFM	ii 628–9
Henry the German, OESA	ii 550–2	Gerard Odonis, OFM	ii 629–38
Gregory of Lucca, OESA	ii 552–3	William of Ockham, OFM	ii 654–66
Amadeus de Castello, OESA	ii 553–4	Walter Chatton, OFM	ii 666–78
		Robert Holcot, OP	ii 678–87
		John of Rodington, OFM	ii 689–91

INDEX MANUSCRIPTORUM*

- Angers, Bibliothèque publique
 212 – ii 405
 223 (214) – ii 98–100, 106–7, 109–14,
 124–30
- Assisi, Biblioteca del Sacro Convento
 di San Francisco (*olim* Biblioteca
 Comunale)
 106 – ii 690–1
 134 – i 141
 136 – ii 135, 142–98, 268–71,
 280–329, 592
 157 – ii 610
 158 – ii 377, 419n, 424n
 166 – ii 599
 172 – ii 551, 592
 174 – i 151n
- Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek
 II.1.2°.1 – ii 414n, 416n
- Avignon, Bibliothèque Municipale
 314 – ii 465n, 562–6, 602
- Avignon, Médiathèque Ceccano
 1071 – ii 506n, 509
- Barcelona, Archiv Capítular de la
 Catedral
 54 – ii 135, 142, 155n, 156
- Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona de’Aragó
 Ripoll 95 – ii 506–9, 512
 San Cugat 54 – ii 410n, 414n
- Basel, Universitätsbibliothek
 B.IV.4 – ii 428
 B.VIII.28 – ii 465n
 E.I.15 – ii 444
 H.III – ii 134n
- Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer
 Kulturbesitz
 Magdeburg 149 – ii 84, 98–100, 104,
 106–7, 109–30
 theol. lat. fol. 93 – ii 433n
- theol. lat. fol. 226 – ii 414n, 442
 theol. lat. fol. 428 – ii 98, 100, 101n,
 103–4, 106–30
 theol. lat. fol. 456 – i 419–20
 theol. lat. fol. 975 – ii 616n
- Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale
 dell’Archiginnasio
 A.886 – ii 581
 A.913 – ii 82n
 A.943 – ii 414n, 415n, 416, 481–8
 A.1024 – ii 521
- Bologna, Biblioteca del Collegio di
 Spagna
 47 – ii 616n
 133 – i 215
- Bordeaux, Bibliothèque Municipale
 167 – ii 548, 562–4
- Brugge, Grootseminarie (Bisschoppelijke
 Bibliotheek)
 41/133 – ii 690–1
- Brugge, Openbare Bibliotheek
 228 – ii 98, 102–3, 106–7, 109–14,
 124–30
 491 – i 315, 318n
 503 – ii 690–1
- Burgos, Biblioteca Municipal
 62 – ii 134n
- Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale
 573 – ii 134n
- Cambridge, Corpus Christi College
 Library
 298 – ii 428n
- Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College
 Library
 285 – ii 138, 141, 155n, 156
 335 – ii 624
 371 – ii 135, 142, 154–6

* i = vol. I: C. Schabel (ed.), *Theological Quodlibeta in the Middle Ages. The Thirteenth Century*, Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition 1 (Brill: Leiden/Boston 2006);
 ii = vol. II: this volume.

- Cambridge, Pembroke College Library
 170 – i 288n
 236 – ii 681–2
- Cambridge, Peterhouse Library
 128 – i 31n; ii 60n, 419
 129 – ii 420
- Cambridge, St. John's College Library
 149 – ii 135
 160 – ii 135
- Cambridge, University Library
 1231 (FF.III.23) – ii 135, 139n, 142,
 155n, 156, 592
 1235 (FF.III.27) – ii 134
- Canterbury, St Augustine
 606 – ii 502n
- Cesena, Biblioteca Maletestiana
 D.XVII.4 – ii 135, 142, 154–6
 Plut. VIII sin. 2 – ii 231n, 236, 238,
 245, 249–50, 254
- Città del Vaticano, BAV
 Borghese 10 – ii 464
 Borghese 36 – i 478n, 484n; ii 82n,
 135, 142, 154–6, 233–4, 236–66
 Borghese 39 – i 444n; ii 280, 330–1,
 518n, 519–26, 533–4
 Borghese 89 – ii 362n, 383, 397
 Borghese 122 – i 315, 318n, 319n,
 429n
 Borghese 123 – ii 268–72
 Borghese 139 – i 34–5, 355; ii 405n,
 406
 Borghese 156 – ii 370, 408–9, 410n,
 477–9
 Borghese 164 – i 318n
 Borghese 298 – ii 414n, 548n
 Borghese 301 – i 288n, 298
 Borghese 302 – i 288n, 298
 Borghese 348 – ii 521
 Borghese 361 – i 151n, 159n, 160n,
 163n, 165n, 166n
 Chigi. lat. B.VII.113 – ii 601–4
 Chigi. lat. E.VIII.247 – ii 556
 Ottob. lat. 179 – ii 690–1
 Ottob. lat. 196 – ii 84, 99–100, 102,
 104–7, 109–16, 124–30
 Ottob. lat. 280 – ii 629–30
 Ottob. lat. 1126 – ii 6n
 Ross. lat. 1065 – ii 521
 Urb. lat. 119 – ii 135, 142, 155n,
 156
 Vat. lat. 772 – ii 414n
 Vat. lat. 782 – i 31n, 44n
 Vat. lat. 817 – ii 473–4
 Vat. lat. 829 – ii 417n, 508–9
 Vat. lat. 859 – ii 447n
 Vat. lat. 869 – ii 584–5, 590, 624
 Vat. lat. 879 – ii 136, 141, 154–6
 Vat. lat. 890 – ii 623
 Vat. lat. 900 – ii 610, 619
 Vat. lat. 901 – ii 269–70, 613
 Vat. lat. 932 – i 44n; ii 81n, 84–5,
 89, 99, 102–4, 106–30, 454, 508,
 572–82, 592–4, 640
 Vat. lat. 939 – ii 555
 Vat. lat. 946 – ii 269–71
 Vat. lat. 956 – ii 655n, 658
 Vat. lat. 982 – i 33, 44n; ii 585–90
 Vat. lat. 985 – ii 413n
 Vat. lat. 987 – ii 420–1, 446n,
 489–91
 Vat. lat. 1012 – ii 6n, 11, 551, 592–4,
 599, 625, 640–9
 Vat. lat. 1015 – i 32n, 355n, 357n,
 359n, 387n, 392n, 394n, 395n,
 397n, 400n, 483n
 Vat. lat. 1017 – i 443n, 461n; ii 97n,
 203, 204n, 206n, 207, 213n, 219n,
 220n, 222n, 223n, 224n, 225n,
 227n, 228–9
 Vat. lat. 1031 – i 288n, 304n, 341
 Vat. lat. 1032 – i 288n, 298, 304n,
 341
 Vat. lat. 1075 – ii 450n
 Vat. lat. 1076 – ii 450n
 Vat. lat. 1085 – ii 601
 Vat. lat. 1086 – i 443, 451n, 452n,
 460n, 467n, 468n, 472n, 482n,
 493n; ii 8, 81n, 345–57; 360–1,
 370–1, 373, 377, 380–2, 434n,
 440, 503n, 513n, 515–17, 520n,
 521n, 552–6, 591–2, 595–8, 605,
 639–40
 Vat. lat. 1095 – i 407n
 Vat. lat. 1113 – ii 622n
 Vat. lat. 1116 – i 413n
 Vat. lat. 1453 – ii 521
 Vat. lat. 2173 – ii 508–9
 Vat. lat. 3066 – ii 697n
 Vat. lat. 3075 – ii 655n, 658
 Vat. lat. 3091 – i 37n
 Vat. lat. 4245 – i 41n, 43n
 Vat. lat. 4709 – ii 231n
 Vat. lat. 5733 – ii 527–30, 532,
 535–6, 540–1
 Vat. lat. 6768 – ii 601
 Vat. lat. 11610 – ii 626
 Vat. lat. 12995 – i 291, 304n

- Cîteaux
214 – i 33n
- Clermont-Ferrand, Bibliothèque Municipale
109 – ii 268–71
- Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale
434 – i 31n
- Dublin, Trinity College
360 – ii 502n
- Dubrovnik, Library of the Dominican Monastery
12 – ii 134n
- Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek
F.5 – ii 681, 682n
- Erfurt, Universitätsbibliothek
Dep. Erf. CA 2 108 – ii 98, 105–7, 116–21
Dep. Erf. CA F.131 – ii 549n
Dep. Erf. CA F.178 – ii 231n
Dep. Erf. CA F.321 – ii 414n, 549n
Dep. Erf. CA F.349 – i 172n
Dep. Erf. CA F.368 – ii 134n
Dep. Erf. CA Q.170 – ii 592
- Escorial, BConv. S, Lorenzo D.III.12 – i 504n
- Falconara, Archivio dei Frati Minori delle Marche
17 – ii 134n
- Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana
Aedil. 164 – ii 570–1
Conv. Soppr. 123 – i 433n
Plut. 17 sin., cod. 7 – i 151n
Plut. 17 sin., cod. 8 – i 151n
Plut. 17 sin., cod. 10 – ii 503, 504n
Plut. 31 dextr., cod. 3 – ii 585–8
Plut. 31 dextr., cod. 7 – ii 134n
Plut. 31 dextr., cod. 8 – ii 134n, 592–4
Plut. 31 dextr., cod. 9 – ii 136
Plut. 32 dextr., cod. 12 – ii 268–71
- Firenze, Biblioteca nazionale centrale
Conv. Soppr. A.2.993 – ii 134n
Conv. Soppr. A.3.1153 – ii 409–10, 477n, 478–80
Conv. Soppr. B.VI.340 – ii 464n
Conv. Soppr. C.4.940 – ii 430
Conv. Soppr. D.4.94 – ii 440
- Conv. Soppr. D.6.359 – i 409n, 410n, 433n, 434n, 482n, 484n, 486n, 487n, 488n, 490n, 492n, 493n, 494n, 495n, 503n
Conv. Soppr. E.5.532 – ii 416
Conv. Soppr. G.4.854 – i 157n, 159n
Conv. Soppr. J.X.10 – ii 457
II.I.117 – ii 203, 222n, 223n
II.II.182 – ii 98, 101n, 103, 105, 107, 109–14, 124–30, 414n
II.II.280 – ii 506–10
II.II.281 – ii 236–8, 520–1
- Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek
731 – ii 136, 142, 155n, 156
733 – ii 655n
- Ithaca, Cornell University Library
B.11 – ii 549
- Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek
El.f.36 – ii 136, 142, 154–6
- Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek
CCl 179 – ii 440
CCl 291 – ii 635n
CCl 307 – ii 136, 139n, 142, 155n, 156, 592
- Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska
732 – ii 594n, 599, 640–1, 644, 646–9
748 – ii 464, 698n
770 – ii 410n
1391 – ii 548–9
1408 – ii 136, 138, 155n, 156
1577 – ii 414n
2060 – ii 616n
- Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek
451 – ii 134n
470 – ii 6n, 592
529 – ii 452, 465n, 473, 562
609 – ii 592
894 – ii 560n
- London, British Library
Add. 14077 – ii 581
Burney 358 – i 141
Royal 6.B.xi – ii 428n
Royal 8.G.viii – ii 136, 138, 155n, 156
Royal 10.C.vi – i 24n, 25n; ii 681–2
Royal 11.B.i – ii 134
Royal 11.C.vi – ii 521–2, 526, 535

- Louvain, University Library
G 30 – i 288n, 290
- Lüneburg, Ratsbücherei
Theol. 2 19 – ii 625n
- Madrid, Biblioteca de El Escorial
h. II. 1 – i 172n
- Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional
226 – ii 433n, 445, 449
228 – ii 134n
503 – ii 604
2015 – ii 231n
2017 – ii 626
- Madrid, Biblioteca de Palacio Real
411 – ii 134n
- Marseilles, Bibliothèque Municipale
256 – ii 616–17, 619
- Modena, Biblioteca Estense
Universitaria
K.4.8 – ii 134n
- München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
Clm 3726 – ii 613–14
Clm 8717 – ii 133, 136, 139, 141–98,
581, 624
Clm 15829 – ii 136, 139
Clm 22023 – ii 690
Clm 23572 – ii 137, 142, 155n, 156
Clm 26309 – ii 133, 137, 142–98,
269–71, 545n, 558–60
- München, Nationalmuseum Bibliothek
935 – ii 616n
- München, Universitätsbibliothek
2°, 40 – ii 616n
- Münster, Universitätsbibliothek
175 – ii 451n
199 – ii 134
308 (172) – ii 9, 472
- Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale
VII.A.36 – ii 134n
VII.B.26 – i 469n, 470n
VII.B.28 – i 482n, 486n, 487n, 488n,
489n, 490n, 495n, 498n; ii 455n,
456–8
VII.B.31 – ii 268–71, 280–329
VII.C.6 – ii 550n, 557
VII.C.47 – i 151–2
XIII.A.17 – ii 452
- New Haven, Yale University Library
Beinecke General 470 – ii 231n, 234,
236, 244, 249, 254
- Marston 203 – ii 592
- Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek
Cent. I.67 – ii 440
Cent. III.75 – ii 200, 201n, 202–3,
212n
- Oxford, Balliol College Library
63 – ii 269–71, 509, 556n
70 – ii 616
91 – ii 231n, 236, 247
192 – ii 134
209 – ii 137, 142, 154–6
246 – ii 681–2
- Oxford, Bodleian Library
794 – i 377n
Laud. Misc. 540 – ii 467
- Oxford, Lincoln College Library
36 – ii 134
- Oxford, Magdalen College Library
9 – ii 617
80 – ii 627
99 – ii 134, 425
163 – ii 134n
- Oxford, Merton College Library
65 – ii 137, 141, 155n, 156
87 – ii 134, 137, 139, 142
90 – ii 137, 142, 155n
237 – i 151n, 412n
- Oxford, University Library
110 – ii 134n
- Padova, Biblioteca Antoniana
173 Scaff. IX – ii 137, 143–98
295 Scaff. XIII – ii 431n, 599
373 Scaff. XVII – ii 98, 105–7,
109–14, 124–30
426 Scaff. XX – i 423, 424n, 425n,
426n, 430n, 431n, 486n, 488n,
492n, 494n, 495n, 496n, 497n;
ii 562
662 Scaff. XXIII – ii 98, 102, 104,
107, 109–30, 550–1
- Padova, Biblioteca Capitolare
C.37 – ii 137, 141, 155n, 156
- Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria
694 – i 482n, 484n, 493n, 494n,
495n
1125 – ii 137, 141, 143–98
1909 – i 415
2006 – ii 137, 142–98, 562–6
2094 – i 414–15

- Pamplona, Biblioteca de la Iglesia
Catedral
28 – ii 98–100, 106, 109–30 *passim*,
451n, 468n, 521–2, 696–7
- Paris, Archives Nationales
JJ.65b – ii 549n
LL.1157 – ii 380n
- Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal
379 – ii 403
457 – i 141, 151n
530 – i 493n; ii 403
- Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine
889 – ii 580–2
915 – ii 673n, 674n
3511 – ii 134n
3512 – ii 85, 98, 101–4, 106, 109–30
- Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France
lat. 3062 – ii 137, 141, 155n, 156
lat. 3071 – ii 604
lat. 3147 – ii 137, 142, 155n, 156
lat. 3557 – ii 369
lat. 4046 – ii 555
lat. 4246 – i 462n
lat. 6433B – ii 626n
lat. 13466 – i 478n, 495n, 403
lat. 14311 – i 287n, 288n, 291
lat. 14557 – i 392n, 395n, 397n
lat. 14562 – ii 84, 99, 102–3, 105–6,
109–30
lat. 14565 – ii 202n, 203, 220n
lat. 14566 – ii 268–71
lat. 14572 – i 493n, 496n, 497n,
498n; ii 418, 433n, 450, 508–9
lat. 14891 – ii 362n, 388, 398–9
lat. 14899 – ii 362n, 378
lat. 15350 – i 178–9, 207, 247, 355n,
359n, 497n; ii 99, 102, 105, 107,
109–14, 124–30, 337n, 338n, 362n,
364
lat. 15351 – ii 335n
lat. 15364 – i 287n
lat. 15371 – ii 204, 219
lat. 15372 – ii 199n, 200n, 201n, 203,
204n, 206n, 207n, 208n, 209n,
210n, 213n, 216n, 217n, 218n,
219n, 220n, 222n, 223n, 224n,
225n, 228
lat. 15561 – ii 689n, 690
lat. 15565 – ii 362n, 391–2
lat. 15805 – ii 404, 405n, 668–71,
673–5
lat. 15818 – ii 335n
lat. 15841 – i 287n, 463n; ii 85, 95n,
99–130
lat. 15842 – i 287n, 288n, 338, 341
lat. 15845 – i 287n
lat. 15846 – i 287n
lat. 15848 – i 178
lat. 15849 – ii 481–8
lat. 15850 – i 422n, 482n, 484n,
487n, 489n, 493n, 494n, 495n,
496n, 498n; ii 7–8, 333–43,
360–1, 370, 376, 386, 390, 410n,
411
lat. 15851 – ii 99–100, 102–5, 107,
109–30
lat. 15855 – ii 137, 141, 155n, 156
lat. 15867 – ii 268–71
lat. 15985 – ii 335n, 338
lat. 16089 – i 44n, 508n
lat. 16110 – ii 601, 603, 604n, 605–6,
609
lat. 16149 – i 34–5; ii 405–6
lat. 16158 – ii 335n, 337
lat. 16160 – ii 335n
lat. 16398 – ii 655n, 658
lat. 16405 – i 355n, 357n, 359n,
387n, 392n, 394n, 395n, 397n,
400n, 477n, 496n, 498n
lat. 16523 – ii 521
lat. 17485 – ii 268–71, 280–329,
506–9, 512, 514
lat. F 3121 A – ii 84, 98, 102, 104–5,
107
- Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Université
de Paris (*olim* Bibliothèque de la
Sorbonne)
38 – ii 137–9, 141, 143–98
575 – ii 137, 141, 155n, 156
- Pelplin, Biblioteka Seminarium
Duchownego
53/102 – ii 527–8, 530–2, 535
53/103 – ii 451n
- Piacenza, Biblioteca Landiana
112 (393) – ii 619
- Pisa, Biblioteca Cateriniana del
Seminario
45 – ii 410n
- Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní Kapituli
C.21.3 (438) – ii 137, 142, 154–6
M.92 – ii 626
1389 – ii 616n
1439 – ii 616n
1446 – ii 616n
1599 – ii 616n
- Praha, Národní Knihovna
XII.F6 – ii 410n, 414n

- XIII.D.5 (Y.II. 3.n.1.) (2297) – ii
99–100, 106–7, 109–30, 412n
- Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale
502 – ii 465n
- Roma, Biblioteca Angelica
625 – ii 545n, 558–66
- Roma, Biblioteca Vallicelliana
E.30 – ii 420
- St Andrews, University Library
B.763.D.7 (1815) – ii cover, 134, 138
- Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale
129 – ii 465n
- Schlägl, Prämonstratenser-
Stiftsbibliothek
Cpl. 140 – ii 137, 142, 155n, 156
- Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli
Intronati
G.V.15 – ii 548n
G.VII.40 – ii 451n
- Stuttgart, Württembergische
Landesbibliothek
theol. IV, n. 160 – i 151n
- Tamié Abbey Library, O.Cist.
Unnumbered – ii 362n, 394–5, 396n,
400
- Tarragona, Biblioteca Pública
57 – ii 636n
- Todi, Biblioteca comunale
44 – i 141
70 – ii 134
95 – i 424
98 – i 423–4
- Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale
K.III.6 – ii 5–6
- Tortosa, Biblioteca de la Catedral y
del Cabildo de la Santísima Iglesia
Catedral (Archivo Capitular)
43 – ii 450n
88 – ii 234, 236–8, 240, 244–8,
254–5, 258–64
96 – ii 613
139 – ii 138, 139n, 142, 155n, 156,
580–1, 583, 585n
244 – ii 455n, 456–8
- Toulouse, Bibliothèque Municipale
180 – ii 268–71
- 739 – ii 134n, 268–71, 280–329
744 – ii 268–71, 414n, 452, 457n
- Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale
269 – ii 84, 99, 102–7, 109–30
296 – ii 555
639 – ii 97, 99n
661 – ii 2n
994 – ii 138, 592
995 – ii 617–18, 619n, 634
1788 – i 151n
- Valencia, Biblioteca de la Catedral
200 – ii 521
- Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale
Marciana
139 (2010) – ii 410n
Marc. lat. 285 – ii 134n
Marc. lat. III.104 – ii 616n
- Venezia, San Giovanni e Paolo
139 – ii 599
216 – ii 452
- Washington, D.C., John K. Mullen
of Denver Library, The Catholic
University of America, Rare Books
and Special Collections Department
200 – i 121n
201 – i cover, 120–33
- Wien, Österreichische
Nationalbibliothek
lat. 1382 – ii 466–71
lat. 1447 – ii 133, 138, 139n, 142–98,
581, 592–4
lat. 1494 – ii 627
lat. 1560 – ii 613–14, 615n
lat. 2165 – ii 373
lat. 4151 – ii 560n
lat. 5460 – ii 688
- Worcester, Cathedral and Chapter
Library
F.3 – ii 138, 141, 143–98, 428,
501–4
F.60 – ii 133, 138–9, 142–98
F.139 – ii 506n, 510–11
Q.99 – ii 381, 419n, 429n, 495–500,
542–3
- Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka
B 1604 – ii 616n
- Zwickau, Stadtbibliothek
I.13.25 – ii 134n

INDEX NOMINUM ET LOCORUM*

Note: The index is comprehensive for both volumes, except for the Appendix. Entries are almost always by first name for pre-modern authors, usually in English. Religious affiliations are not given for modern authors.

- Abaqa, Mongol khan i 371
 Abate, G. ii 137n
 Abelard: see Peter Abelard
 Acerenza ii 386
 Acre i 209, 472–3
 Adam of St Victor ii 372
 Adam Wodeham, OFM ii 654, 656–7, 658n, 667, 668n, 671–5, 688
 Adam, C. i 516n
 Adams, L. i 171n
 Adelard of Bath i 284
 Adenulf of Anagni i 149
 Adrian Florensz Dedal of Utrecht: see Hadrian VI
 Aertsen, J.A. i 175n, 207n, 234n, 239n, 247n, 253n, 267n, 284n, 287n, 309n, 555n; ii 23n, 38n, 40n, 44n, 84n, 367n, 371n
 Aix-en-Provence ii 268
 Alain Gontier i 443, 493n; ii 81n, 356–7
 Alberigo, G. ii 333n
 Albert of Cluny, OClun ii 360, 362, 367, 384–6, 396
 Albert the Great, OP i 25, 66n, 119n, 202, 284, 442, 549–51; ii 19n, 199, 335n, 403n, 467
 Albert of Padua, OESA ii 567n
 Albert of Saxony i 162
 Albumasar ii 93
 Alexander III, pope i 503n
 Alexander IV, pope i 233; ii 388
 Alexander Achillini ii 699
 Alexander of Alessandria, OFM I 478, 498, 501n; ii 22n, 138n, 139, 570, 579–82
 Alexander of Aphrodisias i 100; ii 93, 209–10, 288
 Alexander of Hales, OFM i 9, 25, 26n, 27–8, 38, 51n, 486, 488; ii 427n, 676, 693
 Alexander of Hungary, OESA ii 356
 Alexander of Sant'Elpidio, OESA i 463; ii 356, 549, 550n, 552n, 557, 642
 Algazali ii 93
 Allemang, G. ii 386n
 Allen, E.B. ii 446n
 Alliney, G. i 441n; ii 437n, 598n, 599n, 643, 647n
 Alluntis, F. ii 132–3, 138n, 139n, 141n, 143n, 149–51, 158n, 160n
 Alphagranus ii 93
 Alphonsus Dionysii of Lisbon ii 351n, 352n
 Alphonsus Vargas of Toledo, OESA ii 547, 549, 562
 Amadeus de Castello, OESA ii 357, 546, 553–4, 568
 Amalar of Metz i 529n
 Ambrose of Milan i 98–9, 249
 Amerini, F. ii 569n, 581n
 Amiens i 418; ii 363–4, 367, 385
 Amorós, L. i 297n, 298; ii 2n, 622
 Anagni ii 393
 Anaxagoras i 335; ii 93
 Ancona ii 555
 André, G.S. ii 408, 411, 477–9
 Andrea de' Mozzi, OFM i 409, 411
 Andreas of Saint-Victor i 26n
 Andrew of Anchin: see Andrew d'Orchies
 Andrew of Auchy: see Andrew d'Orchies
 Andrew Elemosine de Perugia, OESA ii 567n
 Andrew d'Orchies, Mont-Saint-Éloi i 422; ii 340, 343, 360–1, 363, 369–70

* i = vol. I: C. Schabel (ed.), *Theological Quodlibeta in the Middle Ages. The Thirteenth Century*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 1 (Brill: Leiden/Boston 2006); ii = vol. II: this volume.

- Andrew of Sennes i 247
 Andrews, R. ii 244
 Angel of Camerino, OESA i 236; ii 356, 552
 Anger, P. ii 380n
 Anheim, É. ii 383n
 Anjou i 383, 408, 418n
 Anselm of Canterbury, OSB i 143, 306, 420–1; ii 93, 178, 242, 481, 484, 489–90, 520n, 537, 676–7
 Antioch ii 629
 Anzulewicz, H. i 176n, 246n, 362n, 419n, 420n, 456n
 Appignano del Tronto ii 600
 Aquila i 406n
 Aquitaine i 408n, 424, 425n; ii 267, 595
 Aragon i 209; ii 625, 628
 Ardura, B. ii 359n, 373n
 Arezzo i 406n
 Arezzo, A. i 207n
 Argerami, O. 83n, 103, 105, 110, 427n
 Aristotle i 14–15, 21–2, 49, 56n, 62, 70, 77, 100–1, 107, 110–11, 149, 163–4, 166, 168, 172, 202, 237–8, 253, 255, 258, 261, 266–7, 272, 274, 276, 278, 284, 307–10, 312–13, 320–2, 325–6, 328, 330, 332–3, 335–6, 339, 358–60, 379–80, 388n, 389, 395, 401, 411, 426–8, 441–3, 444n, 445, 446n, 448, 451n, 466–7, 469–70, 475–6, 490, 492, 494, 501, 504–5, 507, 511, 512n, 515, 519, 521, 527, 533, 537, 539–40, 545, 552, 557; ii 13, 19, 24–6, 29–30, 34–5, 38n, 57, 68, 79, 82, 92–4, 96n, 124, 126–8, 140–1, 165, 172, 178–80, 188–91, 197, 205, 208–11, 213–19, 221, 223, 226, 228n, 231, 241, 246–7, 258–9, 261–2, 275–6, 279n, 282–92, 294–5, 297, 299–302, 304, 306–9, 311, 314–16, 318–19, 322, 327, 536, 593, 604n, 615, 625n, 635n, 661, 702
 Arius i 547–9
 Armand of Belzezer, OP ii 464
 Armstrong, D.M. i 161
 Armstrong, L. i 485n; ii 545n, 560n, 561
 Arnau de Vilanova i 435; ii 84, 90, 95, 228, 517
 Arnaud Gaillard, OFM i 412–13, 418, 431–2
 Arnaud Royard, OFM i 408–9; ii 356
 Arnaud de Saint-Michel ii 630
 Arnobius, Junior i 144
 Arnold of Liège, OP ii 440, 442–5
 Arnulfus de Lasteria, OP ii 352n
 Arras ii 362–3, 369n, 383
 Artois ii 364
 Arway, R.J. ii 49
 Asaph ii 668
 Ascoli, A.R. i 92n
 Assenmacher, J. ii 19n
 Athanasius of Alexandria i 99, 554; ii 93
 Atroposmath of Athens ii 356
 Aubert, J.-M. i 72n
 Aubert, R. ii 359n, 363n, 364n, 370n, 377n, 378n, 386n, 387n, 390n, 391n
 Auer, J. ii 626n
 Aufredo Gonteri Brito, OFM ii 11, 570, 621–5, 639
 Augustine of Ancona, OESA i 463–6; ii 356, 546, 555, 568
 Augustine of Hippo i 57, 62–3, 76, 82, 84, 89–90, 93, 98–101, 110–11, 115–16, 135, 139, 143, 145–6, 148, 169–70, 196, 202, 255, 272, 278, 285, 384, 432, 509, 512n, 519n, 538, 548n; ii 92–3, 148, 151–2, 160–2, 166, 169, 171–3, 177, 189, 195–8, 215–16, 241–2, 264, 280n, 282, 307, 317–18, 325–6, 373, 375, 484–5, 520n, 521n, 542, 596n, 676–7
 Augustinus Triumphus: see Augustine of Ancona
 Aumône ii 387–8
 Australia i 161
 Auvergne i 513
 Avarucci, G. ii 135n
 Averroes i 35, 100, 253, 267n, 268, 336, 426, 444n, 518n, 519n; ii 29, 30n, 43, 62, 92, 96n, 128, 209–10, 228n, 232, 246–7, 251–3, 259–61, 275, 279n, 280n, 282–303, 306–13, 315, 319–20, 535–6
 Avicebron i 100, 542n
 Avicenna i 100, 169–70, 244n, 335, 512n, 543; ii 26–7, 46, 93, 207–8, 228, 251–2, 485, 644n, 645n
 Avignon i 40, 44; ii 11, 199, 203, 222, 353, 372, 432n, 449–51, 464, 505, 507–8, 510, 512–13, 518, 600–2, 610, 621, 626, 633, 638, 654, 657–9, 667n, 668, 678, 688, 691n
 Axters, É. i 33n; ii 394, 395n, 396n, 400n
 Azanza, A. ii 625

- B. de Massaut, OP i 405n
 Babylon i 472n
 Bade/Badius Ascensius, J. i 171n, 179, 213n, 510n, 521n, 523n, 524n; ii 18n, 20n, 27n, 29n, 30n, 31n, 32n, 33n, 40n, 41n, 42n, 183n, 184n, 185n, 210n
 Bakker, P.J.J.M. i 4n; ii 413, 414n, 418n
 Balcoyiannopoulou, I. ii 432n, 434n, 449n, 452n, 522n
 Baldwin, J.W. i 388n, 400n, 475n
 Bale, J.: see John Bale
 Balić, C. i 170n; ii 18n, 33n, 65n, 69n, 97n, 132, 136n, 137n, 225n, 608n, 661n, 668, 688n
 Baluze, É. ii 385n
 Bandinius, A.M. ii 136n
 Bar ii 336n
 Barbanti, M. i 219n
 Barbet, J. ii 382n, 519n, 534, 616n, 617n
 Barcelona i 29n; ii 621–2, 624–6, 628–9, 643
 Bardy, G. i 21n
 Bar-le-Duc ii 336n
 Barnaba Hechich, P. ii 136n, 137n
 Barolini, T. i 92n
 Baron, S.W. i 383n
 Bartholomew of Capua i 555n
 Bartoli, M. i 455n
 Barubé, O. ii 360n, 362n, 363n, 374n
 Bataillon, L.-J. i 17n, 18n, 412n, 417n, 421n; ii 334n, 335n
 Baudry, L. i 435n; ii 666n, 699n
 Bauer, M. ii 218n
 Bayerer, W.G. ii 136n
 Bayerri y Bertomeu, E. ii 138n, 456n, 460n
 Bayerschmidt, P. ii 415n, 416n, 420, 446n
 Bazán, B.C. i 18n, 39, 56n, 251n, 293–4, 295n, 439n; ii 624n
 Beatriz da Costa, J. ii 83n
 Beaulieu-en-Argonne ii 341, 386, 396
 Beauvais ii 199
 Beccarisi, A. i 47n
 Bede, the Venerable i 81
 Beek ii 524
 Bégou-Davia, M. i 386n
 Bel., OFM ii 357
 Bellemare, L. i 173n
 Belmont, S. i 144n
 Beltrán de Heredia, P. ii 433n
 Benedict XI, pope i 343–4, 459–60, 473; ii 393, 429, 572
 Benedict XII, pope ii 8, 354–5, 357, 383, 387, 626, 629, 668
 Benedict Gaetani: see Boniface VIII
 Benedict of Nursia i 63; ii 596n
 Benevento ii 547
 Ber., OFM ii 357
 Béraud du Puy, OP i 408
 Berengar, OP ii 227
 Berger, D. i 74n
 Berges, W. i 439n
 Bériou, N. i 412n
 Berlière, U. ii 379n, 380n
 Berlin i 419–20
 Bermond d'Anduze, OFM i 412
 Bernard of Auvergne, OP i 45, 178, 454–5, 501n; ii 9, 411–18, 421–2, 446–7, 474–5, 481–8, 547–8
 Bernard de Botone ii 225
 Bernard of Clairvaux, OCist i 33n, 364; ii 93
 Bernard de Gamaches ii 373
 Bernard Gui, OP i 405n; ii 354n, 411, 431n, 432n, 440n, 457n
 Bernard Lombardi, OP ii 12, 464, 473–5, 694
 Bernard Olivarii, OESA ii 565–7
 Bernard of Pavia ii 93
 Bernard of Trilia, OP i 422, 501, 531n; ii 9, 343, 408–11, 477–80
 Bernardino of Siena, OFM i 47–8, 436
 Bernardus de Boscarello, OP ii 352n
 Bernat de Puigcercós, OP i 501n
 Bertaldus, OFM ii 356–7
 Bertelloni, F. ii 539n
 Berthaud of Saint-Denis i 204n, 212, 424, 449
 Berthier, J.J. i 22n, 23n
 Bertram of Alen, OFM i 13, 47, 291–2, 304n, 341
 Bertram, M. i 462n
 Bertrand of Alimania ii 474
 Bertrand of Got: see Clement V
 Bertrand de la Tour, OFM i 409n, 531n; ii 267, 570, 580, 595–6, 634, 639
 Besançon ii 694
 Beumer, J. ii 463n
 Bianchi, L. i 234n, 239n, 245n, 246n, 259n, 265n, 284n, 365; ii 698n
 Bihl, M. i 47n, 427n
 Biller, P. i 262n, 408n
 Black, J. i 26n, 41n, 51n, 524n; ii 403n

- Blaise, A. i 19, 20n
 Blanchette, O. i 111n
 Bleienstein, F. i 451n
 Bochner, P. i 429n
 Boese, H. ii 126n, 127n, 130n
 Boethius i 68, 100, 113, 117, 168,
 512n; ii 46, 87–8, 92, 94, 427, 481
 Boethius of Dacia i 511n; ii 19n
 Bologna i 27, 141, 365, 410; ii 346,
 554–6, 557n, 598, 699
 Bonafede, G. i 144n
 Bonagratia of Bergamo, OFM ii 601
 Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, OFM i
 11, 25, 71, 81, 89, 90n, 102, 113–14,
 137, 144, 149, 153–8, 160–1, 202,
 335, 350n, 418, 420, 433, 459, 492n,
 518n, 520n, 530; ii 32n, 57, 277, 336,
 676, 695
 Bongianino, L. i 40n, 480n
 Boniface VIII, pope i 176, 185, 236,
 246, 286, 343–4, 354, 357, 361, 377n,
 425n, 439, 456, 459, 462–3, 499n; ii
 84, 368, 386, 393, 413n
 Bonino, S.-T. i 72n, 108n
 Borde, H. (M.-B.) ii 435n, 493n, 505n,
 506n, 507, 509, 513n
 Bordeaux i 473; ii 393, 496, 500, 532
 Borleffs, J.G.P. i 543n
 Bosnia ii 629
 Bossier, F. i 519n
 Bossuet Jacques Bénigne i 542
 Boston ii 272n
 Bougerol, J.G. ii 138n, 387n, 388n
 Boulnois, O. i 343, 398n
 Boureau, A. i 3, 60n, 73n, 94n, 136n,
 239n, 281n, 346n, 347n, 398n, 413n,
 419n, 428n, 455n, 482n, 526, 527n,
 528, 529n, 540n, 541n, 555n, 556n; ii
 3n, 341n, 473
 Bourges i 236, 244, 286
 Boutry, M. i 20n
 Boyle, J.F. i 49n, 56n
 Boyle, L.E. i 26n, 53n, 60, 86n, 248,
 346n, 357n, 377n; ii 703n
 Brady, I. i 61n, 137n, 139n, 142n, 143,
 404n, 447n, 478n, 491n, 492n, 493n,
 494n, 503n, 510n, 529n, 531n, 535n;
 ii 20n, 32n, 33n, 34n, 35n, 626n
 Brampton, C.K. ii 666n
 Brams, J. i 519n
 Brandt, S. i 512n
 Bréquigny, L.-G. de i 382n
 Brett, A.S. i 504n
 Brewer, J.S. i 153n
 Brighton i 135
 Brittany, Bretons ii 431, 623
 Broomfield, F. i 400n
 Brouette, É. ii 387n, 390n, 391n
 Brown, E.A.R. i 185n, 450n, 523n; ii
 83n, 116, 368
 Brown, S.F. i 418n; ii 6n, 10, 23n, 25n,
 76n, 81n, 97n, 272n, 273, 345n, 346n,
 371n, 454n, 493n, 501n, 507–10, 512,
 513n, 519, 520n, 538n, 539n, 549n,
 657n, 658n, 661n, 666n, 696
 Brumberg-Chaumont, J. i 407n
 Brundage, J. i 477n
 Brunet, A. i 17n, 21n
 Bruni, G. i 233n, 235n, 237n, 238n,
 239n, 247, 261n; ii 412n
 Bucichowski, W. ii 73n, 74n, 75n, 466n,
 473n
 Buerke, B. ii 191n
 Burgundy ii 582
 Burkhart, P. ii 452n
 Burnett, C. i 253n
 Burr, D. i 412, 413n, 429n, 431n, 490n
 Busa, R. i 50n
 Buytaert, E.M. i 513n, 530n, 545n,
 548n; ii 267n, 268n, 413n, 626–7
 Byzantium i 371
 Ç., master ii 356
 Cahors i 106, 382, 405n
 Cairola, J. i 144n
 Callebaut, A. i 136n; ii 349n
 Callus, D.A. i 153n, 555n
 Camboulit ii 629, 633
 Cambridge i 143; ii 155, 531, 537, 545,
 659
 Candia i 414, 436
 Cañedo Cervera, A. ii 517n
 Canivez, J.-M. ii 391n, 394n
 Cannizzo, G. ii 83, 84n, 85n, 89, 94,
 99–106, 111, 120
 Canterbury i 136, 201, 281; ii 419, 531,
 537
 Capitani, O. i 484n, 492n, 493n, 497n
 Caresmar, I. ii 135n
 Carlisle ii 667
 Carnap, R. i 159n
 Caroti, S. ii 14n, 98n
 Castagnoli, P. ii 572n
 Castro y Castro, M. de i 411n; ii 626n
 Catalonia, Catalans i 408; ii 9, 505
 Catania ii 629
 Cathala, M.-R. i 100n
 Catto, J.I. ii 419n

- Cazelles, R. ii 363n
 Ceccarelli, G. i 15, 219n, 388n, 439n,
 475–505, 523n; ii 365n, 386n, 406n,
 463n
 Celestine V, pope i 354, 462–3; ii 94
 Cenci, C. ii 135n
 Chaise-Dieu, La ii 382
 Charles II, king of Naples and Sicily
 i 383
 Charles IV, king of France ii 382, 610
 Chartres ii 353n
 Chatton ii 667
 Chaumont ii 353n
 Chavassee, A. ii 592n
 Chazan, R. i 383n
 Chenu, M.-D. i 29n, 95n, 96n; ii 333,
 335n
 Chevalier, P. i 279n
 Childeric, Merovingian king i 468
 Christian Maurer i 122
 Chroust, A.-H. ii 649n
 Cicero, A. i 17n, 37n
 Cicero i 100, 327; ii 93, 195
 Cîteaux ii 390, 394–5
 Clagett, M. ii 702n
 Clairmarais ii 390
 Clairvaux ii 386, 394
 Clavero, B. i 476n, 500n
 Clement IV, pope i 197–8
 Clement V, pope i 405, 408, 464, 473,
 499n; ii 205, 386, 393, 412, 555
 Clement VI, pope ii 8, 360, 362,
 382–4, 396–7, 456, 519, 523, 533–4,
 536, 612, 629, 698
 Clermont ii 85, 100, 412
 Cockshaw, P. i 178n
 Cohen, J. i 147n; ii 367n, 582n
 Collingwood, R.G. i 511
 Cologne i 365; ii 73, 81n, 132, 454n,
 464, 466, 472, 524, 572, 579, 698
 Colonna family i 286, 462
 Conetti, M. i 456n
 Congar, Y.-M. i 25, 45n, 368n, 380n,
 381n, 453n, 480n
 Constable, G. i 502n
 Constantine, Roman emperor i 93,
 456
 Constantinople ii 363
 Conti, A.D. i 269n; ii 134n, 626n
 Copsey, R. ii 497, 504n
 Cornet, D. i 371n, 372n, 373n, 481n
 Courtenay, W.J. i 2n, 4n, 8–9, 46n,
 265n, 403n, 408n, 410, 411n, 416,
 443n, 466n, 479n; ii 8, 10, 12, 14n,
 15–16, 51n, 81n, 225n, **345–57**, 361n,
 367n, 373n, 377, 378n, 381n, 382n,
 387n, 401n, 419n, 434n, 435n, 437n,
 440n, 444n, 495n, 502n, 503n, 504n,
 505n, 512n, 515, **545–68**, 591–2,
 597, 598n, 601n, 602, 640, 642, 643n,
 652n, 653n, 654n, 655n, 658, 666,
 667n, 668n, 673n, 674n, 678n, 680,
 685n, 689n, 691n, **692–9**
 Cousins, E.H. i 154n, 161n
 Cova, L. i 441n; ii 334n
 Cox, H.O. ii 137n
 Craig, E. i 233n
 Cranz, F.E. ii 135n, 137n
 Crawford, F.D. ii 246n, 283n, 284n,
 285n, 286n, 288n, 289n, 290n, 291n,
 292n, 293n, 294n, 295n, 296n, 297n,
 298n, 300n, 301n, 308n, 309n, 310n,
 311n, 313n
 Crete i 414
 Crisciani, C. i 249n
 Cross, R. i 9; ii 4, 12–13, 533n, 539n,
 701–55
 Crowley, T. i 136n
 Cyril of Alexandria i 554

 Dahan, G. ii 367n, 394n
 Dales, R.C. i 239n; ii 83n, 103, 105,
 110, 245, 427n
 Dante Alighieri i 14, 92, 170, 435;
 ii 430
 Dautrey, P. ii 387n
 David of Dinant i 96
 Deahl, J. i 1
 Dean, R.J. ii 427n
 De Benedictis, A. i 439n
 Decker, B. ii 431n, 444
 De Coninck, P.D. i 510n, 511n, 553n
 Decorte, J. i 171n, 182, 188, 191–2,
 197, 202n, 204n, 205–6, 216, 221,
 241n, 267n, 279n, 376n, 395n, 397n,
 400n, 501n, 502n, 503n, 531n
 Dedieu, H. i 407n, 420n, 425n
 Defraia, S. i 37n, 48, 413–15, 416n,
 424, 436n, 437n, 479n, 481n, 482n,
 484n, 493n, 494n, 495n, 496n, 497n,
 498n; ii 55n, 56n
 Delisle, L. ii 137n, 335
 Delorme, F.M. i 84n, 136n, 137n,
 144n, 166n, 407n, 409n, 417n, 423,
 427n, 432n, 453n, 466n, 480n, 484n,
 491n, 492n, 493n, 494n, 496n, 502n,
 503n, 531n; ii 58n, 59n, 341n
 Del Punta, F. i 233n, 234n, 235n, 236n,

- 240n, 244n, 245n, 286n, 409n, 433n;
ii 35n, 254
- Denifle, H. i 153n; ii 354n, 380n
- Denmark i 507
- Denzinger, H. ii 199n, 273n, 274n,
281n, 316n
- Deodat of Séverac, OSB ii 372–3, 384
- Depoin, J. ii 380n
- Descartes, R. i 516n
- Desiderio, F. ii 520n, 539n
- Destrez, J. ii 99n, 334–5
- Dettloff, W. ii 591n
- Dewender, T. ii 97n, 454n, 513n, 520n
- De Wulf, M. i 287n, 361n, 363n, 367n,
368n, 374n, 376n, 397n, 400n, 448n,
484n, 488n, 489n, 493n, 494n, 501n,
502n, 521n, 522n, 523n, 524n, 525n,
529n, 531n; ii 20n, 44n, 45n, 46n,
47n, 48n, 49n, 50n, 67n, 364n, 439n
- Dietrich of Freiburg, OP ii 467
- Diez, A. i 372n, 503n
- Di Giovanni, M. i 253n
- Digne ii 609
- Dimier, A. ii 387n
- Dionysius the Areopagite: see Pseudo-
Dionysius
- Dionysius de Borgo San Sepolcro,
OESA ii 97, 349, 549, 566–7
- Dolcino of Novara i 473; ii 393
- Dombart, R. i 512n
- Dominicus Mariae Berardelli, OP
ii 599n
- Donati, S. i 233n, 234n, 235n, 236n,
240n, 244n, 245n, 286n; ii 22n, 30n,
35n, 43n
- Dondaine, A. i 143n, 405n, 406n, 434n
- Dondaine, H.F. i 63, 64n
- Douais, C. i 405n, 406n
- Doucet, V. i 2n, 27, 38, 142, 404n,
407n, 413n, 415, 423–4, 425n, 486n;
ii 6, 82n, 136n, 427n, 550n, 571n,
592n, 599, 622, 624n, 641n, 643
- Douie, D.L. i 136n, 281n; ii 666n
- Dreiling, R. ii 75n
- Dreux ii 353n
- Dreyer, M. ii 136n
- Driscoll, A.M. i 55n
- Drossbach, G. ii 545n
- Duba, W.O. i 8–9, 48n, 402n, 558n;
ii 3n, 10–12, 56n, 229n, 345n, 350n,
444n, 493n, 545n, 551n, 566n,
569–649, 688n, 697n
- Dublin ii 405
- Du Boulay, C.E. ii 378n
- Dufeil, M.-M. i 52n; ii 388n
- Duhem, P. i 508n; ii 75n
- Dumont, S.D. i 441n; ii 65n, 81n, 231,
232n, 234, 244n, 254n, 345n, 508n,
510n, 513n, 520n, 521n, 539n, 621n,
623–4, 626n
- Dunbabin, J. i 461n; ii 452n
- Durand of St Pourçain, OP i 40, 44,
493n, 496n, 497–8, 531n; ii 2, 9, 201n,
232, 351–2, 356–7, 381, 413n, 414,
432, 434n, 436, 438, 445n, 448–52,
454–5, 457n, 458, 463, 465, 467–71,
474–5, 522, 536, 539, 551, 565–7,
633, 642
- Durham ii 667, 679
- Duval, A. ii 333n
- Duval-Arnould, L. ii 360n
- Dykmans, M. ii 383n, 667n
- Eardley, P.S. i 270n, 278n
- Eastman, J.R. i 462n, 463; ii 83n, 94n,
95n, 111
- Ebbesen, S. i 458n
- Eckart, W.P. ii 19n
- Eckermann, W. ii 550n
- Eckhart, OP ii 357
- Eco, U. i 159n
- Edmund Grafton, OFM ii 688–9
- Edward I, king of England i 383
- Egenter, R. i 310n, 311n
- Egger, C. i 451n; ii 375n
- Egypt i 371n
- Ehrle, F. i 136n, 408n, 410n, 412n,
427n; ii 226, 228n, 423, 427–9, 601,
604n, 628n
- Elna ii 517
- Emden, A.B. ii 231n, 348, 497n, 666n,
668n, 688n, 689, 690n
- Emery, K. Jr. i 174n, 175n, 234n, 239n,
247n, 267n, 284n, 287n, 309n, 555n;
ii 44n, 367n, 371n, 624n
- Emmen, A. i 142n
- Empedocles i 284
- Endress, G. i 253n
- England, English i 135, 138, 143–4,
197, 208, 377, 383, 417–18, 476n,
480n; ii 6, 11, 20, 56, 60, 235, 348n,
401n, 405, 419, 464n, 466, 473n,
495–6, 500, 504–5, 511, 527, 531–2,
536–7, 545n, 569, 630, 651, 658n,
659–60, 678, 685, 687, 692–3, 697
- Ennis, A.J. ii 545n
- Erfurt i 365, 420; ii 550, 699
- Ermatinger, C.J. ii 238

- Esteban, E. I; 235n, 240n, 245n
 Étienne de Bourret i 365
 Étienne Tempier i 145, 184, 193, 195,
 197–200, 206–8, 211–12, 234, 349,
 351, 362, 364–5; ii 19, 23, 25, 35, 199,
 368
 Etzkorn, G.J. i 10–11, 40n, 41n, 84n,
135–49, 447n, 453n, 478n, 480n,
 484n, 491n, 492n, 493n, 494n, 496n,
 502n, 503n, 510n, 525n, 531n, 535n,
 541n, 543n, 545n, 550n, 555n; ii 11,
 20n, 32n, 33n, 34n, 35n, 56n, 57n,
 58n, 65n, 67n, 132n, 140n, 244, 405n,
 451n, 549n, 569n, 570–1, 600, 651n,
 658–9, 660n, 661n, 667n, 668–75,
 691n, 696n
 Etzwiler, J.P. ii 517n, 539n
 Eudes of Châteauroux i 345, 444n
 Eugenius V, pope i 43n
 Eustace, master ii 378
 Eustache of Arras, OFM i 355, 478,
 495, 513, 515, 520n
 Eustache of Grandcourt i 498, 525n;
 ii 339–41, 343
 Eustratius i 163; ii 93
 Evans, G.R. i 1n, 426n; ii 15, 268n,
 345n, 437n, 493n, 528n, 546n, 652n
 Évrard, abbot of Clairvaux ii 386
 Évrard of Voulaines, Val-des-Écoliers
 ii 376
 Eynde, D. van den ii 302n

 Faenza ii 346n, 350
 Faes de Mottoni, B. i 17n
 Fajdek, B. i 17n
 Favier, J. i 382n, 383n
 Fécamp ii 383
 Felder, H. i 153n
 Feltre i 414–15
 Ferrarius Catalanus, OP i 493n;
 ii 402–4
 Ferruolo, S.C. ii 359n
 Ferté, la ii 394
 Fidora, A. ii 249
 Figeac ii 629
 Finke, H. i 176n; ii 353n, 354n,
 580n
 Fioravanti, G. i 219n, 233n; ii 232n
 Fiorentino, F. ii 610n
 Fitzpatrick, N.A. ii 667n
 Flanders, Flemish i 454, 462, 480
 Flasch, K. ii 514n
 Flavius Renatus Vegetius: see Vegetius
 Fleury ii 380
 Florence, Florentines i 15, 29n, 103,
 406, 409–10, 413, 416, 433, 481,
 485n, 486; ii 420, 430, 590n
 Flores, J.C. ii 211n
 Flüeler, C. i 439n, 443n, 450n, 466n,
 470; ii 81n
 Fohlen, J. i 41n, 43n
 Folger-Fonfara, S. ii 569n, 608, 609n
 Forlivesi, M. ii 415n
 France, French i 40, 106, 157n, 184,
 286, 343, 381n, 383, 403, 405, 412n,
 418, 425–6, 468n, 476n, 480–1, 498,
 523, 558n; ii 363, 373, 393–4, 408,
 412, 431, 434, 444–5, 452n, 505,
 514–15, 537, 545, 551, 562, 582
 Francisc Eiximenis, OFM i 436, 501n
 Francis of Assisi i 136, 149, 459;
 ii 627
 Francis Bacon, OCarm ii 527
 Francis Caracciolo, OP ii 81, 82n,
 356–7, 454–5, 457n, 510n
 Francis of Marchia, OFM ii 2, 11, 533,
 565–7, 570, 600–9, 628
 Francis of Meyronnes, OFM ii 11, 382,
 474, 519, 533, 564–7, 570, 592n, 600,
 602, 609–21, 634, 638
 Franciscus Christophori ii 352n
 Franciscus Robini de Sancto
 Michaeli ii 352n
 Frank, W.A. ii 133, 158n, 658n, 696n
 Franklin, A. ii 376n
 Franks i 473
 Freddoso, A. ii 655, 662n, 664n, 665n
 Frederick II, Holy Roman emperor
 i 253
 Frege, G. i 159n
 Friedberg, E. i 357n
 Friedman, R.L. i 8–9, 142n, 143n,
 426n, 439n, 458n; ii 1, 3n, 8–10, 15,
 59n, 60n, 66n, 73n, 81n, 82n, 345n,
401–91, 493n, 503n, 511n, 512n,
 513n, 514n, 520n, 522n, 526n, 535n,
 538n, 548n, 600, 601n, 603n, 604n,
 605n, 628n, 689n, 694n, 697n, 704n
 Friemar ii 550
 Frioli, D. ii 135n
 Funke, G. ii 218n
 Fussenegger, G. i 428n, 429n

 Gabriel, A.L. i 345n
 Gaetani: see Boniface VIII
 Gaianos i 548
 Gál, G. i 142n, 429n; ii 76n, 626n,
 656–7, 658n

- Galle, G. ii 51n, 81n, 82n, 126n, 128n
 Ganterus: see Gonterus
 Garand, M.-C. i 178n
 Garfagnini, G.C. ii 135n
 Garinus ii 351, 357
 Gascony, Gascons i 383n, 408-9; ii 610
 Gauchet, M. i 349n
 Gaudry, OClun ii 384
 Gaussin, P.-R. ii 372n, 373n, 375n
 Gauthier, Val-des-Écoliers ii 376
 Gauthier, R.-A. i 33n, 53-4, 55n, 71, 74n, 78n, 81-3, 88n, 91, 98, 100n, 101-3, 106, 112, 119, 121-2, 124, 353n, 357n, 358n, 360n, 361n, 369n, 370n, 373n, 387n, 389n, 390n, 393n, 394n, 397n, 398n, 399n, 400n, 484n, 485n, 488n, 489n, 494n, 495n, 512n, 515n, 517n, 520n, 522n, 526n, 533n, 536n, 541n, 542n, 545n, 552n, 553n
 Gelber, H.G. ii 423n, 427n, 432n, 666n, 673n, 678n, 679n, 680n, 681-4, 696n, 697n
 Genet, J.-P. i 379n
 Gensler, M. ii 81n
 Geoffrey Chaucer ii 679
 Geoffrey Herdeby ii 689n, 697n
 Geoffrey of Plessis ii 380
 Gerard of Abbeville i 5, 7, 10, 13, 32n, 40n, 71, 72n, 74-6, 136-7, 140, 143, 172, 348, 355, 357, 359, 360n, 371-4, 387, 392-5, 397n, 400n, 402, 436n, 452, 477, 479, 481n, 483, 484n, 496n, 498, 500, 502-3, 510n, 523-4, 525n, 544n, 556; ii 406, 693
 Gerard of Bologna, OCarm i 521n; ii 10, 354, 356-7, 493-4, 496, 502-3, 505-14, 517-18, 523, 537-9, 545n
 Gerard Odonis, OFM i 42n, 409n, 503, 504n; ii 11-12, 75n, 97, 98n, 350, 565-7, 570, 629-39, 697n
 Gerard of Saint-Victor i 443, 460, 472; ii 351-2, 355-7, 360-1, 370n, 372-3, 392n, 444
 Gerard of Siena, OESA i 479, 493-4; ii 10, 12, 513, 546-7, 549, 557-62, 568, 694
 Gerard of Troyes, Val-des-Écoliers ii 376
 Germany, Germans i 403n; ii 73, 406, 472, 504, 524, 545, 550-1, 572, 641, 654
 Gervais of Mont-Saint-Éloi: see Servais
 Geyer, B. i 442n, 549n, 550n, 551n
 Giacompo Fey, OFM ii 504n
 Giardina, G.R. i 219n
 Gil de Zamora, OFM i 411
 Gilbert of Poitiers i 184, 201, 208
 Gilchrist, J. i 476n, 499n
 Giles of Lessines, OP i 139, 148, 484, 498, 501n, 549-50, 551n; ii 364n
 Giles of Montmirail, Val-des-Écoliers ii 376
 Giles of Rome, OESA i 6, 8-9, 12-13, 139, 148, 174, 176n, 201, 204-5, 206n, 210-11, 215, 233-86, 313, 351-2, 418-19, 433, 446, 463, 466-7, 479, 493-5, 496n, 501, 510n, 511n, 513, 514n, 518n, 521, 528, 531n, 536, 541n, 543n, 549-50, 551n, 552n, 553n; ii 3, 10, 20n, 35-43, 46, 54n, 72n, 164n, 215, 335n, 351, 357, 364n, 378, 392, 412n, 421-2, 459-60, 467, 473, 475, 545n, 546-7, 550, 554, 565, 567-8, 703
 Gilles Aycelin i 416n
 Gilles, H. i 408n
 Gillespie, R.E. ii 679n, 681n, 682-3, 684n
 Gillon, L.-B. ii 405-6
 Gilson, É. i 144n; ii 15, 25n, 537
 Gilson, J.P. ii 136n
 Giordanengo, G. i 386n
 Giovanni da Murrovalle, OFM i 408n, 409n
 Giovinnazzo ii 598
 Glorie, F. ii 485n
 Glorieux, P. i 2-6, 18-19, 26n, 27, 31n, 35n, 37n, 39n, 40n, 41n, 44n, 51n, 56n, 72n, 106, 135n, 141, 151, 157n, 171, 174-6, 179, 181, 186, 206n, 209n, 215, 216n, 217, 220n, 233n, 234n, 236n, 240, 241n, 242-3, 245n, 288n, 289n, 292-3, 294n, 295-6, 298, 301-2, 304n, 319n, 343, 345n, 348n, 351, 378n, 403, 407n, 412n, 418n, 420-2, 429n, 442n, 444n, 459n, 460n, 464-6, 472n, 473n, 476, 478n, 479n, 483n, 484n, 486n, 493n, 497n, 502n, 510n, 513n, 514n, 518n, 519n, 520n, 521n, 523n, 524n, 525n, 526n, 528n, 531n, 542n, 543n, 553n, 555n, 556n; ii 2, 5-13, 20n, 60n, 72, 77n, 81, 82n, 83-5, 89, 99, 101n, 132, 203, 233-4, 244n, 256, 278n, 333-5, 336n, 337n, 338, 340-3, 345n, 346n, 347-53, 354n, 360-1, 363-4, 367n, 368n, 369n, 370, 371n, 373n, 374, 376, 377n, 378, 379n, 380n, 381n, 383n,

- 384n, 385n, 388, 390n, 391, 393n,
394n, 401n, 403, 404n, 405–9, 410n,
412n, 416n, 419n, 420n, 421n, 423–4,
428n, 429n, 431n, 434, 435n, 439–40,
441n, 442, 449–50, 454–5, 456n, 457,
459, 461n, 464–6, 473n, 496–8, 500n,
501n, 506n, 508, 510–12, 518, 519n,
522, 524–5, 527–8, 531, 535n, 546–8,
550n, 552, 554–60, 562–73, 580–2,
585–97, 598n, 601, 610, 628n, 630,
653n, 688n, 689n, 691–4, 697n, 701,
703–4
Gloucester ii 382
Goddard, E.D. ii 352n, 545n
Godfrey of Cornwall, OCarm ii 688
Godfrey of Fontaines i 5, 8, 10, 12–13,
30, 45, 148, 172, 185, 201, 204, 206,
234, 240–1, 243n, 245–7, 265n, 278,
283, 287–344, 348–9, 352, 354–5,
357–8, 361–5, 367, 374–85, 387,
390–4, 396, 397n, 400n, 419, 425n,
441–2, 444, 447–9, 453–4, 456–9,
462–3, 477, 480, 481n, 484n, 487,
488n, 489, 491, 493–4, 496n, 498,
501, 502n, 503–4, 520n, 521n, 522n,
523n, 524n, 525, 529n, 531n; ii 1, 3,
9, 20n, 43–51, 53, 55, 59–61, 63, 67,
72, 81, 89, 98, 99n, 105, 107, 199,
202, 217, 221, 227, 250, 252, 336–8,
353, 356–7, 364, 367–8, 393, 412–16,
417n, 418, 439, 440n, 467, 475, 536,
538–9, 548
Gómez Caffarena, J. i 174–6, 213,
242n, 243; ii 704n
Gondras, A.-J. i 142n, 356n, 420n, 421,
538n, 540n, 544n
Goñi, J. ii 99n, 521n
Gonsalvus of Spain, OFM i 293,
296–8, 343; ii 2
Gonterus ii 342
González-Haba, M. ii 60n, 61n, 62n,
63n, 64n, 65n, 423
Goris, W. i 9; ii 5, 6n, 411, 472n, 493n,
503–4, 507, 538n
Gorman, M. i 114–17
Gosselin, E.A. ii 583n
Gotha ii 550
Grabmann, M. i 171; ii 209, 373,
403n, 409, 411, 466n, 467, 472–3,
699n
Gracia, J.J.E. i 447n; ii 18n, 19n, 23n,
51n, 57n, 70n, 235n, 432n, 493n,
502n, 519, 520n, 523, 538n, 539n,
610n
Graf, D.T. i 319n; ii 84n, 102, 120, 221,
503n, 539n
Gräfengaden i 122
Grand, P. i 348n, 544n, 556n
Grant, E. ii 701, 702n
Gratian i 368–9, 372, 397n, 529n
Grau, A.F. ii 135n
Gravina, D. ii 456n
Greeks i 88, 142–3; ii 94
Green, R. ii 624n
Green-Pedersen, N.G. i 511n; ii 19n
Gregory I the Great, pope i 63, 84–5;
ii 93, 543, 596n
Gregory VII, pope i 476, 491
Gregory IX, pope i 499n; ii 620, 677
Gregory X, pope i 375n, 382, 384
Gregory XII, pope i 43n
Gregory of Burgundy, Val-des-
Écoliers ii 376
Gregory of Lucca, OESA ii 10, 351,
355–7, 546, 552–3, 568
Gregory of Rimini, OESA ii 97,
546–7, 549–50, 556n, 557, 562
Groppio, G. ii 435n
Grossi, P. i 504n
Grottaferrata i 17n
Grundmann, H. i 347n
Gubbio i 29n
Guerric of Saint-Quentin, OP i 9,
26–8, 41, 51n, 66n, 524n; ii 1, 402n,
403n
Guglielmo Centueri de Cremona,
OFM ii 557n
Guiard de Cressonessart ii 381n
Guibert, J. de i 113n
Guillaume Durand i 357n, 375n, 376–8
Guillaume Grimoard, OSB: see Urban V
Guillaume de Leus, OP i 405, 408
Guillaume de Vorillon, OFM ii 622–4
Guillelmus de Millat (or Nilach),
OFM i 419n
Guimaraes, A. de ii 271n, 431n, 432n,
433n, 434n, 435–6, 437n, 444, 445n,
452n, 453n, 456n
Guldentops, G. i 172n, 173n, 208n,
214n; ii 209n
Gullick, M. ii 428n
Gumbert-Hepp, M. i 19n
Gusinde, M. ii 84n, 122
Gutierrez, D. i 233n; ii 545n, 548
Guy of l'Aumône, OCist ii 8, 360, 362,
387–90, 396, 398–9
Guy of Beaulieu: see Guy of Pernes
Guy of Cluny: see Guy of Pernes

- Guy of Foulques: see Clement IV
 Guy of Pernes, OClun i 482, 484n, 496n; ii 340-1, 360-1, 384-6, 396
 Guy Terrena, OCarm i 443-4, 496n, 525n; ii 232, 234-5, 240-1, 244, 249, 277, 278n, 280, 330-1, 356-7, 450n, 454, 462, 494, 514, 517-26, 532-3, 537-9, 551
 Guyon, C. ii 343n, 353n, 359n, 375n, 376n, 377n, 378n
 Guyot, B.G. i 27, 35n, 45n, 64n, 112n, 376n, 459n; ii 83n, 102, 104, 111, 335n, 369n
- Hackett, J. i 153n
 Hadrian VI, pope ii 699
 Hali ii 93
 Halm, C. ii 136n, 137n
 Halphen, L. i 345n
 Hamelin, A.M. i 478n, 498n
 Hamesse, J. i 3n, 8-10, 15, **17-48**, 51n, 81n, 168n; ii 12, 126n, 165n, 373n, 383n, 403n, 620n
 Hannibaldus Hannibaldi, OP ii 402-3, 536
 Hardwick, C. ii 135n
 Hartmannus de Augusta: see Herman of Augsburg
 Hasse, D.G. i 284n
 Hauke, H. ii 66n, 427-8
 Hauréau, B. i 508n; ii 363, 378n, 381, 457n
 Haverals, M. i 172n, 180, 195-6, 267n, 453n
 Heidelberg i 45n; ii 694
 Heiman, A.J. ii 66, 418, 440n
 Heinzmann, R. ii 591n
 Henninger, M.G. ii 51n, 70, 73n, 254, 493n, 502n
 Henquinet, F.M. i 41n
 Henricus Heinbuch: see Henry of Hesse
 Henry III, king of England i 197
 Henry Amandi ii 81n, 227, 351, 356-7
 Henry of Friemar the Elder: see Henry the German
 Henry of Friemar the Younger ii 550, 552, 568
 Henry the German, OESA i 441, 466-7, 472; ii 201, 356-7, 546-7, 550-2, 568, 643, 648-9
 Henry of Ghent i 5, 8, 10-14, 44-5, 138, 145, 148-9, 171-231, 234-5, 241-3, 246, 259-60, 262-3, 265n, 267n, 268, 269n, 271, 277, 279-80, 281n, 282-6, 313, 320n, 348-52, 357n, 358-9, 361-4, 366-7, 373-4, 376n, 378-82, 384n, 388n, 389-90, 391n, 393-7, 398n, 399n, 400n, 419-21, 426n, 433, 444-7, 449, 453-4, 456-7, 459n, 472-3, 477, 482, 484, 485n, 486-8, 492-5, 497n, 500-1, 502n, 503, 510-11, 519n, 521-2, 523n, 524n, 525n, 528, 531n, 537, 540; ii 1, 3, 5, 9, 18n, 20n, 23-35, 37-42, 45-6, 47n, 51n, 58-9, 64, 67, 69, 76, 81, 98, 157-8, 164n, 165n, 166n, 167n, 181-8, 199-200, 202, 204-11, 213-17, 219, 221, 224, 226-9, 336, 339n, 345, 357, 364, 367-8, 393, 404, 411-17, 420-2, 424-5, 432, 446-7, 465, 467, 475, 481-91, 505, 535-6, 538-9, 610, 641n
 Henry of Harclay i 478, 484n; ii 82n, 232, 245, 254, 356, 429, 501-2, 504
 Henry of Herford ii 413
 Henry of Hesse (Langenstein) i 501n; ii 352n
 Henry of Lübeck, OP ii 3, 9, 73-5, 426n, 429, 464, 466-73, 475
 Henry (Totting) of Oyta i 501n
 Henry, B. i 121n
 Hentschel, F. ii 84n, 89, 99n, 103-6, 122
 Heraklion: see Candia
 Hereford i 281
 Herman of Augsburg, OP ii 464, 698
 Hernando, J. i 485n
 Hervaeus Natalis, OP i 289, 461, 531n; ii 2-3, 7, 9, 70-4, 77, 79, 213-14, 218, 223, 227-8, 271-2, 279, 357, 413-14, 416, 417n, 418n, 431-49, 452, 459, 463n, 474-5, 510-12, 536, 539, 565-6, 703-4
 Herveus Sulven ii 352n
 Heydeck, K. ii 99n
 Heylbut, G. i 163n
 Heynck, V. ii 413, 414n, 416n, 418
 Heyse, A. i 420n; ii 302n
 Hilary of Poitiers i 99
 Hissette, R. 145n, 193, 207, 254n, 256n, 266n, 270n, 276n, 365n, 511n; ii 20n, 214n, 314n, 363n, 369n
 Hocedez, E. i 174-5, 242n, 262n, 418n, 419; ii 44n, 50n, 51n, 70n, 83n, 89, 94, 102, 105-6, 112, 477
 Hödl, L. i 8-9, 172n, 180, 195-6, 199n, 234n, 267n, 453n, 456n, 461n;

- ii 5, 19n, 28n, 72, 73n, 81n, 94n,
199–229, 245, 413n, 435n, 438–44,
 459, 593n
 Hoenen, M.J.F.M. i 4n; ii 500n
 Hoeres, W. ii 56n
 Hoffmann, F. i 24n, 25n; ii 697n
 Hoffmans, J. i 243n, 287n, 288n, 290,
 338, 355n, 357n, 361n, 362n, 363n,
 364n, 365n, 367n, 375n, 376n, 377n,
 378n, 379n, 380n, 381n, 382n, 383n,
 384n, 385n, 387n, 390n, 391n, 393n,
 394n, 397n, 400n, 448n, 449n, 454n,
 457n, 458n, 462n, 481n, 484n, 488n,
 489n, 491n, 493n, 494n, 496n, 498n,
 501n, 502n, 503n, 504n, 521n, 522n,
 523n, 524n, 525n, 531n; ii 20n, 44n,
 45n, 46n, 47n, 48n, 49n, 50n, 67n,
 252n, 336n
 Hofmann, G. i 414n, 436n
 Hollander, R. i 92n
 Honorius III, pope ii 375
 Honorius IV, pope i 198, 201, 234, 251
 Hood, J.Y.B. i 94n
 Hooper, M.R. ii 626n, 627
 Horst, U. ii 466n
 Hostiensis (Henricus de Segusio) i 368,
 370n, 371–2, 373n; ii 93
 House, R.H. ii 335n
 Houser, R.E. i 118n, 142n
 Hugh, OP ii 534
 Hugh of Digne, OFM i 492n
 Hugh of Novocastro, OFM ii 356–7,
 624n
 Hugh of Saint-Cher, OP i 25, 26n, 39
 Hugh of St Victor i 98, 165, 456n; ii
 372
 Hughes, B. i 136n
 Hugo Lenvoisie ii 352n
 Hugo, V. i 508
 Hugolino, bishop of Faenza ii 346n,
 350
 Hugolino of Orvieto, OESA ii 354n,
 547, 550
 Huguccio (Hugh of Pisa) i 370n, 400;
 ii 93
 Hüllen, J. ii 19n
 Humbert of Preuilly, OCist ii 387
 Humbert of Romans, OP i 22n, 23
 Humphreys, K.W. i 29n, 47n
 Hungary i 371n; ii 629
 Huning, H.A. i 409n, 410n

 Idanna ii 352n
 Île-de-France ii 394

 Imbach, R. i 435; ii 14n, 46n, 98n,
 505n, 649n
 Innocent III, pope i 370
 Innocent IV, pope ii 388
 Innocent V, pope: see Peter of Tarentaise,
 OP
 Inoue, J. i 111n
 Iohannis Gewss i 121
 Ireland ii 496, 545n
 Iribarren, I. ii 432n, 446n, 448n
 Italy, Italians i 52, 71, 86, 102–3, 106,
 141, 240, 288n, 382n, 403, 406,
 409–10, 411n, 473, 476n, 485n;
 ii 346–9, 393, 408, 430, 505, 545–6,
 555, 600, 654
 Ivo of Caen, OP ii 356–7, 440, 442
 Izumi, S. ii 450n

 J., OFM ii 357
 Jacobus Ber.: see Benedict XII
 Jacobus Dalos: see James of Aaleus
 Jacopo da Fabriano, OFM i 407
 Jacquart, D. i 39n
 Jacques Fournier, OCist: see Benedict
 XII
 Jacques de Molay, Templar ii 353n
 Jacques du Quesnoy, OFM i 14, 407,
 423–5, 433
 Jadin, L. ii 387n
 James of Aaleus, OSA ii 360, 362,
 378–9
 James des Alleus: see James of Aaleus
 James of Aqui, OP i 119n
 James of Ascoli, OFM i 423; ii 139,
 351, 354, 356–7, 570, 590–4, 640–2,
 644–6
 James Capoccio: see James of Viterbo
 James de Corbolio ii 353, 356
 James of Dijon, OCist ii 354
 James of Eltville, OCist ii 354n
 James of Lausanne, OP ii 8, 348–50,
 352, 356
 James of Metz, OP i 517n, 518n;
 ii 19n, 413, 432, 442n
 James of Pamiers, OESA ii 10, 12,
 546–7, 549, 558, 560, 562–8, 601–2,
 694
 James de Royallieu, Val-des-Écoliers
 ii 376
 James of Thérines, OCist i 6, 473,
 531n; ii 2, 8, 354, 360, 362, 370n, 372,
 387, 391–4, 396
 James of Viterbo, OESA i 29–30, 32,
 37n, 236, 242–3, 296n, 307–10, 320n,

- 321, 334–7, 339, 442, 450–1, 514n,
518–19, 520n; ii 2–3, 9–10, 51–5,
61–2, 77, 114, 357, 364n, 412–15,
417, 463n, 475, 546–50, 563, 565–7
- James, M.R. ii 135n
- Jan Hus ii 699
- Jansen, B. i 155n, 160n, 413n, 416n,
428n; ii 22n, 33n, 56n, 581n
- Janssen, R. i 55n
- Jean de la Fontaine, OFM i 407, 427n
- Jean de Rocquigny, OPraem ii 373
- Jellouschek, C. ii 455n, 458n, 463n
- Jenkins, H. i 507n
- Jerome i 93, 99
- Jerome of Ascoli, OFM i 153, 412
- Jeschke, T. ii 81n, 109, 454n
- Jews i 7, 26n, 88, 93, 147, 209, 382n,
383, 386, 395–6, 398, 410, 451, 499,
524; ii 366, 384, 394, 583–4
- Jodogne, P. i 178n
- Johannes Caillaudi de Quercu ii 352n
- Johannes de Chateaufort/Chetiafort: see
John of Châtillon
- Johannes de Diodona ii 352n
- Johannes Textoris ii 352n
- Johannes de Trelon ii 352n
- John XXII, pope i 42n, 43–4, 461,
499n; ii 11, 267, 346n, 350, 372,
382–3, 392, 409, 410n, 456n, 461–2,
518, 524, 555, 595, 601, 609, 626,
630–3, 638–9, 654, 691–3, 698
- John of Alleux i 199–200
- John Baconthorpe, OCarm ii 9–10,
12, 97, 232, 339n, 414, 493–5, 500,
502–4, 514, 521–3, 525–41, 688, 694
- John Bale, OCarm ii 348n, 497, 501–2,
513–14, 532
- John of Barastre (OP) ii 359, 363n
- John of Barastre, Mont-Saint-Éloi ii
362–3
- John Birchel/Berchel ii 353, 356–7
- John of Bologna: see John of Lana
- John Brammart, OCarm ii 504
- John of Bray, Val-des-Écoliers ii 342–3,
376
- John Briard of Ath ii 699
- John Buridan i 162; ii 644
- John Capreolus, OP ii 97, 413, 513
- John of Châtillon, Val-des-Écoliers
i 493n; ii 342, 361, 376
- John Chrysostom i 63, 99; ii 93
- John of Cirey, OCist ii 395n
- John of Damascus i 63, 97, 512–13,
530n, 545, 548n; ii 26, 46, 93, 265
- John Dorstein ii 699
- John Duns Scotus, OFM i 9, 11, 138–9,
154, 158, 160–1, 170, 409n, 423, 427,
471n, 478, 487, 490, 520n, 522n; ii
2, 4–5, 10, 12, 18, 19n, 33n, 56n, 60,
64–7, 69–71, 73, 77n, 78–9, 97, 108,
131–98, 211, 225, 232–3, 250, 348n,
349–50, 357, 371, 423–6, 432, 443n,
465, 474–5, 496–7, 501, 503, 511,
514, 535–6, 538–9, 550, 565, 567,
569–72, 584–5, 594, 598, 607–8,
621–3, 625, 640, 643–4, 654, 661,
676, 703
- John Duval: see John du Val
- John de Dyscove of Bologna, OP
ii 466
- John of Falisca i 295n; ii 354n
- John Fisher i 122
- John of Freiburg, OP i 60
- John of Ghent ii 205–7, 211, 227
- John Grafton/Crafton, OP ii 688–9,
697
- John the Grammarian ii 93
- John of Hé, OCist ii 387
- John Hiltalinger of Basel, OESA ii 547,
550, 562
- John of Jandun ii 205, 207, 232, 235,
238, 382, 644
- John of Lana, OESA ii 546, 556–7,
568
- John Lesage i 18n; ii 2, 81
- John of Limoges, OCist ii 387
- John of Lixy, OClun ii 384
- John Mankael ii 501
- John (de Maroeuil) of Mont-Saint-Éloi
i 451–2, 467–8, 472, 482; ii 351,
356–7, 360–1, 363, 370–1, 392n
- John de Mes (Metz), OESA ii 567n
- John of Mirecourt, OCist i 2n; ii 383
- John of Murro, OFM i 176n, 246, 422
- John of Murrovalle ii 341
- John of Naples, OP i 467n, 469–71,
477, 481, 482n, 484n, 486n, 487–90,
492, 493n, 495, 497, 498n; ii 2–3, 9,
12, 77–8, 356, 429, 433, 434n, 443,
446n, 449, 452, 455–64, 475, 694
- John Paignote of St Victoria, OESA ii
347n, 348, 356–7
- John of Paris, OCarm ii 533
- John of Paris (Quidort), OP i 147, 451,
463, 514–16, 517n, 518; ii 3, 21n,
66–9, 72–3, 77, 79, 343, 356, 374,
405, 418, 429, 440, 442–3, 450n
- John Pecham, OFM i 10–11, 40, 41n,

- 44, 54–5, 82–4, 86–7, 135–41, 143–4,
146–8, 153, 157–9, 166–7, 170, 201,
208, 281, 377–8, 404, 418, 452, 453n,
480, 483, 484n, 491n, 492n, 493n,
494, 496n, 502n, 503n, 525n, 527–8,
531n, 541n, 543n, 545n, 550n, 555n,
556; ii 348n, 369, 406n, 419
- John of Pershore ii 341–2
- John of Pouilly i 5, 9, 148, 442, 443n,
460–1, 464, 471–2; ii 2, 5, 81, 94, 97,
199–229, 353, 356–7, 382, 435, 453,
475, 551, 554
- John of Prato, OP ii 612
- John of Prémontré ii 373–4
- John of Prisches, OPraem ii 374
- John Quidort: see John of Paris (Quidort)
- John of Reading, OFM ii 688
- John Regis ii 354n
- John of Rodington, OFM ii 12, 651,
687–92, 697
- John of Saint-Germain ii 500
- John of St Victor, OSA ii 357
- John Scotus Eriugena i 63
- John of Sedeloos, Val-des-Écoliers ii
376
- John Sharpe ii 134, 626n
- John Sindewint, OCist ii 361, 387
- John of Tongres, OPraem ii 360, 362,
374–5, 396
- John Trisse of Nîmes, OCarm ii 514
- John du Val, Val-des-Écoliers ii 357,
360–1, 374, 376–7
- John Varenacker ii 699
- John of Waarde, OCist ii 342, 360–1,
387–90, 392
- John Walsham ii 500
- John Walsingham ii 500, 501n
- John, J. ii 373n
- Johnson, M.F. i 92n, 95n, 118n
- Jolif, J.-Y. i 389n
- Jordan, M.D. ii 21n
- Jordan, W.C. ii 354n, 381n, 391, 392n,
393n, 394n
- Jossua, J.-P. ii 333n
- Judycka, J. i 511n
- Julian of Halicarnassus i 548n
- Jullien de Pommerol, M.-H. ii 336n
- Jung, E. i 35n; ii 232n, 235–8, 446n,
474n, 493n
- Jung-Palczewska, E: see Jung, E.
- Kaeppeli, T. i 405n, 406n, 422n, 434n;
ii 59n, 66n, 341n, 354n, 386n, 401n,
403n, 405n, 411n, 414n, 420n, 427n,
446n, 451n, 454n, 455n, 456n, 459n,
461, 462n, 464n, 465n, 466n
- Kalb, A. i 512n
- Kaluza, Z. ii 14n, 98n, 278n
- Kant, I. i 217
- Kantorowicz, H. i 508n
- Karger, E. i 343, 398n
- Kärkkäinen, P. ii 272n
- Kaye, J. i 490n, 491n, 499n
- Keele, L. ii 651n
- Keele, R. i 9; ii 11–12, 464n, 493n,
651–92, 696n, 697n, 704n
- Keinz, F. ii 136n
- Kelley, F.E. ii 419n, 421n, 422, 655,
662n, 664n, 665n, 691n
- Kempshall, M.S. i 219n, 307n, 309n,
310n, 447, 448n, 450–1, 454, 456n,
457, 458n, 462n
- Kennedy, L. ii 134n, 532n
- Kenny, A. ii 28n
- Kent, B. i 309, 319n, 320n
- Ker, N.R. ii 138n
- Kertzer, D.I. ii 384n
- Kessler, A. ii 649n
- Kestenbergl-Gladstein, R. ii 699n
- Kible, B. ii 13
- Kieldrecht ii 205
- King, E. i 136n
- King, P. ii 18n, 57n, 65n
- Kingsford, C.L. i 480n
- Kirshner, J. i 485n, 499n
- Klepper, D.C. ii 583, 585, 590
- Klima, G. ii 66n
- Knuuttila, S. ii 272n, 643–4, 647n
- Kobusch, T. i 418n; ii 97n, 273n, 454n,
513n, 520n
- Koch, J. i 319n, 461n; ii 84n, 94, 102,
105, 122, 199n, 201n, 431n, 433n,
434–5, 436n, 438n, 439n, 441, 442n,
448n, 449–50, 451n, 453, 454n, 455n,
456n, 457, 458n, 462, 473n, 474, 510
- Kohlenberger, H. ii 28n
- Köhler, T.W. ii 19n, 414n, 415n, 416,
441n, 442n
- Konrad von Arnstadt, OFM i 420
- Kowalczyk, M. ii 464n
- Krakow i 419
- Kraml, H. i 11, 135, **151–70**
- Krause, F. ii 580n
- Kraye, J. i 471n
- Kremer, O. i 500n
- Kretzmann, N. ii 28n
- Krieger, G. ii 136n
- Kristeller, P.O. ii 135n

- Krüger, P. i 400n
 Kübel, W. i 442n
 Kuiters, R. i 233n
 Kuksewicz, Z. ii 232n, 235–6, 238, 244
 Künzle, P. ii 343n, 408–9, 410n, 411, 477–8
 Kuttner, S. i 370n
 Kwanten, F.E. ii 387n
 Kykeley i 5; ii 501
- Laarmann, M. i 172n; ii 19n
 Laberge, D. i 430n
 Labrosse, H. ii 582n, 583–8
 Lagarde, G. de i 440
 Lagny-sur-Marne ii 372
 Lambertini, R. i 14–15, 375n, **439–74**, 476n, 480n, 523n; ii 94n, 97, 369n, 394n, 463n, 600n, 610n
 Lamy, M. i 285n
 Landgraf, A.M. i 529n
 Landulph Caracciolo, OFM ii 533, 600, 643, 647
 Lanercost i 404n
 Lang, A. i 406n, 423n, 466n; ii 507n, 539n, 690n
 Langholm, O. i 280n, 388n, 389n, 390n, 401n, 475–6, 477n, 478n, 479n, 481n, 482n, 484n, 485n, 486n, 488n, 490n, 491n, 494n, 495n, 496n, 497n, 498n, 499n, 500n, 501, 502n, 504n; ii 365n, 550n, 558–60
 Langres ii 353n
 Languedoc, Languedocians i 411, 431, 481
 Laon ii 199
 Laplane, H.P.F. de ii 391n
 Lapparent, P. de ii 517n
 Lateran i 453, 498, 499n; ii 224, 620
 Laurence of Dreux, Val-des-Écoliers ii 353–4, 356–7, 361–2, 370n, 376–8, 434n
 Laurence of Fougères, OP ii 361
 Laurence of Nantes, OP ii 351, 353–4, 356–7, 361, 377, 432n, 434
 Laurence of Poulangy, Val-des-Écoliers ii 342–3, 351, 353, 360–1, 376–8
 Laurent le Breton: see Laurence of Nantes
 Laurent, M.-H. i 555n; ii 406n
 Laurentius Anglicus, OSB ii 241, 353, 361, 377, 382
 Laurière, Eusèbe de i 383n
 Lawn, B. i 39n, 44n
- Lawrence, C.H. ii 360n, 379n, 387n
 Lazaro Soardi: see Soardi, L.
 Lazarus i 524
 Lechner, J. i 406n, 423n; ii 689n, 690–1
 Leclercq, J. i 345n, 355n, 359n, 364n, 449n; ii 83n, 94, 102, 110, 366n, 368n, 371n, 380n, 382n, 389n, 391n
 Lecoy de la Marche, A. ii 369n, 376n
 Ledoux, A. ii 598–600, 643, 645n, 688n
 Le Goff, J. i 383n
 Lehmann, P. ii 616n
 Lehner, J. i 466n
 Lehtinen, A. ii 643–4, 647n
 Leijenhorst, C. ii 22n
 Le Mené, M. i 379n
 Leo I the Great, pope ii 592n
 Leonardi, C. ii 232n
 Le Paige, J. ii 374n
 Le Puy ii 567
 Lerner, R.E. i 419n; ii 355n, 381n
 Leuven ii 9, 472
 Lewes i 135
 Libera, A. de i 508n, 511
 Liétbert, bishop of Arras ii 362
 Lille ii 333, 390
 Limousin ii 382
 Lindberg, D.C. i 137n
 Lio, E. i 492n
 Litt, T. i 111
 Little, A.G. i 25n, 137n, 480n; ii 10, 348n, 381, 419n, 424n, 427n, 429n, 495–500, 502n, 510n
 Livesey, S.J. ii 493, 546n
 Lohr, C. ii 205n, 626n
 Lombardy, Lombards i 382, 480, 481n, 498
 London i 24, 543n, 556; ii 11, 231, 427, 495–6, 504, 654, 656–9, 664n, 679
 Long, R.J. i 354n; ii 455n, 457
 Longpré, E. i 144, 151, 153, 157, 160n; ii 583n, 584–5, 587n, 616, 666n, 688n
 Lord, M.L. ii 428n
 Lorraine i 418; ii 336n
 Lot ii 629
 Lottin, O. i 31n, 174–5, 241n, 242n, 287n, 289–91, 315, 330n, 441n, 442n; ii 407
 Louis of Bavaria, Holy Roman emperor ii 551, 654
 Louis IX, king of France i 382, 480; ii 362–3, 405n, 504
 Louis X, king of France ii 551

- Louis of Anjou, OFM i 408, 418n
 Louvain i 40, 290; ii 699
 Low Countries ii 505
 Lubec, H. de i 529n
 Lühty, C. ii 22n
 Luisetto, G. ii 137n
 Luna, C. i 215, 233n, 234n, 235n,
 236n, 240n, 241n, 244n, 245n, 247n,
 256n, 263n, 271n, 278n, 286n, 409n,
 433n, 543n, 549n, 552n; ii 35n, 254,
 335n
 Lusignan, S. ii 375n
 Lutz-Bachmann, H. ii 249
 Lyons i 142, 375n, 377n, 382, 498,
 499n
 Lyre ii 582

 Macken, R. i 171n, 172n, 173n, 175,
 176n, 177–8, 180, 182–5, 187–9,
 191–2, 195–6, 198, 200, 202–5, 208,
 212–14, 242n, 247n, 260n, 267n,
 277n, 357n, 359n, 361n, 362n, 376n,
 381n, 384n, 388n, 389n, 391n, 398n,
 399n, 400n, 447n, 453n, 485n, 486n,
 488n, 492n, 494n, 500n, 510n, 523n,
 524n, 531n; ii 206, 215n, 216n, 224n,
 336n, 360n, 364n, 414n, 420n, 447n
 MacLaren, B. i 137n
 Mâcon i 421; ii 335, 338
 Maguelone i 416n
 Maier, A. i 416n; ii 135n, 232n, 233–8,
 242, 245, 249–50, 257, 383n, 397n,
 401n, 455n, 456n, 457n, 461, 462n,
 463n, 464n, 518, 519n, 533–4, 539n,
 630–2, 697n, 701
 Maierù, A. i 40n; ii 252n
 Maillard, P.-Y. i 64n
 Maine i 383
 Majorca ii 517
 Mäkinen, V. i 219n, 458, 459n
 Maldura, F. ii 137n
 Mamelukes i 371n
 Mandonnet, R.P. i 49n, 50n, 51n, 58n,
 65n, 67n, 69n, 87n, 96, 98n, 193, 207,
 240, 242, 256n, 259n, 265n, 266n,
 270n, 276n, 335n, 536n, 541n, 551n;
 ii 333
 Manfredi, A. i 41n, 43n
 Manganaro, P. i 219n
 Mangelot, E. i 548n
 Mangiapane, S. 446n
 Mansi, G.D. i 382n
 Mantovani, M. ii 458n, 459n, 460–1,
 463n
 Marasca, C., OCarm ii 529–30, 535–6,
 540
 Marcel, OClun ii 384
 March, J.M. ii 455n, 456n, 460
 Marcolino, V. ii 556n
 Marcuzzi, P.G. ii 518n, 520n
 Marenbon, J. ii 238
 Marguerite Porete ii 205, 370, 372,
 381, 392, 550, 552n, 591
 Mariani, N. ii 601–5, 606n, 607,
 609
 Marino, E. i 406n; ii 429n
 Marmursztejn, E. i 7–8, 10, 13–14,
 60n, 73n, 78n, 94n, 220n, **345–402**,
 452; ii 337n, 366n, 369n, 391n
 Marne ii 353n
 Maroeuil ii 370n
 Marquette ii 390
 Marrone, J.T. ii 453n
 Marseilles i 408n
 Marsilius of Padua ii 382, 524
 Marston i 143
 Marti de Barcelona ii 626n
 Martin, St i 249, 527n, 555n
 Martin IV, pope i 176, 189, 198–201,
 206, 208, 211, 214, 362, 453; ii 224
 Martin of Abbeville, OFM ii 357, 570,
 596–8, 639
 Martin of Dacia ii 19n
 Martin, R.-M. ii 436n, 441n, 446n,
 447n
 Martin, S. ii 410n, 411n
 Martin, T. i 527n, 543n, 555n
 Matthew of Aquasparta, OFM
 i 10–11, 135, 141–3, 147, 160, 170,
 404, 413, 430, 482n, 500, 503, 538n,
 540n; ii 339n, 430, 475
 Matthew Orsini, OP ii 349
 Matthew Paris ii 379
 Maumont ii 382
 Maurer, A.A. i 50n; ii 660n
 Maurice of Ireland ii 611n
 Mauro, V. i 417n
 Mazzarella, P. ii 414n
 McAuliffe, J.D. i 56n
 McCord Adams, M. i 261n
 McCready, W.D. i 461n
 McGowan, J.K. ii 506n
 McGrade, A.S. ii 702n
 McLaughlin, T.P. i 388n, 495n, 497n,
 499n, 503n
 McMichael, S.J. i 476n
 McNab, B. ii 381n
 Meier, L. i 403n, 435n

- Meijer, A. de i 233n
 Meirinhos, J.F. i 332n; ii 643n
 Melani, G. i 137n
 Mengaldo, P.V. i 92n
 Merlin the Magician i 249, 261
 Merovingians i 468
 Merta, F. ii 463n
 Metz i 418n
 Meyer, G. i 25n; ii 136n, 137n
 Michael VIII Palaiologos, Byzantine emperor i 371
 Michael Aiguani, OCarm ii 514
 Michael of Cesena, OFM ii 595, 601, 629
 Michael Coulon, Mont-Saint-Éloi ii 363
 Michael of Massa, OESA ii 414, 549, 566–7
 Michalski, K. ii 514n, 682n
 Michaud-Quantin, P. i 346n, 469, 471n; ii 25n, 387n, 463n
 Michiels, G. ii 472n
 Miethke, J. i 439, 461n, 462n, 463n, 464, 469, 472n
 Milan i 249; ii 345, 350
 Minio-Paluello, L. i 22n, 512n
 Ministeri, B. ii 555n
 Mohammed i 364
 Moisisch, B. ii 586n
 Möhle, H. ii 136n
 Molina, B. i 438n, 476n
 Mollat, G. ii 385n
 Möller, J. ii 66n
 Mommsen, T. i 396n
 Monahan, A. ii 83n, 102, 112
 Mongols i 371
 Mont César Abbey ii 472
 Montdidier ii 367, 385–6, 396
 Montpellier i 15, 407–9, 412–13, 416–17, 425n, 427n, 432–3, 435–6, 478, 481; ii 55, 58, 532–3, 598–9
 Monza ii 611n
 Moos, M.F. i 49n, 50n, 58n, 65n, 67n, 69n, 87n, 96, 98n, 530n, 532n, 533n, 534n, 535n, 539n, 540n, 541n, 544n, 545n, 546n, 556n, 557n, 558n
 Morard, M. ii 464n
 Morewedge, P. i 263n; ii 28n
 Morimond ii 394
 Mortara, Edgardo ii 384
 Moscard, J. i 357n, 375n
 Mountain, W.J. ii 485n
 Mucciolus, G.M. ii 135n
 Muessig, C. i 1n
 Mulchahey, M. i 24n, 404, 405n; ii 134
 Mulder, W. i 464–5
 Müller, J.P. i 514n; ii 66–7, 68n, 69n
 Münster i 47; ii 9, 472
 Munich i 549
 Murano, G. i 38n; ii 85n, 99n, 101n
 Muslims i 88; ii 92
 Myers, S.E. i 476n
 Mynors, R.A.B. ii 137n
 Nahon, G. i 383n
 Naples i 15, 52, 103, 383, 418, 471, 481; ii 454, 456, 459n, 460–2, 547–8, 554n, 555, 598, 600, 694
 Narbonne i 14, 184, 413–14, 416, 433, 436–7, 478, 481; ii 432n, 496, 500
 Nash, P.W. i 241n, 244n, 259n, 271n, 279n
 Navarre ii 625
 Nebbiai-dalla Guarda, D. ii 380n
 Neumann, B. i 319n, 329n
 Newman, W. i 249n
 Nicholas III, pope i 457; ii 410
 Nicholas IV, pope i 209, 354, 409n, 472n; ii 419
 Nicholas of Autrecourt ii 383
 Nicholas of Bar-le-Duc i 5–6, 421; ii 7–8, 81, 333–43, 360–1, 365n, 370, 376, 386, 389–90, 410n, 411
 Nicholas of Cusa i 154, 161, 170
 Nicholas of Duisans, Mont-Saint-Éloi ii 363
 Nicholas of Gorran, OP i 184
 Nicholas of Lisieux i 136
 Nicholas of Lyra, OFM i 147, 482n; ii 11, 570, 580, 582–91, 634
 Nicholas de Noulette, Mont-Saint-Éloi ii 363
 Nicholas of Ockham, OFM ii 424n
 Nicholas du Pressoir i 5, 419, 422; ii 341, 367
 Nicholas of Strasbourg, OP i 37; ii 584
 Nicholas Trivet, OP i 521n; ii 66n, 425–9, 463n, 501, 703
 Nicholas of Vaux-Cernay, OCist i 33n; ii 8, 360, 362, 387, 394–6, 400
 Nicholas de Vich, OESA ii 567n
 Nickerson, W.E. i 122
 Nicole Oresme i 162; ii 694n
 Nielsen, L.O. i 9; ii 6–7, 232n, 235, 238, 239n, 240, 241n, 242–3, 244n, 248n, 249–50, 264n, 265n, **267–331**, 436–7, 465, 493n, 518, 520n, 525, 526n, 600

- Nijmegen ii 524
 Nilus ii 342, 390
 Nîmes ii 514
 Noble, M.T. i 72n
 Nolan, K. i 261n
 Nolan, S.F. ii 493n, 507
 Nold, P. i 409n; ii 595n
 Noonan, J.T. i 475n, 493n, 494n, 495n, 499n, 501n
 Noone, T.B. i 9, 49n; ii 4–5, 6n, 79n, **131–98**, 235n, 243, 244n, 248n, 264n, 265n, 432n, 502n, 539n, 610n, 624n
 Norbert of Xanten ii 373
 Normandy, Normans i 417; ii 582
 Northumbria i 417
 Norwich i 144
 Novara ii 557
 Noves ii 626
 Noyon, A. ii 369n, 405n

 Obert-Piketty, C. ii 387n, 391n, 392n, 394n
 Ochoa, X. i 372n, 503n
 Ockham ii 654
 O'Donnell, J.R. ii 66n, 83n, 418n
 Oise ii 392
 Oliger, L. i 137n
 Oliva, A. i 17n
 Oliver of Tréguier, OP i 185, 422, 523n; ii 341, 411, 412n
 Olivier-Martin, F.J.M. ii 383n
 Orchies ii 369n
 Origen ii 93
 Orioli, R. i 473n; ii 394n
 Orléans ii 380
 Orosius ii 93
 Orvieto i 52
 Osbert Pickingham, OCarm ii 495
 Osborne, T.M., Jr. i 91n
 Ottaviano Scoto ii 611n
 Ouy, G. ii 352n, 385, 388n
 Ovid i 258
 Owens, J. i 68
 Oxford i 2, 9, 11, 14, 24–5, 40, 135, 138, 143, 153, 201, 233, 404, 418, 427, 480; ii 5, 9, 11–13, 32, 56n, 59n, 77, 97, 134, 155, 231, 235, 348, 350, 353, 369, 377, 382, 386, 408, 419–20, 423–9, 494–6, 500–3, 504n, 505, 510–11, 545, 570, 598–9, 642, 645, 651–6, 658–9, 668n, 672–3, 677–9, 684–5, 687–92, 697, 699, 705n
 Paasch, J.T. ii 705n
 Pacetti, D. ii 560n
 Pacheco, M.C. i 332n; ii 643n
 Padua i 12, 233–8, 410; ii 459, 460n, 555, 611n
 Paganus, OESA ii 534
 Paluch, M. i 113–14
 Pamplona ii 452n
 Panella, E. i 406n; ii 401n, 409–10, 429–30
 Panovsky, E. i 56n
 Papal Curia i 2, 11, 14, 40, 41n, 44, 135, 139, 141, 236, 404, 406, 468; ii 199, 214, 222, 395, 430, 602, 610
 Paravicini-Bagliani, A. i 246n, 261n, 286n; ii 252n
 Paré, G. i 17n, 21n
 Paris i 1–2, 4–6, 9–15, 17–18, 24–31, 33n, 37n, 40, 42–8, 52, 54, 60, 63, 71–2, 74, 81–2, 102–3, 106, 118, 135–6, 138, 141, 143, 151, 154, 157, 170, 172, 177–8, 184, 193, 197–201, 204, 207, 209–10, 233–4, 236–7, 240, 245–6, 255, 258n, 276, 287, 298, 341, 343–51, 354, 361, 363–5, 401, 403–8, 409n, 410–13, 417–20, 422–8, 430, 433–5, 456–7, 462, 468, 472n, 473, 478, 480, 482, 484n, 499, 523, 530, 541, 551n, 556, and *passim*; ii 1, 4–6, 8–10, 12–14, 19, 35, 38n, 43, 66, 77, 81–2, 84–5, 94, 97, 108, 121, 123, 131–2, 139n, 199–205, 212–17, 225–9, 231–3, 235–6, 267, 271–3, 278–80, 314, 333–6, 338, 340–3, 345–50, 351n, 352–4, 359–64, 367, 368n, 369, 372–92, 394–6, 402–6, 408–9, 410n, 411–12, 418, 427, 429, 431, 433n, 434–8, 440, 444, 447, 449–52, 454–61, 465–7, 472–3, 494, 496, 504–5, 507, 510–11, 513–15, 517, 524, 528, 531–3, 536–7, 545–57, 561–2, 567, 579–80, 582, 590–1, 597–8, 600, 604, 609–12, 620–3, 625–6, 628–35, 637–40, 643, 692–4, 697–9, and *passim*
 Parvillers-Le Quesnoy, Somme i 425n
 Pas-de-Calais ii 390
 Patcham i 135
 Pattin, A. i 7, 178n, 556n; ii 37n, 83n, 99n, 102–6, 113, 390n, 412–13, 414n, 415–16
 Paul of Perugia, OCarm ii 514, 523
 Paul of Venice ii 626
 Paulmier-Foucart, M. ii 375n

- Paulus, J. i 174–5, 242n, 243, 262n;
ii 23n
- Pease, A.S. ii 195n
- Pedersen, E.S. ii 280n
- Pelster, F. i 25, 27, 31n, 41n, 151n, 417;
ii 132, 136n, 267n, 268n, 278n, 279n,
280n, 381, 407, 412n, 419n, 422n,
423, 424n, 427n, 429n, 433n, 436n,
440n, 445, 464–5, 495, 556n, 580n,
581n, 584–90, 601–2, 624n
- Pelzer, A. i 31n, 287n, 288n, 289n, 291,
298, 303n, 304n, 341, 361n, 367n,
368n, 374n, 397n, 400n, 406n, 443n,
484n, 489n, 493n, 494n, 523n, 524n,
525n, 529n, 531n; ii 136n, 336n, 345n,
346n, 347n, 349n, 350–1, 353, 360n,
361, 371n, 377n, 380n, 382, 390n,
407, 439, 515, 552–3, 585, 591n, 596,
630, 640n, 641n, 642, 644
- Pera, C. i 541n; ii 324n
- Pernau i Espelt, J. ii 84n, 120,
520n, 521
- Pereira, M. i 249n
- Pérez-Estévez, A. i 204n
- Perfetti, S. ii 232n
- Perron, R. i 173n
- Persia i 371
- Perugia ii 393, 430, 600
- Peter III, king of Aragon i 209
- Peter Abelard i 529
- Peter d'Ailly: see Pierre d'Ailly
- Peter of Atarrabia, OFM ii 570, 625,
643–4, 647–8
- Peter Auriol, OFM i 2n, 9, 40, 409n,
417n; ii 2–3, 6–7, 75–6, 97, 231–2,
234, 237, 254, 267–329, 331, 349–50,
382, 413, 436–8, 452n, 465, 474–5,
506–7, 513, 518, 523–5, 527–8,
532–3, 535–6, 539, 549, 564–7, 570,
584, 600, 643, 676–7, 693
- Peter of Auvergne i 5, 9, 44n, 450,
459, 462–3, 470, 513–16, 518n, 520n;
ii 2–5, 44, 50–1, 81–130, 335n, 357,
364n, 412, 467
- Peter of Bergamo, OP i 112n
- Peter of Candia, OFM i 2n; ii 601
- Peter the Cantor i 364n, 400
- Peter Ceffons, OCist ii 354n
- Peter Comestor ii 93
- Peter of England, OFM ii 384n, 570,
572–9, 638
- Peter de Falco i 135, 356, 358, 420–1
- Peter Gracilis ii 384n
- Peter John Olivi, OFM i 14, 36, 37n,
47, 160, 168, 170, 286, 403, 409n,
410–17, 418n, 419, 423n, 424n, 425n,
427–33, 435–8, 455–6, 478, 479n,
481–2, 484, 487, 490–5, 496n, 497,
498n; ii 2–3, 22, 33n, 55–6, 58, 342,
353, 560, 696, 703
- Peter of Limoges i 29
- Peter Lombard i 1, 57, 61, 89–91,
96–99, 127, 138, 146, 152–3, 156,
159, 170, 196, 201–2, 240, 244, 275,
283, 294–5, 477, 509, 529n, 530, 532,
557; ii 91, 93, 269, 275, 427n, 604,
652, 677, 695, 698
- Peter of Navarre: see Peter of Atarrabia
- Peter de la Palu: see Peter of Palude
- Peter of Palude, OP: i 460–1, 464; ii
356, 413, 433, 449, 451–5, 475, 521–2
- Peter of Prés ii 268
- Peter de Rivo ii 699
- Peter of Rome, OESA i 236
- Peter of Saint-Denis, OSB ii 351,
356–7, 360–1, 370n, 380–2, 392n
- Peter of Saint-Omer ii 340–1, 343
- Peter Starrington, OCarm ii 496
- Peter Sutton, OFM ii 3, 56–8, 570–1
- Peter Swannington, OCarm ii 9–10,
419n, 494–500, 505, 538, 542–3
- Peter of Tarentaise, OP i 34, 466, 483,
484n; ii 402, 405–8
- Peter Thomae, OFM ii 2, 570, 626–7
- Peter of Trabibus, OFM i 14, 160, 170,
409–10, 417, 433–5, 481–2, 484n,
486–7, 488n, 490, 492n, 493n, 494–5,
503
- Peter of Verberie, Val-des-Écoliers
ii 376
- Petrarch, Francesco i 170
- Petrus de Croc: see Peter of Auvergne
- Pfeiffer, H. ii 136n
- Philip III, king of France i 184, 209,
383, 523, 527; ii 368
- Philip IV (the Fair), king of France
i 184, 286, 378, 382n, 383, 425n, 439,
451, 472; ii 368, 372, 381, 386, 392–4,
550
- Philip V, king of France ii 551
- Philip VI Valois, king of France ii 630
- Philip III, king of Navarre ii 625
- Piacenza ii 610
- Piana, C. i 142n
- Piccari, P. ii 432n
- Piché, D. i 256n, 259n, 264n, 266n,
270n, 276n, 511n; ii 20n, 438n, 493n,
507

- Pickavé, M. i 9; ii 1, 3–4, 12–13,
17–79, 81n, 83, 89n, 274n, 508n,
 571n
 Pico della Mirandola ii 413
 Pieper, J. i 105n
 Piero delle Travi: see Peter of Trabibus,
 OFM
 Pierre d'Ailly i 295n; ii 352n
 Pierre Roger, OSB: see Clement VI
 Pietro Pomponazzi ii 527
 Pinborg, J. ii 19n, 28n
 Pini, G. i 12, **233–86**; ii 35, 38n, 65n,
 460n, 546n
 Piper, A.J. ii 138n
 Piron, S. i 3, 14, 40n, 135n, 141, 356n,
 398n, **403–38**, 455n, 476n, 478n,
 479n, 481, 482n, 484n, 486n, 487n,
 490n, 491n, 492n; ii 3n, 7–8, 13, 55n,
 58n, 81n, **333–43**, 365n, 376, 385n,
 390, 401n, 411n, 430, 464n, 493n,
 569n, 620n, 696n
 Pisa i 12
 Pisapia, A. i 439n
 Plato i 100–1, 163, 170, 335, 445–6,
 451; ii 93–4, 473
 Plessis d'Argentré, C. du ii 314n
 Plevano, R. ii 624n
 Plotnik, K. ii 439n
 Pluta, O. ii 586n, 593n
 Poitou i 383
 Poland i 371n
 Pomaro, G. ii 135n
 Pontigny ii 392, 394
 Pope, S.J. i 72n
 Porebski, S.A. ii 474n
 Porphyry i 512; ii 19n, 46, 54n, 93
 Porro, P. i 11–12, **171–231**, 242n,
 278n, 348n, 510n; ii 23n, 28n, 420n,
 421n
 Portugal ii 352n
 Post, G. i 372
 Potter, V.G. i 137n, 139n
 Pouilly ii 199
 Poulangy ii 353n
 Prague ii 699
 Prémontré ii 373
 Prepositinus i 202
 Preuilly ii 394
 Prezioso, F. i 144n
 Principe, W.H. i 26n, 51n, 524n;
 ii 403n
 Priori, D. ii 604n, 609n
 Priscian i 82
 Proclus ii 92–3, 107, 126–7, 130
 Prosper of Reggio Emilia, OESA i 5–6,
 292–3, 443; ii 8, 81, 345–57, 360–1,
 370–1, 373, 377, 380–2, 387n, 434n,
 437n, 440, 442, 513, 515, 520, 523,
 546, 552–5, 568, 591–2, 595–8, 605,
 639–40
 Provence, Provençals i 405, 417; ii 392,
 609
 Pryds, D. i 40n
 Pseudo-Alcuin i 529n
 Pseudo-Anselm ii 537
 Pseudo-Aristotle ii 92
 Pseudo-Augustine ii 326
 Pseudo-Boethius ii 92
 Pseudo-Dionysius i 62–3, 258, 279;
 ii 93, 324–5, 417, 485, 611
 Ptolemy i 101; ii 93
 Puchades i Battaller, R.J. i 501n
 Putallaz, F.-X. i 199n, 241n, 257n,
 267n, 270n, 284n, 349n; ii 202
 Pythagoras ii 93
 Quaglioni, D. i 484n, 497n
 Queller, D.E. ii 84n
 Quimper ii 623
 Quinto, R. i 31n
 R. of Arras ii 342
 Rabanus Maurus ii 93
 Rabelais, F. i 510
 Raciti, G. ii 390n
 Radulphus Brito ii 81n, 351–2, 356–7
 Radulphus the Norman ii 356
 Rainier Marquette of Clairmarais,
 OCist i 350n, 510n; ii 340–1, 360–1,
 387, 390–1, 396
 Ramon Lull i 435
 Ramon Saera i 501n
 Randi, E. i 265n
 Ranulf of Normandy ii 385
 Ranulph of Houblonnière i 18n,
 199–201, 362, 412n, 520n; ii 385
 Raymond Bequini, OP ii 267n, 279n,
 464–5, 475, 696–7
 Raymond de Fronsac, OFM i 408n,
 412n
 Raymond Geoffroy, OFM i 413, 417
 Raymond Guilha, OP i 422; ii 341,
 411, 412n
 Raymond of Peñafort, OP i 202, 346,
 372, 503n
 Raymond Rigaud, OFM i 14, 423–5,
 433, 466n, 486n, 488n, 492n, 494–5,
 496n, 497, 524n, 543n; ii 22n

- Reading i 377
 Recchia, S. i 437n
 Reichert, B.M. i 24n, 43n, 404n, 406n
 Reig, J.B. ii 135n
 Remigio dei Girolami, OP i 2n, 406;
 ii 408–10, 420, 429–30
 Renier, OFM i 419n
 Renna, L. ii 537n
 Reynolds, P.L. i 90n
 Rhodes, D.E. i 414n
 Ribaillier, J. i 389n
 Ribordy, O. ii 229n
 Ricardus, master ii 356
 Richard Bromwich, OSB ii 499,
 510–12
 Richard de Bury ii 679
 Richard of Conington, OFM i 9; ii
 5–6, 503–4, 643, 649
 Richard FitzRalph ii 684–5
 Richard Knapwell, OP i 31n, 139, 148,
 206n, 208; ii 3, 21n, 59–60, 418–19,
 424n
 Richard of Menneville (Mediavilla/
 Middleton), OFM i 14, 147–8, 170,
 174, 204n, 400n, 417–21, 423n, 426,
 428–31, 449–50, 479, 482, 486, 488,
 490, 500, 501n, 502n, 503, 520n,
 530n, 542n; ii 70, 570, 584
 Richard Rufus of Cornwall, OFM
 i 158
 Richard of St Victor ii 93, 183, 372,
 677
 Richard Wetwang, OESA ii 688
 Richard, J. i 371n
 Richards Luard, H. ii 379n
 Richter, V. ii 689n
 Ricklin, T. ii 649n
 Rijk, L.M. de ii 46n, 75n, 98n, 448,
 629n
 Rilus ii 342, 390
 Rimini ii 346n
 Ritter, J. i 72n
 Robert the Wise, king of Naples/
 Sicily ii 600, 609
 Robert, count of Artois ii 364
 Robert of Colletorto: see Robert of
 Orford
 Robert of Courson i 400
 Robert Cowton, OFM ii 348, 356–7,
 425, 503, 510, 512, 642
 Robert Graystones, OSB ii 504
 Robert Grosseteste ii 467, 677
 Robert Holcot, OP i 24–5, 248n,
 403n; ii 8, 11–12, 401, 464, 651–2,
 655, 672n, 673n, 678–87, 689, 691–2,
 696–7
 Robert Kilwardby, OP ii 368–9
 Robert the Monk ii 564, 567
 Robert of Orford, OP ii 9, 420–2,
 446–7, 474–5, 489–91
 Robert of Torto Collo: see Robert of
 Orford
 Robert de Voto, OCist ii 354n
 Robert Walsingham, OCarm i 426n;
 ii 494, 500–4, 509, 513–14, 537–8
 Roberts, H.F. ii 4–5, **131–98**
 Robertus Meduana ii 567
 Robilliard, J.-A. i 72n
 Robson, B. i 408n
 Rocca, G. i 67, 68n
 Roccaberti de Perelada, T. i 463n
 Rochais, H.-M. i 364n
 Roensch, J. ii 401n, 421n, 446n
 Roest, B. i 25n, 427n
 Roger Bacon, OFM i 153–4, 157n
 Roger Marston, OFM i 10–11, 135,
 143–9, 418, 447, 477n, 478, 491n,
 492n, 493n, 494, 503, 510n, 531n,
 535n, 555n; ii 1, 3, 20n, 32–5, 42, 48,
 50, 55, 59, 61, 76
 Roland-Gosselin, M.D. ii 19n
 Roman Curia: see Papal Curia
 Rome i 11, 52, 86, 139, 141, 166, 198,
 348, 405n; ii 133, 388, 393–4, 419,
 430, 579
 Roos, H. ii 19n
 Roover, R. de i 499n
 Rossetti, G. i 486n
 Rossi, P. ii 135n
 Roßmann, H. ii 11, 602n, 610, 611n,
 612, 613n, 615–20, 634
 Roth, B. ii 11, 610, 612–14, 616n, 619
 Roth, F. i 233n; ii 545n
 Rouen ii 381
 Rouse, L.M. i 121n, 123n; ii 338
 Rouse, R.H. i 123n; ii 338
 Royal, R. ii 403n, 704n
 Rubert Candáu, J.M. ii 628, 629n
 Rubin, M. i 347n
 Ruiz, D. i 492n
 Ruiz, T.F. ii 381n
 Russia i 371n
 Ryba, B. ii 699n
 Saarinen, R. i 471n
 Sabellius ii 487
 Saffrey, H.D. i 58n
 Saggi, L.M. ii 535n

- Sagüéz Azcona, P. ii 625, 643, 647n, 648n
 St Andrews ii 134
 Saint-Bertin ii 363
 Saint-Leu d'Esserent ii 385
 Saint-Mihiel ii 336n
 Saint-Quentin ii 359, 363n
 St Paul, Minnesota i 49n
 Saint-Saulve-de-Valenciennes ii 385
 Sainte-Bertille ii 370n
 Sainte-Marthe, D. ii 363n
 Saintonge i 383
 Sajó, G. i 511n
 Salerno ii 267
 Salomon ii 357
 Samaritani, A. ii 339n, 440n, 507–8, 509n, 512, 514n, 520n, 538n, 668
 San Cristóbal Sebastián, A. i 175n
 Santi, F. i 185n
 Santiago de Carvalho, M.A. i 172n, 173n
 Saracens i 437n
 Sarnano, cardinal ii 269n
 Saxony ii 466
 Sbaralea, G.G. ii 600n
 Scarcia, G. i 438n, 476n
 Schabel, C. i **1–16**, 40n, 233n, 243, 417n, 439n, 443n, 466n, 479n; ii **1–16**, 51n, **81–130**, 232n, 233n, 235, 277n, 345n, 377n, 401n, 413, 414n, 419n, 423n, 432n, 434n, 435n, 444n, 449n, 451n, 452n, 460n, 465n, 489–91, **493–543**, **545–68**, 569n, 600, 601n, 602, 603n, 604n, 605n, 626n, 628n, 629n, 639n, 643n, 651n, 652n, 686n, 689n, 694n, 699n
 Schaefer, J. i 136n
 Schaub, J.F. i 476n
 Scheffczyk, L. ii 591n
 Schepers, H. ii 680, 682, 696n
 Schepps, G. i 512n
 Schmaus, M. i 406n, 423n, 466n; ii 60n, 61n, 62n, 63n, 64n, 65n, 237, 245, 423, 431n, 572, 578n, 621n, 688n
 Schmidt, H.-J. ii 365n
 Schmitt, F.S. i 306n; ii 178n, 481n, 484n, 489n
 Schnapper, B. i 481n, 500n
 Schneider, J. ii 60, 66n, 423n, 424–5, 426n, 429n
 Schneider, N. ii 600n
 Schneider, R. ii 463n
 Schneyer, J.B. ii 364n, 369n, 378n, 381n, 385n, 386n
 Scholz, R. i 464, 465n; ii 555
 Schönberger, R. i 192–3; ii 13, 656n
 Schönmetzer, A. ii 199n, 281n, 316n
 Schwamm, H. ii 594, 647n
 Scotland ii 630
 Segarro, F. ii 83n, 102, 111
 Seneca i 100; ii 93
 Senko, W. ii 6, 232n, 244–6, 249–50, 251n, 252n, 278n, 439n, 446n, 527–8, 530
 Şenocak, N. i 424n
 Sergius, pope i 529n
 Servais of Guez, Mont-Saint-Éloi i 6, 185, 355, 358–9, 365, 376n, 400, 419, 423n, 459, 484n, 487–9, 493, 494n, 495, 497n, 500, 501n, 523n, 526n; ii 8, 337–8, 360, 362–9, 378, 391, 396
 Shailor, B. ii 592n, 640n
 Shakespeare, W. i 507–8
 Sharpe, R. ii 134n, 401n, 427n, 464n, 667n, 681n, 688n, 689n
 Sibert of Beek, OCarm ii 239, 272–3, 494, 514, 519, 523–7, 533, 538–9
 Sicily i 383
 Siena i 233, 235–6; ii 552
 Sikes, J.G. ii 453n
 Sileo, L. i 154n; ii 65n, 79n, 349n, 633n
 Simon of Brion: see Martin IV
 Simon of Corbie, OCarm ii 9, 354, 356–7, 494, 514–17, 524
 Simon of Guiberville i 18n; ii 340, 343
 Simon of Lens, OFM i 422; ii 342
 Simon Matifas i 364–5
 Simon Stock, OCarm ii 496, 497n
 Simonin, H.-D. ii 405n
 Simplicius ii 93
 Smalley, B. i 26n, 153n, 172n; ii 427, 505n
 Smet, J. ii 493n
 Soardi, L. i 414, 419, 428n, 436
 Socrates i 445, 446n; ii 536, 684
 Sokolowski, R. i 49n, 68n
 Solère, J.-L. i 8, 15–16, 44n, 139n, 220n, 343, 398n, **507–58**; ii 3, 17, 97, 337, 393n
 Somerville i 122
 Somme i 425n
 Sontag, G. i 343, 398n
 Spade, P.V. ii 654n
 Spain, Spanish i 476n; ii 545
 Speer, A. i 175n, 207n, 234n, 239n, 247n, 267n, 284n, 287n, 309n, 555n; ii 23n, 44n, 84n, 367n, 371n

- Spettmann, H. i 136n, 137n
 Spiazzi, R.M. i 100n, 542n
 Spicciati, A. i 219n, 479n, 481n
 Stabile, G. ii 14n, 98n
 Stadter, E. i 152n
 Standaert, M. ii 387n
 Steel, C. i 172n, 173n, 208n, 214n;
 ii 209n
 Stegmüller, F. i 2; ii 347n
 Stella, P.T. i 178n, 289, 531n; ii 77n,
 78n, 214, 412n, 413n, 415n, 416,
 434–5, 439n, 445n, 446–8, 450, 457n,
 458n, 459, 461, 463n, 468–71, 511n,
 512
 Stephanus, frater ii 373–5
 Stephanus, magister ii 564–5, 567
 Stephanus Escaillart de Chalendry
 ii 352n
 Stephen of Fermont, Mont-Saint-Éloi
 ii 363–4, 369, 374
 Stephen Gebenensis i 29–30
 Stephen of Lexington, abbot of
 Clairvaux ii 386
 Stephen Patryngton, OCarm ii 504n
 Storey, H.W. i 92n
 Stornajolo, C. ii 135n
 Strayer, J.R. i 379n, 381n, 383n; ii 84n
 Streveler, P.A. ii 673n, 696n
 Stroick, C. i 466n, 467n; ii 19n, 551
 Sturlese, L. i 33n; ii 14n, 98n, 466n,
 467, 472, 473n
 Suárez, G. i 241n, 244n
 Suarez-Nani, T. i 256n, 265n; ii 23n,
 56n, 500n
 Suchla, B.R. i 279n
 Sullivan, T. i 9; ii 1, 8, 352n, 353n,
 354n, **359–400**, 434n
 Susemihl, F. i 443n
 Sylla, E.D. ii 252n, 701–2
 Synan, E.A. i 50n, 81n, 89n, 90n,
 102n, 118
 Szabó, T. i 155n, 160n

 Tabarroni, A. i 457n; ii 697n
 Tabbagh, V. ii 381n
 Tachau, K.H. i 168n; ii 437n, 673n,
 674n, 679–80, 681n, 682n, 683, 685n,
 686n, 689n, 696n
 Taifacos, I. ii 639n
 Takada, T. ii 450n
 Tamić ii 362n, 394–5, 400
 Tannery, P. i 516n
 Tartars i 371n
 Teetaert, A. i 3, 39, 136n, 174, 452n,
 480n; ii 267n, 268n, 275n, 416n, 417n,
 436n, 439n, 441–2, 445, 473n, 496,
 510, 531, 532n
 Teeuwen, M. i 20n, 233n
 Tempier: see Étienne Tempier
 Ter Duinen ii 389
 Terra di Lavoro ii 580
 Tertullian i 542, 543n
 Teske, R.J. i 513n, 538n; ii 432n
 Thadeus of Parma ii 356
 Theissing, H. ii 423n
 Themistius ii 93, 295
 Theophrastus ii 93, 295
 Thérines ii 392
 Théry, A. i 420n, 421
 Thijssen, J.M.M.H. i 254n; ii 22n, 245,
 369n
 Tholosanus ii 93
 Thomas Aquinas, OP i 6, 8–11, 13,
 16, 25, 33, 37, 49–133, 136–9, 144–5,
 148–9, 153–4, 156–7, 159–61, 164–8,
 170, 201–2, 204n, 234, 238, 239n,
 245, 254–6, 263–4, 266, 269n, 270,
 272, 274, 279–81, 284–5, 309n, 320n,
 335, 346n, 348–50, 352–3, 357n,
 358–61, 369–70, 373–4, 384n, 387,
 390, 393–5, 397n, 398, 399n, 400n,
 406n, 418, 424, 427, 429–30, 433,
 442, 471, 483, 484n, 485n, 487–8,
 489n, 493–5, 507–8, 512, 514–17,
 518n, 520n, 522n, 526–58; ii 1, 3,
 5, 8–10, 16, 19n, 20–1, 25, 26n,
 38n, 47n, 49, 58–9, 63n, 79, 89–90,
 98, 125n, 164n, 165n, 199, 204–5,
 217–18, 220–1, 223, 226–8, 335n,
 347n, 364n, 382, 384n, 389n, 401–3,
 406, 408n, 411, 418–19, 421–3,
 425–6, 427n, 428, 430, 432–3, 446n,
 447, 456, 458–9, 462, 463n, 465, 467,
 472–5, 479, 491, 513–14, 520n, 526,
 535–6, 538–9, 550, 565, 567, 570,
 644n, 676, 678, 695
 Thomas de Argenteuil, OESA ii 567n
 Thomas of Bailly i 5, 9, 343, 442,
 459–60, 473, 502n; ii 2, 81, 201, 385
 Thomas Bradwardine ii 527, 685n
 Thomas of Cantilupe i 281
 Thomas of Cantimpré, OP ii 473
 Thomas of Celano, OFM i 149
 Thomas of Chobham i 400
 Thomas Claxton, OP ii 464n, 689n,
 699n
 Thomas Ebendorfer de Haselbach
 i 121

- Thomas of Fabriano, OESA ii 356, 566–7
 Thomas of Ireland ii 335n, 338
 Thomas of Strasbourg, OESA ii 547, 549, 555–7
 Thomas of Sutton, OP i 139, 148, 204n; ii 1–3, 60–8, 71, 76, 412n, 423–9, 446–7, 474–5, 503
 Thomas Waleys, OP ii 668
 Thomas Wylton i 5, 9, 35; ii 2, 6–7, 81, 231–66, 271–3, 277n, 278n, 279, 351–2, 356–7, 423n, 518, 523, 525–6, 536, 539, 565, 567, 643
 Thomas, G. ii 136n
 Thomson, R.M. ii 138n, 428n, 495n, 500n, 501n
 Thorndike, L. i 4n
 Thuringia ii 550
 Thurot, C. i 293, 294n
 Tierney, B. i 218, 459n; ii 453, 523n
 Tihon, P. i 313, 314n
 Tocco, F. i 480n
 Todeschini, G. i 219n, 415n, 476n, 479n, 484n, 486n, 491n, 492n, 497n, 499n, 502n, 504n
 Tokarski, F. ii 622n
 Tomarchio, J. i 65n
 Tönnies, B. ii 136n
 Torino ii 5–6
 Toronto ii 15
 Torrell, J.-P. i 26n, 31n, 39, 51n, 52n, 53n, 62n, 63n, 66n, 72n, 78n, 81n, 234n, 245n; ii 403n, 704n
 Toste, M. ii 81n
 Toul ii 386, 396
 Toulouse i 405, 406n, 408–9, 416, 420, 424–5, 432–3; ii 567, 629
 Tournai i 179; ii 205, 333
 Tours i 210, 249
 Trapp, D. ii 35n, 414n, 547n, 550n, 556n, 557n, 562n, 566–7
 Trapp, J.B. ii 699
 Traver, A.G. i 53n; ii 336n, 624n
 Tremblay, P. i 17n, 21n
 Trifogli, C. i 9, 233n, 278n; ii 6–7, 81n, **231–66**, 273n, 278n, 525, 526n, 643n
 Trimble, G. ii 278n
 Trottmann, C. i 42n; ii 463n, 629n, 630, 631n, 632–4, 697n
 Truchet, J. i 543n
 Tübingen ii 100
 Tulle ii 336n
 Tumamensis ii 611n
 Turley, T. ii 453–4, 461–2, 463n, 518n
 Ubertino da Casale, OFM i 410–11, 478
 Ubl, K. i 451, 472n
 Umberto Guidi, OP i 406, 434
 Urban IV, pope i 197
 Urban V, pope ii 383
 Vacant, A. i 548n
 Valencia i 419
 Valenciennes i 103
 Valois, N. ii 199n, 267n, 391, 394n
 Valvekins, J.B. ii 374
 Vancio, A. ii 560n
 Van den Wyngaert, A. i 137n
 Van Dyck, L.C. ii 374n
 Vanhamel, W. i 172n; ii 28n, 31n
 Van Riet, S. i 169n, 512n, 543n; ii 485n
 Van Steenberghen, F. i 551n, 552n
 Varanini, G.M. i 484n, 497n
 Vatican i 288n; ii 134
 Vauchez, A. i 352n; ii 360n
 Vaughan, R. ii 379n
 Vaux-Cernay ii 394
 Vegetius i 210
 Velázquez-Campo, L. ii 439n, 446n, 457n, 460n
 Vella, A.P. ii 420, 421n
 Velli, A. ii 135n
 Venice, Veneto i 414, 419; ii 555, 599, 611n
 Veraja, F. i 142n, 219n, 280n, 400n, 422n, 482, 483n, 499n, 500n, 501n, 502n, 503n; ii 343n
 Verdeyen, P. ii 370n, 372n, 381n, 392n
 Verdun ii 336n
 Verger, J. i 356n, 358n
 Vergier-Boimond, J. i 369n
 Vermandois i 425n
 Veuthy, L. ii 580n
 Vicogne ii 360, 374–5, 396
 Vidier, A. ii 380n
 Vieillard, J. ii 336n
 Vienna i 365
 Vienne i 286, 410, 498, 499n; ii 272, 274, 276, 277n, 279, 392, 453n, 460, 512, 572, 591
 Vilevault, L.-G. de i 382n
 Villani-Lubelli, U. ii 472n, 473n
 Vincennes ii 383, 630
 Vincent of Beauvais, OP i 25
 Vinx, L. i 451
 Virgil ii 428n
 Vital du Four, OFM i 14, 407–10, 413,

- 416–17, 423–4, 425n, 432; ii 1, 3,
58–9, 341–2
 Vitalis Zuccolius i 171n
 Viterbo i 406; ii 430
 Vitolo, G. i 486n
 Vivès, J.L. i 520n; ii 65n, 133, 138n,
139n, 141n, 143n, 149–51, 158n,
160n, 585, 623n
 Volk, H. ii 626n
 Vollert, C.O. ii 421n, 433n, 436, 441n,
539n
 Vooght, P. de ii 505n
 Vos, A. i 343–4
 Vossenkühl, W. ii 656n
 Vuillemin-Diem, G. i 512n
 Vyver, É. van de ii 390n
- Waarde ii 389
 Wadding, L. i 170n, 426n; ii 133, 141n,
149–51, 158n, 584–5, 623–4
 Wadley, W. i 136n
 Wales, Welsh ii 668
 Walter of Bruges, OFM i 157, 168, 170
 Walter Burley ii 82n, 232, 697n
 Walter Chatton, OFM ii 11, 474,
651–4, 656–78, 681, 684, 686n,
691–2, 703, 704n
 Walter of Gamaches, OClun ii 384,
386
 Walter of Heyham ii 500, 502
 Walter of St Victor ii 372
 Warner, G.F. ii 136n
 Wawrykow, J.P. i 554n
 Weber, H.J. i 513n, 514n, 517n, 518n;
ii 83n, 89, 102, 111, 463n
 Wei, I.P. i 345n, 350n, 355n, 359n,
363n; ii 365n, 366n, 368n, 371n, 388,
389n, 396n, 398n, 399n
 Weigl, H. i 451n
 Weijers, O. i 19n, 20, 23n, 32n, 39n,
172n, 508n; ii 694n
 Weisheipl, J.A. i 52n, 72n, 81n; ii 390n,
600n
 Wengert, R.G. ii 437n, 438n
 Wey, J.C. i 429n; ii 655n, 656–7, 659,
660n, 661n, 667n, 696n
 White, K. i 10, **49–133**, 348n; ii 402,
406n
 Wielockx, R. i 121, 171n, 179, 181–4,
187, 191, 193–4, 197, 211, 214–15,
236n, 239n, 240n, 242, 246n, 252n,
254n, 255n, 256n, 257n, 290, 350n,
351–2, 457n, 531n, 537n; ii 20n, 23n,
24n, 25n, 26n, 27n, 28n, 29n, 38n
- Wierzbicki, M. i 17n
 William of Alnwick, OFM i 458; ii 2,
232, 238, 245, 348n, 501, 570,
598–600, 640–3, 645–7, 649, 688
 William of Auvergne i 513, 538n
 William of Auxerre i 202, 389
 William of Champeaux ii 372
 William Crathorn, OP ii 680, 689,
697
 William of Cremona, OESA ii 546,
557, 568
 William of Falgar (or Falegar), OFM
i 135, 420, 528n, 542n, 544n
 William Hothum, OP ii 402–5, 419
 William of Hycham, OESA ii 502
 William of Lauduno, OP ii 349
 William of Ludlington, OCarm
ii 496
 William of Macclesfield, OP ii 425
 William of Mâcon i 241n; ii 363–4,
367
 William de la Mare, OFM i 8, 11,
135, 147, 151–70, 429–30, 528, 555n;
ii 9, 20–1, 59, 348n, 402n, 419, 421,
475
 William of Ockham, OFM i 161, 168,
403, 429; ii 2–3, 11, 76–8, 97, 451n,
474, 513, 549, 601, 651–67, 668n,
672–4, 676–9, 681, 684, 688, 691–2,
696, 703, 705n
 William Paganerus ii 500
 William of Peter Godin, OP i 461;
ii 19n
 William Rubio, OFM ii 11, 570, 601,
628–9
 William of St Amour i 71, 136, 148;
ii 336
 William of Tocco, OP i 555n
 William of Ware, OFM i 160–1, 204n,
426; ii 348n, 356
 Williman, D. i 436n
 Wilson, G.A. i 138n, 171n, 172n, 178n,
179–81, 187–91, 196–7, 202, 208n,
210, 212–13, 259n, 390n, 393n, 394n,
397n, 400n, 446n, 484n, 487n, 489n,
493n, 497n, 500n, 503n, 519n, 522n,
525n; ii 31n, 417n
 Winter, U. ii 99n
 Wippel, J.F. i 3, 12–13, 26n, 30, 49n,
51n, 56n, 57n, 68n, 103n, 114,
116–17, 119, 122n, 177, 181, 206n,
209n, 215, 216n, 217, 236n, 243n,
247n, 248n, 252n, 263n, 265n, 278n,
283n, **287–344**, 348n, 378n, 403n,

- 447n, 521n; ii 28n, 30n, 43n, 44, 45n,
46n, 48n, 51n, 55n, 338n, 364n, 374n,
395n, 407–8, 416n, 417n, 423n, 424n,
435n, 437n, 438n, 441n, 443n, 444,
445n, 549n, 694n, 703n, 704n
- Wissink, J.B.M. ii 245
- Witelo ii 357
- Wlodek, Z. ii 464n, 594n, 640–4, 646n,
647n, 648n, 649n, 698n
- Wolter, A.B. i 471n, 478n; ii 133,
143n
- Wood, D. i 475n; ii 382n, 383n,
384n
- Wood, R. ii 658n
- Wrigley, J.F. ii 382n
- Wurst, G. ii 649n
- Xiberta, B.E. i 496n; ii 9–10, 240–1,
244, 493n, 494–7, 500, 501n, 502,
503n, 504n, 505n, 506n, 507n, 508,
510–12, 513n, 514n, 515, 517–18,
519n, 521–34, 535n, 536n, 538n,
539
- Yamazaki, S. ii 438n
- Yokohama, T. ii 591n, 592n, 593n,
641n, 646n
- York, i 29n
- Ypma, E. i 29, 30n, 32n, 236n, 242–3,
296n, 309n, 321n, 336n, 442n, 450n,
519n; ii 10, 51n, 52n, 53n, 54n, 55n,
548–9, 563
- Yukio, I. ii 450n
- Yves Cadomensis: see Ivo of Caen
- Yves of Chartres i 202, 529n
- Yves de Cordellis
- Yves de Vergy, OClun ii 380
- Zacharias, pope i 468
- Zavalloni, R. i 239n, 418n, 530n, 542n,
549n
- Zazzeri, R. ii 135n
- Zeeland ii 389
- Zeyen, R. i 461n, 472n
- Ziegler, J. i 262n
- Zimara, M.A. ii 433, 437n, 438, 445,
528, 535–6, 540
- Zimmermann, A. i 25n; ii 250,
580n
- Zuckerman, C. i 45n, 455n; ii 414n,
415, 453
- Zumkeller, A. ii 547n, 548n, 549n,
550n, 551n, 552, 554, 556–7, 560n,
562n, 567

Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition

Volumes deal with persons, movements, schools and genres in medieval and early modern Christian life, thought and practice. Written by the foremost specialists in the respective fields, they aim to provide full balanced accounts at an advanced level, as well as synthesis of debate and the state of scholarship in 8-15 substantial chapters. Volumes are in English (contributions from continental scholars are translated). 2-3 volumes of 350-600 pages will be published each year. The series is expected to comprise 20-30 volumes.

1. Schabel, C. (ed.). *Theological Quodlibeta in the Middle Ages*. The Thirteenth Century. 2006. ISBN-13: 978-90-04-12333-5, ISBN-10: 90-04-12333-4
2. Cox, V. & J.O. Ward (eds.). *The Rhetoric of Cicero in Its Medieval and Early Renaissance Commentary Tradition*. 2006. ISBN-13: 978-90-04-13177-4, ISBN-10: 90-04-13177-9
3. McGuire, B.P. (ed.). *A Companion to Jean Gerson*. 2006. ISBN-13: 978-90-04-15009-6, ISBN-10: 90-04-15009-9
4. Levy, I.C. (ed.). *A Companion to John Wyclif*. Late Medieval Theologian. 2006. ISBN-13: 978 90 04 15007 2, ISBN-10: 90 04 15007 2
5. Swanson, R.N. (ed.). *Promissory Notes on the Treasury of Merits*. Indulgences in Late Medieval Europe. 2006. ISBN-13: 978-90-04-15287-8, ISBN-10: 90-04-15287-3
6. Stayer, J.M. & J.D. Roth (eds.). *A Companion to Anabaptism and Spiritualism, 1521-1700*. 2006. ISBN-13: 978-90-04-15402-5, ISBN-10: 90-04-15402-7